

PATRIOTISM
AND
POLITICAL PROPAGANDA
IN THE
PLAYS OF EURIPIDES

DEPOSITED BY THE FACULTY OF
GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH



Ixm

.1M78.1930



ACC. NO. **UNACC.** DATE **1930**

**"Patriotism and Political Propaganda
in the Plays of Euripides."**

by

Ruth Evelyn Moore

**Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research in part fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts,
April 29, 1930.**

"Patriotism and Political Propaganda in the Plays of Euripides"

"Thence what the lofty grave Tragedians taught
In Chorus or Iambic, teachers best
Of moral prudence, with delight receiv'd
In brief sententious precepts, while they treat
Of fate, and chance, and change in human life;
High actions, and high passions best describing."

Milton; Paradise Regained IV, l. 261-6

"τὸν ἱερὸν χορὸν δίκαιόν ἐστι χεῖρτά τῇ πόλει
ὑμπαίνειν καὶ διδάσκειν."

Aristophanes, Frogs 686, 7

INTRODUCTION

1.

Every great writer, ancient or modern, however subjective his work may be, however universal in its appeal, reflects some aspect of the age in which he lives - either its religious ideals, its philosophical speculations, its social needs, or its political problems. This statement is especially appropriate when made with reference to the great Attic dramatists, each of whom gives a criticism of life which is not only "for all time", but particularly applicable to the age and civilization in which they lived and wrote. The reason for this is easily explained.

Owing to its origin as a form of religious ritual, and its close associations throughout its history with religion, the drama meant much more to the ordinary Athenian of the fifth century before Christ, than it does to the average playgoer of the present day. The Greeks, we must recollect, had no magazines or newspapers at all, and books were comparatively rare and costly. "There is probably no other instance in history", says Haigh, (1) of a drama which was so thoroughly

(1) Attic Theatre, p.5

popular, and formed so essential a part of the national life." The leading dramatists exerted a profound influence upon their fellow-citizens. They were regarded as the teachers of the people, and their utterances were always received with great respect and consideration.

A few illuminating passages from Aristophanes will illustrate the attitude of the fifth-century Athenians on this point - namely that poets were teachers of men, and that the aim of the theatre was instruction as well as pleasure. In a remarkable passage (Frogs. 1030 seq.) he calls all history to witness that poets have always performed the function of teachers of mankind, citing Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod and Homer to prove his point. Into the mouth of Aeschylus, whom he represents as the ideal tragedian, he puts the claim that the poet is the instructor of grown men as the teacher is of the young.

"τοῖς μὲν γὰρ παιδαγίοισιν
ἔστι διδάσκαλος ὅστις φράζει, τοῖσιν δ' ἡβῶσι ποιηταί.
πάνυ δὲ δεῖ χρηστὰ λέγειν ἡμᾶς."

Frogs. 1054-1056.

Again, he makes Euripides declare that the whole duty of a poet is to improve his fellow citizens.

"ΑΙ. ἀπόκριναι μοι, τίνος οὐνεκα χεὶρ θαυμάζειν ἄνδρα ποιητήν;
ΕΥ. δεξιότητος καὶ νοουθεσίας, ὅτι βελτίους τε ποιούμεν
τούς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν."

Frogs. 1008-1010

In the parabasis of the same play, Aristophanes himself claims to fulfil the office, not only of a moral teacher, but also of a political advisor to his countrymen. (Frogs 686,7). In the

parabasis of the "Achamians" (1.645) he commends himself for having had the courage to tell the Athenians the right course to pursue. In the "Wasps" (1.1029-1045) he compared himself to the hero Heracles, inasmuch as he likewise rids the earth of ravening monsters when he castigates Cleon and his ilk, powerful and dangerous though they are.

These few illustrations amply prove that Ancient Greek Comedy was frankly propagandist. Aristophanes, as we have seen, openly avows that his aim is to guide public opinion by his diatribes on popular leaders of the day whose influence he deems bad, and by commending advisable policies to his fellow-citizens.

All the more inevitable then, was it that the tragedians - and from the words Aristophanes puts into the mouth of Aeschylus we can judge the general feeling on the subject - in those stirring days when Athens' imperial sway was built up, threatened, and finally overthrown, should ponder deeply the political problems of the day as well as its social and religious questions. We must not forget, too, in this connection, that the bond existing between the Athenian and his native city was a far closer one than exists anywhere at the present time between citizen and state. Citizenship involved personal participation in all the duties of civil and military life. A citizen was at once a legislator, a judge, and a soldier like everyone else. Gilbert Murray (1) aptly paints out the difference. "But an ancient poet was living hard, working, thinking, fighting, suffering, through most of the years that we

(1) Euripides and his Age, p.102.

are writing about life. He took part in the political assembly, in the Council, in the Jury-Courts; he worked at his own farm or business, and every year he was liable to be sent on long military expeditions abroad, or to be summoned at a day's notice to defend the frontier at home."

Aeschylus, we know, fought in the Persian Wars. Indeed, at the battle of Marathon, he and his brother Cynegeirus displayed such conspicuous valour that their portraits were included in the well-known picture of the battle which was afterwards set up in the Porch at Athens. He was also present at Artemisium, Salamis and Plataea. It is a significant fact that in the epitaph which the tragedian is said to have composed for himself, he commends himself to posterity, not for the immortal tragedies he wrote, but for the part he took in repelling the Persian invasion (1)

“Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναίου τόδε κεύθει
μνήμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας·
ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος ἄν εἴποι
καὶ βαθυχαίτηεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος.”

We are told that Sophocles was twice elected general - the most important position which an Athenian could hold. He was also appointed treasurer of the tribute in 436, and acted as ambassador on several occasions. Euripides, though his retiring nature prevented him from taking any very prominent part in the direction of public affairs, is said to have been once sent on an embassy

(1) The epitaph is ascribed to Aeschylus by Pausanias 1.14.5, and by Athenaeus 627 c.

to Syracuse (2). Thus we see that the Greek tragedians of the fifth century were no impractical dreamers, dwelling in cloud worlds of their own, far from the realities of life, but took an active personal part in civic life, and were closely in touch with political affairs.

Like the other dramatists of his day, Euripides regarded tragedy as a medium of instruction. His attitude is illustrated by an anecdote related by Valerius Maximus. (3.7.1.) The story is told that when the people loudly objected to a passage in one of his plays, and demanded that it be removed, the poet came forward and told them it was his business to teach, not to be taught. To prove that Euripides attempted to use the powerful weapon he controlled to influence matters of domestic and foreign policy, and to interpret such attempts in the light of contemporary historical events, will be the aim of this discussion. The task will be more elusive than the tracing of political elements in Aristophanes, for a tragic poet naturally adopts less obvious methods in propagating his opinions than a comic poet, whose chief weapons are ridicule and satire. However, a survey of his career as a dramatist will reveal to what a considerable extent Euripides used his art for the purpose of political propaganda.

Although it might with some justice be claimed that political and social questions are inextricably interwoven, and that the latter

(2) Scholiast on Aristotle Rhet. 11.6, 1384 b. "Εὐριπίδης πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους πρέσβυς ἀποσταλὲς καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας δεόμενος, ὡς ἐκείνοι ἀνένευον, εἶπον· ἔδει ἄνδρες Συρακόσιοι, εἴ καὶ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ἀλλὰ γε διὰ τὸ ἄρετι ὑμῶν δέεσθαι, ἀισχύνεσθαι ἡμᾶς ὡς θαυμάζοντος."

cannot naturally be excluded from a consideration of the former, still, the scope of this discussion must of necessity be limited. Therefore a very firm line of demarcation will be drawn between the two, to which I shall adhere as rigidly as possible.

Before proceeding any further, it is perhaps advisable to free the word "propaganda" from any invidious suggestions it may convey to a present day reader. According to Webster's New International Dictionary, it is derived from "that college or committee of cardinals of the Catholic Church, established in 1622, which is charged with the management of foreign missions."

This college is styled "Propaganda". By analogy, the word has been extended to "any association or organized movement established for the missionary purpose of spreading any faith or doctrine or practice, and further to the doctrine or principles thus propagated" or "the scheme or plan for the propagation of a doctrine or system of principles." Thus it is clear that propaganda is good or bad according to the nature of the ideas it spreads, and that the word itself is strictly neutral in tone.

2.

"The national character of tragic celebrations made politics a theme on which it is always possible to enlarge." Moulton, *Ancient Classical Drama* p.121.

*"Νῦν ἄρα ἡμεῖς ἡγήκαμεν ἐητορικήν τινα πρὸς δῆμον,
τοιούτου οἷον παίδων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν
καὶ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων."*

Plato, *Gorgias* 502 D

It is now necessary to consider briefly those conditions of representation of the drama at Athens which made it so potent

an instrument for the dissemination and propagation of opinions.

Greek tragedy was performed at the Great Dionysia, the festival of Dionysus Eleuthereus, which was celebrated in the month Elaphebolion (about the end of March), and lasted for five or six days. During this period all within the city kept holiday. "Business was abandoned, the law courts were closed; distraints for debt were forbidden during the continuance of the festival; even prisoners were released from gaol, to enable them to share in the common festivities. The theatre, the chief centre of attraction, was thronged with spectators."⁽¹⁾ All were allowed to be present - men, women, boys and slaves.

Moreover, aside from the native population of Athens, there were many strangers present from all parts of Greece. At this time the sea was again navigable and the city was crowded with visitors. It was at this season that the representatives of the allied states came to Athens to pay the annual tribute. Ambassadors from foreign states, too, would choose this time for the transaction of diplomatic business, and they were provided with front seats in the theatre. (Dem. de Cor. 28). Large numbers of private individuals from every part of the Greek world were attracted by the splendour and fame of the festival and dramatic exhibitions.

Let us make an imaginary survey of such an audience as must have witnessed the first representation of the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. The lowest and best seats were reserved for men of special position and dignity - the priests

(1) Haigh, The Attic Theatre, p.1.

and religious officers, the state officials, the nine archons and ten generals, ambassadors from foreign states, the judges of the various contests, the orphan sons of men who had fallen in battle and great public benefactors.

As for the rest of the seats - and this auditorium holds about 20,000 people, it appears that special portions were set apart for the different classes of the community. There was a particular place for the Council of Five Hundred, and another for the Ephebi (young men from 18 to 20.) It is probable that a special place was assigned to foreigners.

The presence of so many spectators from other cities naturally inspired the Athenians with the desire of impressing the rest of Greece with the artistic and political supremacy of Athens. These circumstances presented to the Greek dramatist an opportunity, unequalled in the subsequent history of the drama, to spread his social and religious doctrines, and to advocate public policies. He could address himself directly not only to the entire citizen body of Athens, but also to the representatives of the other states of Greece. What an unparalleled opportunity to influence the attitude of the subject allies and neutral states towards Athens by representing her as the Saviour of Hellas, the refuge of the suppliant, the champion of the oppressed, the natural leader of Greece! Such an opportunity was too important - especially in the critical years of the Peloponnesian War - for the leading tragic poets to neglect, nor did they neglect it.

In particular Euripides, poet and patriot at once, a thinker whose fertile mind teemed with ideas on all questions of the day - religious, moral, social, political, utilized these favourable conditions to offer political guidance to his contemporaries.

I.

"Yet without some dim understanding of how the Athenians felt towards Athens, the best of ancient Greece remains sealed to us."

A.E. Zimmern, "The Greek Commonwealth"

"πατέρις δ' Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλὰς, Ἀθηναί."

Inscription on cenotaph erected in honour
of Euripides.

1.

At perhaps no other period in the world's history, in perhaps no other land before or since, has man made such amazing progress in the ideals of free government, or accomplished such brilliant results in every sphere of art and literature, as at Athens in the fifth century B.C. It was a period which not only impelled those who had the privilege of living at that time to achieve masterpieces which have never been surpassed, perhaps never equalled, but has been the continual inspiration of the world's great men ever since.

When the Athenians returned after the battle of Salamis to their native city - now but ashes and smoke - blackened ruins, they began to realize the magnitude of their exploits in the struggle against Persia. A small Greek state had met and crushed the mighty forces of the supreme Empire of the East. What wonder that they felt themselves pioneers in the vanguard of progress, the true leaders of Hellas! The misfortunes of exile and the glories of

victory which all alike had shared, fired one and all with an intense patriotism. The wise reforms of Cleisthenes had given each citizen an interest in the government and a voice in the management of public affairs. Every Athenian, high and low, felt an irresistible ambition to build up the imperial sway of his native city.

A spirit of enthusiasm, exaltation, and high hopefulness pervades the literature of the period - the dramas of Aeschylus and the histories of Herodotus in particular. Aeschylus reflects this lofty national pride in the famous passage in the "Persae" where Atossa questions the chorus about Athens, a city which her son Xerxes is especially anxious to take. "Ay," reply the chorus, "for if Athens should fall, all Hellas would be subject to the king.

"Χο. πάντα γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν Ἑλλάς βασιλεύς ὑπὸ κροῖσσο." Persae, 234
Atossa is amazed that so small a state should dare to stand against the mighty hosts of the Persians.

Herodotus, too, gives us a glimpse of some of this feeling. The Athenians are considered the leaders of Hellas in culture and wisdom. "ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τοῖσι πρῶτοις λεγόμενοι εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφίην." Her. 1.60. The historian attributes Athens' present eminence to her democratic institutions. She became supreme among the states of Greece when freed from her tyrants (V.78), thus exemplifying the triumph of free government and political equality. The very name - ἰσονομία inspired one of the most eloquent sentences ever penned by man. "πλήθος δὲ ἄρχον πρῶτα μὲν ὄνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει, ἰσονομίην, δεύτερα δὲ τύπων τῶν ὁ μούναρχος ποιεῖ οὐδέν." Her. III, 80.

In another passage Herodotus depicts Athens as the representative of freedom and the liberator of other states. "Ἀθηναίους---οἵτινες αἰεὶ καὶ το πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλούς ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων." Her.VIII 142

Such was the age into which Euripides was born. Indeed, tradition says that he was born in the year 480 in the island of Salamis on the very day of the great battle.⁽¹⁾ But this date is contradicted by the inscription on the Parian Marble, which places his birth in 485.⁽²⁾ However, in the absence of really incontrovertible evidence, no date can with certainty be fixed upon. Aulus Gellius tells us that Euripides began to write at the age of eighteen.⁽³⁾ We know that the first play for which he was granted a chorus, the "Peliades," was performed in 455 under the archon Callias.⁽⁴⁾ He is said to have won his first victory in the year 441,⁽⁵⁾ but the titles of the plays have not come down to us. In the year 438, he produced a tetralogy consisting of "The Cretan women," "Alcmaeon in Psophis," "Telephus", and the Alceæstis. The last-named play is the only one extant.

The brilliant splendour of this period, and the bright hopes visioned for the future, were, however, soon to be dimmed by the ugly clouds of internal war that lowered over the Greek world. By the beginning of the year 431, all Hellas was on the verge of war, ready to plunge into the seething whirlpool of mad internecine strife that was destined to engulf her. During the past years, Athens' free allies in the Confederacy of Delos had gradually all, with the exception of the three large islands, Samos, Lesbos

(1). Plut.Mor.p.717 C; Suidas, s.v. Εὐριπίδης; Vita, 11.2-4. (2) Parian Marble, lines 65f. (3) XV, 20, 4 (4) Vita 11.30 and 21
(5) Parian Marble 1.75

and Chios, become subject states of the Athenian Empire, compelled to pay tribute. To the autonomy-loving Greeks to whom freedom was the breath of life, such a state of affairs was unnatural and intolerable. Outside the Athenian Empire, the situation was even more serious. The outward splendour of Athens, her commercial prosperity, her undisputed supremacy in art and literature, her app^arent success both in maintaining democratic institutions in her own city, and in encouraging them elsewhere, caused the other states of Greece to look upon her with envious eyes. The intense jealousy of Sparta, who had hitherto been recognized as the leading state of Greece, the deep-rooted hatred of Thebes, whose Medism in the Persian wars had made her hate Athens as she was hated, and finally, the commercial rivalry of Corinth, Aëgina and Megara - all these factors had made war inevitable.

At the beginning of the year 431 BC most of the states of Greece were lining up on the side either of Athens or of Sparta, and in the spring of that year, the Peloponnesians and their allies assembled at the borders of Attica, ready to begin the struggle.

The "Medea" as we learn from the remains of the argument by Aristophanes of Byzantium,⁽¹⁾ was the first play in a tetralogy which was awarded the third place in the tragic

(1) "ἔδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Πυθοδώραν ἀρχοντος ὀλυμπιάδος πρὶν ἔτεϊ α'. πρῶτος Εὐφορίων, δεύτερος Σοφοκλῆς, τρίτος Εὐριπίδης Μηδεία, φιλοκτήτη, Δίκτυι, Θεριστῆς σατύροις οὐ σῶζεται."

contests that same spring. The other plays in this group were the "Philoctetes", the "Dictys", and the "Theristae", but of these we possess only fragments. Medea, cast off by her husband, is to be banished from Corinth. She is in despair, and knows not where to turn. The advent of King Aegeus of Athens affords her hope of an asylum. She throws herself at his feet and implores his protection.

"γονάτων τε πῶν σῶν ἱκεσία τε γίγνομαι,
οἴκτιρον οἴκτιρόν με τὴν δυσδαίμονα."

Medea 711.

Moved by chivalrous indignation at Jason's conduct, Aegeus promises her a refuge. Once she has reached Athens, she will be safe, and none of her foes shall harm her. This same conception of Athens as a refuge for the suppliant is, as we shall see, a frequent theme in later plays.

This epîlode, which would bring a thrill of pride to every Athenian heart, motivates the famous choral ode describing the glories of Athens, wherein the poet praises the wisdom of the people, and the greatness of the ancient land, the home of the arts, favoured by nature and the gods beyond all other nations. He mentions the mythical descent of the Athenians from the earth-born Erechtheus, which was symbolic of the αὐτοχθονία upon which they prided themselves.

"Ἐρεχθεΐδαι τὸ παλαιὸν ὄλβιοι
καὶ θεῶν παῖδες μακάρων, ἱερὰς
χώρας ἀπορθήτοισι τ' ἀποφειρόμενοι
κλεινοτάταν σοφίαν, αἰεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου
βαίνοντες ἀβρῶς αἰθέρος, ἔνθα ποθ' ἀγνὰς
ἐννέα Πιερίδας Μούσας λέγουσι
ξανθὰν Ἀρμονίαν φυτεύσαι.

τοῦ καλλινάου τ' ἀπὸ Κηφισοῦ ῥοῆς
τὰν Κύπριν κλήζουσιν ἀφυσσομένην
χώραν καταπνέουσαι μετρίας ἀνέμων
ἡδυνόους αὖρας· αἰεὶ δ' ἐπιβαλλομένην
χαίταισιν εὐώδη ῥοδέων πλόκον ἀνθέων
τὰ σοφία παρέδρους πέμπειν Ἑρωτάς,
πάντοίῃς ἀρεταῖς συνεργούς.

- (1) This word strikes a note of pathos in the retrospect. By the midsummer of 431 Attica was trampled under the feet of Peloponnesian soldiers.

How can such a city grant hospitality to a murderess?

“πῶς οὖν ἱερῶν ποταμῶν
ἢ πόλιν ἢ φίλων
πόμπιμος σὲ χῶρα
τὰν παιδολέτειραν ἔξει —
τὰν οὐχ ὀσίαν μετ’ ἀλλῶν.” 1.846.850

On this chorus the Scholiast remarks: "ἱκανὸν ἐγκώμιον ὁ χορός ,
κατὰ βάλλεται τοὺς Ἀθηναίους δικαίους καὶ θεοσεβεῖς ἀποκαλῶν."

In 431 the Peloponnesian War broke out, and in the spring of that year the Peloponnesian army, some 30,000 strong, marched into Attica and ravaged the cornfields as it went. In the autumn, at the close of the first season's campaigning, Pericles, who at that time guided Athens' policy, delivered in honour of the slain that famous funeral oration which has been recorded by the historian Thucydides. In this speech, the great statesman epitomizes the national ideals and aspirations. "No nation has ever had its 'idea' so splendidly expressed as Athens had in Pericles' funeral oration: enlightened democracy there finds a voice, probably for the first time, and in words that can never fail to have an echo in the aspirations of freedom." (1)

Athens' policy, he said, was based on a scrupulous regard for law, and the championship of the oppressed.

“τὰ δημόσια διὰ δέος μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν τῶν τε αἰεὶ
ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροάσει καὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν
ὅσοι τε ἐπ’ ὠφελίᾳ τῶν ἀδικουμένων κεῖνται καὶ ὅσοι
ἀγλαφοὶ (2) ὄντες ἀσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην φέρουσιν.” Thuc. II. 37.

In conferring benefits the Athenians are purely unselfish in their motives. They never calculate the advantage or count the cost when freedom is the cause they champion.

(1) R.A. Neill, Intr. to edition of Aristophanes' *Knights* p.VII.

(2) The “ἀγλαπτα κάσφαλή θεῶν νόμιμα” of Soph. Ant. 454,5.

"Μόνοι οὐ τοῦ συμφέροντος μάλλον λογισμῷ ἢ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ ἀδεῶς τινα ὠφελοῦμεν." Thuc II 40

Athens' government is a model for others to copy.

"Χρώμεθα γὰρ πολιτεία οὐ ζηλούσῃ τοὺς τῶν πέλας νόμους, παράδειγμα δὲ μάλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες τισὶν ἢ μιμούμενοι ἐτέρους." Thuc II, 37.

For it is based upon principles of freedom.

"ἐλευθέρως δὲ τὰ τε πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν." Thuc. II, 37

Summing up his conceptions of his beloved city.

"Ἐυνελών τε λέγω τὴν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσιν

εἶναι." (Thuc II, 41) said Thucydides in words which, though often quoted have never become trite.

After explaining the principles for which Athens stood, Pericles exhorted his fellow-citizens to fix their eyes daily upon her power, and inspired by the vision of her greatness, to become the "lovers" of this immortal city which was worthy of every sacrifice they could make. At this time Euripides must have been still going through his military service, and doubtless took part in the first campaigns of the war. He, as well as Thucydides, must have heard, and been stirred by this speech, and while the historian reproduced its spirit and content in eloquent prose, the poet, as will be shown, echoed its sentiments again and again in the plays of this period. He responded to Pericles' appeal by writing patriotic plays designed to encourage and inspire his fellow-citizens in these anxious years of war.

A great deal of controversy centres around the play which will be discussed next— "The Children of Heracles". Most critics seem agreed that it has a definite political purpose, but there is considerable dispute, not only about the date of its production,

but also about the exact intentions of the dramatist in writing it. Perhaps a rapid summary of the play will help us to understand what Euripides had in mind when he wrote it.

Heracles is dead, and his children and mother are persecuted by his life-long enemy, Eurystheus, King of Argos. Guided by the hero's old comrade Iolaus, they have fled from town to town seeking refuge, but in vain. No city dares to protect them, through fear of the cruel and powerful tyrant. At last the suppliants reach Marathon in Attica. The sons have grouped themselves about the altar of Zeus to which they cling, the daughters, with their grandmother Alcmene, have taken refuge within the temple. A herald arrives from Argos demanding the return of the fugitives. Iolaus refuses. The altar will protect them, and the free land, Athens, to which they have come.

“οὐ δῆτ', ἐπεὶ μοι βωμὸς ἀεκέσει θεοῦ
ἐλευθέρα τε γὰρ ἔν ἧ βεβήκαμεν.” Heracl. 61, 62

The herald hurls Iolaus to the ground, and is about to tear the children from the altar when the chorus, startled by the cries, rush in to the rescue. They remind the herald that he is in a free country, among men who respect the gods, and will not suffer such acts of violence.

“εἰκὸς θεῶν ἱκτῆρας αἰδεῖσθαι, ξένε,
καὶ μὴ βιαίῳ χερὶ δαιμόνων
ἀπολείπειν σφ' ἔδη.
πόπνια γὰρ Δίκη τὰδ' οὐ πείσεται.” 1.101-104.

It would be an impious deed for them to reject suppliants who have appealed to their city for protection.

“Χο. ἄθεον ἱκεσίαν
μεθεῖναι πόλει ξένων προστροπᾶν” 1.106, 7

Demophon, the king of Athens comes in and reproaches the herald for his violence. His appearance is that of a Greek, but his actions betoken the barbarian.

"τὰ δ' ἔ'ε'γα βαρβαρέου χερός τ' ἔ'δε." 1.131

The herald haughtily replies that these suppliants are Argive subjects and are no concern of his. Besides they are in a helpless position and can be of no possible use to him as allies. If he surrenders them, Argus will be his ally, if he refuses, she declares war. He advises Demophon not, as is the Athenian wont, to chose the weaker side (1.177.8) Iolaus expresses confidence in the nature of the Athenians, - they will die before they will consent to abandon a suppliant.

"ἀλλ' οἷός' ἐγὼ τὸ τῶνδε λῆμα καὶ φύσιν
θυήσκειν θελήσους· ἡ γὰρ αἰσχύνῃ <πάρους>
τοῦ ζῆν παρ' ἐσθλοῖς ἀνδράσιν νομίζεται." 1.199-201.

He points out the relationship of the Heraclidae and the Athenians, thus not only invoking the bonds of kinship and friendship which formerly united Theseus and Heracles, but also appealing to the honour of Athens.

Demophon replies that three considerations restrain him from giving up the suppliants - first, religious duty, then kinship and gratitude, and lastly honour. He rules a free city and no foreign power shall dictate to him. Despite the herald's reiterated threats, he will not yield, and even when the other tells him that an Argive army is at the frontier, ready to invade Attica, he does not flinch. He replies that the land over which he rules is no subject of Argos, but a free state. Iolaus, in grateful admiration extols the chivalrous generosity of the king and his people in a speech that must have thrilled the heart of every Athenian.

“ἡμεῖς γὰρ κακῶν
 ἐς τοῦσχατον πεσόντες ἠύρομεν φίλους
 καὶ συγγενεῖς τούσδ', οἳ τὸσῆσδ' οἴκουμένης
 Ἑλληνίδος γῆς πῶνδε προὔστησαν μόνοι.” 1. 303-306

The children of Heracles are pledged to eternal gratitude and
 undying friendship with the city that has saved them.

“ὅτ', ὦ τέκν', αὐτοῖς χεῖρα δεξιᾶν δότε.
 ὑμεῖς τε παῖσι καὶ Πέλας προσέλθετε.
 ὦ παῖδες, ἐς μὲν πείραχ' ἤλθομεν φίλων.
 ἦν δ' οὖν ποθ' ὑμῖν νόστος ἐς πατέρα φάνη,
 καὶ δώματ' οἰκήσῃτε, καὶ τιμὰς πατρὸς
 σωτήρας δειὶ καὶ φίλους νομίζετε,
 καὶ μή ποτ' ἐς γῆν ἐχθρὸν ἀγέσθαι δόρυ,
 μέμνησθέ μοι τήνδ', ἀλλὰ φιλότατην πόλιν
 πασῶν νομίζετ'. ἀξιοί δ' ὑμῖν σέβειν,
 οἳ γῆν τὸσῆνδε καὶ Πελασγικὸν ἁλῶν
 ἡμῶν, ἀπὸ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς πολέμιους ἔχουσιν,
 πτωχοὺς ἀλήτας εἰσσεύονται. ἀλλ' ὁμῶς
 οὐκ ἐξέδωκαν, οὐδ' ἀπήλασαν χθονός.” 1.307-319

What indignation and anger must these words have aroused in the
 spectators of the play, most of whom had seen the Peloponnesian
 army march into Attica, destroy their crops and cut down their
 olive trees!

It was the descendants of these Heraclidae who were now devastating
 the soil of Attica - to compass the ruin of the Athens which had
 saved their fathers. (1)

The next lines of the chorus are an appeal on the part of the
 poet to Athenian sentiment. As we have seen, protection of the
 weak and oppressed was one of the particular virtues to which the
 Athenians laid claim. (see also 1.176, 1.379, Soph.O.C. 261,
 Thuc. 6,13, Isocr.4.52, Plato Menex.244E)

“Χο. αἰεὶ ποθ' ἦδε γαῖα τοῖς ἀμνησμένοις
 σὺν τῇ δικαίῳ βούλεται προσωφελεῖν.” 1.329,30.

(1) This same sentiment is expressed by Isocrates in his speech
 on Antidosis 61.

Demophon hurries off to call a council of the citizens, muster his forces for the war and to make the necessary sacrifices. He invites Iolaus and the suppliants to enter his palace, but Iolaus refuses - they will remain at the altar until the issue is decided. The chorus next sing a short ode to the effect that the herald's boasts are vain. Athens has no fear of Argos. Peace she loves, but she will take up arms in defence of the claims of justice.

Demophon returns and announces that the Argive army has arrived with Eurystheus at its head, and further that an investigation of the oracles makes it clear that their success is assured only if they sacrifice to Persephom a maiden of noble birth. But not even to save the suppliants will Demophon either give up one of his own children, or compel any of his citizens to do so - they are already complaining - civil war may break out. He is no despot ruling barbarians.

"οὐ γὰρ τυραννίᾳ δ' ὥστε βαρβάρων ἔχω"
1.423

Here the poet represents the principles of Athenian democracy as extending backwards to the legendary age. The chorus express their feeling that it will be a blot upon Athen's honour if the suppliants are abandoned.

"τάχ' ἂν γὰρ ἡμῖν ψευδὲς ἂλλ' ὅμως κακὸν
γένοιτ' ὄνειδος ὥς ξένους προσιώκαμεν" 1.462,3.

Macaria, one of the daughters of Heracles comes out of the temple to inquire the cause of Iolaus' renewed lamentations. On hearing of the new difficulty which has arisen, she at once offers herself for the sacrifice. Better die a glorious death than cling to life merely for the sake of living. She rejects Iolaus' suggestion that the sisters should draw lots among themselves -

she will give her life as a free offering, she is then led away. A servant enters inquiring for Iolaus and Alomena. To the old man he announces the arrival of Hyllus, his master, with a large contingent of allies, and when Alomena has come out he explains that the two armies are now drawn up ready for action, and that Hyllus and his allies have been posted on the left wing of the Athenian force. Iolaus declares his intention of joining in the fray, and despite remonstrances he arms himself and goes forth to battle. The chorus now invoke the aid of the gods in this just cause. The patron goddess Athena is especially addressed and reminded of the piety and religious zeal of her worshippers.

"κακὸν δ', ὦ πόλις, εἰ ξένους
ἰκτῆρας παραδύσσομεν
κελεύσασιν Ἄεγους."

1.763-765.

A messenger approaches with news of victory. He relates how Iolaus' strength was miraculously renewed, and Eurystheus captured near Sciron's cliff and brought back in fetters to Athens. Alomena is overjoyed by these glad tidings, but does not understand why Eurystheus' life was spared. The messenger explains that he has been brought back in order that she may enjoy the triumph of witnessing his humiliation. The chorus sing a joyful ode in honour of the victory. Athens' course has been justified by the event.

"ἔχεις ὁδόν τιν', ὦ πόλις, δίκαιον—οὐ
χρὴ ποτε τοῦδ' ἀφέσθαι, —
τιμᾶν θεούς· ὁ (δέ) μή σε φά-
σκων ἐγγὺς μανιῶν ἐλαύνει,
δεικνυμένων ἐλέγχων
τῶνδ'."

1.901-905.

The servant of Hyllus reenters with Eurystheus. Alomena greets the captive with taunts and demands his immediate execution.

But she is reminded that the Athenians do not put to death prisoners taken in battle.

Χο. οὐκ ἔστ' ἀνυστὸν τόνδε σοι κατακτανεῖν.
 Θε. ἄλλως ἄρ' αὐτὸν ἀνιχνεύωτον εἴλομεν;
 Αλ. εἴργει δὲ δὴ τίς τόνδε μὴ θνήσκειν νόμος;
 Χο. τοῖς τῆσδε χώρας προστάταισιν οὐ δοκεῖ.
 Αλ. τί δὴ τόδ'; ἐχθροὺς τοισίδ' οὐ καλὸν κτανεῖν;
 Χο. οὐχ ὅντιν' αὖ γε ζῶνθ' ἔλωσιν ἐν μάχῃ." 1.961-966

Notice how the humanity of the Athenians is here contrasted with Alcmæna's bloodthirsty cruelty and insatiable desire for revenge. She is determined not to forego her vengeance, and declares that she will kill him with her own hands.

Then Eurystheus speaks. He declines to plead for his life, but claims that he has been throughout a victim of destiny, fated, because of Hera's relentless hatred, to be the enemy of Heracles. He accepts his fate, but his death will bring a curse upon his murderers. He expresses gratitude to the Athenians for their mercy and humanity. Their reverence for the gods is stronger than their enmity toward him.

"νῦν οὖν ἐπειδὴ μ' οὐ διώλεσαν ποτε,
 πρόθυμον ὄντα, τοῖσιν Ἑλλήνων νόμοις
 οὐχ ἄγνός εἰμι τῷ κτανόντι κατθανών
 πόλις τ' ἀφῆκε σωφρονούσα, τὸν θεὸν
 μείζον τίουσα τῆς ἐμῆς ἐχθρας πολύ." 1. 1009-1013.

The chorus attempt to soften Alcmæna, but in vain. Eurystheus then prophesies that his grave will be a protection to Athens in time to come, when the Heracleidae, false to their pledged allegiance, and unmindful of their debt of gratitude, shall invade the land of their benefactors.

"καὶ σοὶ μὲν εὖ νους καὶ πόλει σωτήριος
 μέτοικος αἰεὶ κείσομαι κατὰ χθονός,
 τοῖς τῶνδε δ' ἐκγόνοισι πολεμιώτατος,
 ὅταν μόλῳσι δεῦρο σὺν πολλῇ χερὶ
 χεῖρ προδόντες τήνδε. τοιούτων ξένων
 πρῶστητε -----
 κακὸν γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόστον ἀντὶ τῶνδ' ἐγὼ

δῶσω· διπλοῦν δὲ κέρδος ἔξειτ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ,
ὕμῳ τ' ὀνήσω τούσδε τε βλάβῃ θανών." 1.1032-1044.

The play ends as he is led off to execution.

Now, though it seems to be generally agreed that the poet had a direct political purpose and wrote this play with an eye to contemporary events, there is wide divergence of opinion as to what precisely that purpose was and to what particular events he alluded. Some critics are convinced that the play is directed against the Argives, others that the Lacedaemonians are the object of his attack. The former conclude, from the passages derogatory to Argos (243 seq, 284, 353, 370, 759-61) that the tragedy must have been performed in 418 B.C. This was the year in which Agis, king of Sparta, invaded the Argolid with his entire force, and the Athenians marched to the support of their allies. The decisive victory of Mantinea restored Lacedaemonian prestige in the Peloponnese, while, owing to the efforts of the oligarchical party in Argos, the Hundred years alliance with Athens was renounced and a treaty and alliance for fifty years concluded with Sparta (Thuc.V,76). As the Argives overthrew the oligarchy and made a fresh alliance with the Athenians in the next year, (Thuc V,82) it cannot at least be any later.

This is the view held by Boeckh, who says (De Trag.Gr.p.190) "Postremo etiam Heraclidae ad res publicas pertinet: ex conviciis in Argivos ibi jactis apparet doctam esse quum bellum Argivi pararent adversus Athenienses-----ita conicio actam tragoediam Ol.XC.3, quum rupto foedere Argivi pacem cum Laconibus ferrent, Atheniensibus autem bellum inferrent." Mr. C.S. Jerram also

contends for this date, "since it is more likely to have been produced at a time when Argos and Sparta were combining their powers to the injury of Athens, than at the beginning of the struggle, with which the Argives were as yet unconcerned."⁽¹⁾ And indeed, it is true that during the Archidamian War, Argos sat back and maintained a more or less neutral policy. But though Argos was not involved in the struggle at first, the Athenians were by no means unconcerned about Argos. Argos' attitude was a matter of great importance to them, for Argos held a strong strategic position in the Peloponnese and controlled practically every land route from Sparta north.

Paley thinks that Argos is attacked for entering into a treaty with Sparta; while Sparta is reminded that Athens had protected from Argos the ancestors of the Spartan kings. He says, in his introduction to the play: "As it has a political object, that of attacking Argos for entering into a treaty with Sparta, and joining the war against Athens, it has been conjectured that it was brought out Ol.903, BC.418"⁽²⁾ adding "the interest of it to an Athenian audience depended chiefly on events then in progress and engrossing their whole attention," and "it was designed to foment the popular indignation against the treachery of the Argives." However, we need not seek for a period in the course of the war when the relations between Athens and Argos were embittered. The remarks of the German scholar Pflugk on this question exhibit great discernment

(1) C.S.Jerram ed. *Heracleidae* p.4.
(2) Euripides, Vol.I, p 323.

and insight. ⁽¹⁾ Referring to Boeckh's arguments, he points out that to consider that the play indicates enmity with Argos, is to rely on individual passages. The noble revolt of the chorus against the threats of the herald, the proud defiance hurled by Demophon at this envoy of Eurystheus - are they not due simply to the very subject of the play? The Argive Eurystheus is merely the chance enemy of the Athenians. When he declares war upon them, it is only because they refuse to surrender the children of Heracles, the ancestors of the Spartans. The herald is careful to point out that Argos' attitude towards Athens is friendly and conciliatory. Moreover, as Pflugk remarks, ⁽²⁾ Athens' enmity with Argos was brief and momentary, "et brevem et priusquam hostilia perpetrarentur rursus compositam", while against Sparta she cherished a hatred that was deep and of long standing. The Spartans were notorious breakers of pledges - they had slaughtered without mercy the Plataeans who had surrendered to them. (Thuc. III 68) ⁽³⁾

Furthermore, we must not ignore the concluding scene which gives us the clue to the more logical interpretation. Notice that Eurystheus, grateful to the Athenians for their humanity, declares himself their friend before his death, and promises to be their saviour in days to come. He prophesies that his tomb in the neighborhood of the temple at Pallene will be a benefit to the Athenians, and that as a sojourner beneath their soil he will protect them against an invasion by the descendants of these Heraclidae whom they have championed. "Was not this", to quote

(1) Eur. Trag. vol. I, Prooemium p. 7 et seq. (2) p. 22

(3) See also instances of Spartan treachery cited in discussion of Andromache.

Prof. Paul Decharme, an ingenious way of pointing out that the Athenians thought they had a right to the friendship of the Argives? And were not the latter thereby asked to remember their ancestor Eurystheus and to be friendly to Athens as he had been and to remain like him the irreconcilable enemy of Sparta?"(1)
The reference is doubtless to the invasion of Attica at the beginning of the war by the Peloponnesian descendants of these Heraclidae - an act of gross ingratitude. We know from Thucydides how deep was the popular indignation excited by the havoc wrought.
(Thuc II, 21)

From the testimony of Diodorus we know that in 430 the Spartans laid all Attica waste with the exception of the Marathonian tetrapolis. He says (XII,45):

"καὶ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν τὴν γῆν ἐλυμήναντο, πλην τῆς καλουμένης Τετραπόλεως. ταύτης δ' ἀπέσχοντο διὰ τὸ τοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα κατωκέναι, καὶ τὸν Εὐρυσθέα νενικέναι τὴν δαμνὴν ἐκ ταύτης ποιησάμενους. δίκαιον γὰρ ἦροῦντο τοῖς εὐηγετηκόσι τοὺς προγόνους, παρὰ τῶν ἐκγόνων τὰς προσηκούσας εὐεργεσίας ἀπολαμβάνειν."

Probably, then, the prophecy refers to the invasion of the year 430. Therefore, since we may assume the origin of such a prophecy to be subsequent to its apparent fulfillment, the play must be somewhat later than that date. But we cannot date it later than 427, because in that year the Lacedaemonians laid waste the whole of Attica, including, as Thucydides is careful to tell us, those parts which had been left untouched in the former invasions.

"ἐδῆσαν δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὰ τε πρότερον τετμημένα
(καὶ) εἴ τι ἐβεβλαστήκει, καὶ ὅσα ἐν ταῖς πρὶν
ἐσβολαῖς παρελείπτο."

Thuc. III, 26.

And is it not more likely that the play was written at a time

(1) "Euripides and the Spirit of his Dramas" p.136.

when the memory of the invasion was still fresh in the minds both of those who had suffered from it, and those whose lands were spared?

Again, there are other considerations in favour of the earlier date. If Aristophanes' *Vespas* 1160, "ἔχθεοῦ παρ' ἀνδρὸς δυσμενῇ καττύματα" is a parody of Heracl. 1006 "ἔχθεοῦ λέοντος δυσμενῇ βλαστήματα", the play must be at least as early as 423. Further, on *Equites* 214, "τάραττε καὶ χόρδευ' ὁμοῦ τὰ πράγματα." the scholiast states that the line is parodied from the *Heraclidae*: "παρώδησε γὰρ τὸν ἴαμβον ἐξ Ἡρακλειδῶν Εὐριπίδου." There is no such line in the play as we now have it but this is not a conclusive reason for rejecting the authority of the scholiast, as there is considerable evidence that portions of the play have been lost. The *Equites* was produced early in 424.

Taken as ^a whole, the play points to enmity, not so much against Argos as against Sparta. The invectives against Argos as an enemy are, as has already been shown, a necessity of the plot. The poet's spite against the Spartans appears in the words."

"Such are the strangers ye championed!" As we read these bitter words, can we doubt that Euripides intended to reproach the Spartans for their ingratitude, and to remind them of "benefits forgot"? The Spartans are reminded, too, of the honours accorded to Heracles by the Athenians (1.910-918). To these Diodorus testifies (IV,39)

"Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι τῶν ἄλλων ὡς θεὸν ἐτίμησαν θυσίαις τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις παράδειγμα τὴν ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν ἀποδείξαντες προετρέψαντο τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἅπαντες Ἕλληνας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνθρώποις ἅπαντας ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν τὸν Ἡρακλέα."

Finally, as Pflugk acutely remarks, the name of Sparta is forcibly dragged in (1.742).

The metre of the play is another deciding factor in the question of the date. It shows a very small percentage of resolved feet in the trimeters, and in this respect only the Hippolytus, Medea, Alcestis and Rhesus come below it. Alfred Church gives, as the result of his examination of the versification, the following figures:

Hippolytus .028, Medea .037, Alcestis .052, Rhesus .071, Heraclidae .091⁽¹⁾ Wilamowitz thinks the metre indicates a date between 430 and 425, and concludes from the prophecy of Eurystheus, the significance of which has already been discussed, that the play was produced after 430 and before 427.⁽²⁾

There yet remain for consideration the views of T. Fix and J.A. Spranger. Fix considers that the promise of protection against invasion in l. 1032-1037 would be absurd, if the play was written after the Spartan invasion of 431.⁽³⁾ He assigns it to the threatened invasion of Pleistoanax in 445 BC. (Thuc.I,114;II,21) But the lines do not suggest that the invasion will not take place, but that Eurystheus will be on the side of the Athenians when it does.

Mr. Spranger has built up an altogether different interpretation of the play⁽⁴⁾ He does not believe that it shows hostility towards Argos; indeed, he goes so far as to say that the references

(1) Classical Review XIV p.438. However Mr. Church's comment, in referring to the metre of the Heraclidae, "a figure which gives a certain support to Muller's conjectures of the date 421", seems a totally arbitrary and unnecessary conclusion. His data indicate the metre of this play to be stricter than that of the "Hecuba" which, as will be shown later from its references, was almost certainly produced either in 425 or 424.

(2) Analecta Euripidea p.151; Hermes XVII pp.337-64

(3) Chron.Fab. Eur. p.IX

(4) Classical quarterly, vol.19:117-28

indicate "a period when Athens and Argos were either actually allied or about to enter an alliance", and assigns the play to the years 420-419. His argument is that the Athenians do not really clash in battle with the Argive forces, as it is not explicitly so stated; that a distinction is drawn by the servant (799-866) between "us", the Heraclid allies and "the king of the Athenians". Demophon, he argues, as soon as he saw the Argive army, and the discontent of his citizens, realized that civil war would ensue, and "worked the oracle" in order to get out of supporting the Heraclidae. But Macaria spoiled his scheme by her voluntary offer of self-sacrifice. He maintains that although Demophon brings out his troops in battle-array, he does not fight the Argive army.

But surely this is being over-subtle. In 1.670 we are told that Hyllus and his allies stand arrayed on the right of the Athenian forces. In 1.824-827 the Messenger describes how the Athenian king exhorted his men "as a high-born chieftain should". What does he say?

"ὦ συμπολίται, τῇ τε βοσκούσῃ χθονὶ
καὶ τῇ τεκούσῃ νῦν τιν' ἀεκέσαι χρεών."

Does not this look as if Demophon still intended to join battle with the Argives? If the Athenian king had withdrawn his forces from the fray and left the Heraclids to face the Argives after all these preliminaries, surely that fact would have been deemed remarkable enough for mention.

And in 1. 838-840, where the messenger describes the cheers and exhortations of the two opposing sides in the thick of the battle,

we find:
"ἦν δὲ τοῦ κελεύματος,
ὦ τὰς Ἀθήνας - ὦ τὸν Ἀργείων γόνυν
σπείροντες, οὐκ ἀεγέσεται ἄσχυρ' ἡ πόλις;"

Apparently the Athenians are still there! And in the very next sentence the messenger says:

"ἔτερεψάμεσθ' Ἡερεῖον ἐς φυγὴν δόει."

Surely in this passage "we" includes the Athenians. They had identified the interests of the Heraclidae with their own.

Again Mr. Spranger combats the view held by most Euripidean scholars, that portions of the play have been lost. He claims that Macaria is not dead at all - as the Messenger has told Almena that her loved ones are alive (1.792), and makes no mention of Macaria's death; and if the Athenian forces do not join the battle, her sacrifice is not necessary. But in the Argument of the play we find these words "ταύτην μὲν οὖν εὐγενῶς ἀποθανοῦσαν ἐτίμησαν" referring to Macaria. And the Scholium on Arist. Eq. 1151 says "κατέσφαξευ ἑαυτὴν (ἡ Μακαρία) ὥς ἐν Ἡερακλείδαις Εὐριπίδους. ἥς τὸν τάφον ἀνθεσι καὶ στεφάνοις τιμῶντες. Possibly then, as Hermann suggests, there may have been lost after v.629 a speech announcing the death of Macaria, a κομμός and a choral Ode. W.Venhoff in a Göttingen Program for 1872 concluded that there are lacunae after lines 77, 110, 311, 629, 805 and 858. A.C.Pearson in his edition marks gaps after 76, 110, 217, 627, 805, 1052.

However, whatever be the conclusions reached on the question of the date of the Heraclidae, it is obvious that the chief purpose of the play is the glorification of Athens. It is the poet's aim to exhibit the national traditions of Athenian character as ideals for his countrymen to maintain. Again and again he speaks in glowing terms of Athenian liberty (1.62, 115, 198, 287) which carries with it the inalienable right of free speech (1.82) It is because

of their own freedom that the Athenians are ready to help the oppressed (1.243 et seq.) They will never allow the law of Might to supersede the law of Right. The weak never appeal in vain for the protection of Athens.(1. 177,330).

Thucydides tells us that, at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, the general feeling of the Greek states was in favour of the Lacedaemonians, because they proclaimed that they were liberating Hellas "ἄλλως τε καὶ προειπόντων ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθ-
εροῦσιν."(Thuc.II,8) Is not this drama in a sense Euripides?

reply to this claim? Again, we are reminded that Athens is reluctant to take up arms, but will not hesitate in a just cause (1.371 seq) Her conspicuous devotion to religion is eulogized. (1.107,763,777 seq. 901 seq.) but piety is never subservient to superstition, Dempphon is no fanatic to sacrifice his own or a fellow-citizen's child as a concession to an oracle.(410 seq.)

More than this, we find Athens championing the cause of the higher morality which bade the victor spare the life and liberty of the vanquished (1.906,1012) It is interesting to notice that this was the basis of the appeal of the Plataeans when they made their fruitless plea for mercy to the Lacedemonians. "ὅτι ἐκόντας τε ἑλάβετε καὶ χεῖρας προῖσχομένους· ὁ δὲ νόμος τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ κτείνειν τούτους." (Thuc.III,58) Then, too, the Athenians themselves had transgressed this law. Thucydides tells us a story which shows that they were at this time far from attaining this standard. (Thuc II,67) In the summer of the year 430 three Lacedaemonian ambassadors, on their way to Asia to solicit the aid of the Great King fell into the hands of some Athenian

envoys. Brought to Athens, they were promptly put to death without a trial, and their bodies thrown into a pit. In the same chapter the historian tells us that at the beginning of the war, all persons whom the Lacedaemonians captured at sea they killed and cast into pits whether they were fighting on the side of the Athenians or were neutral. Thus Euripides takes his stand as the apostle of enlightened Humanity, making it a goal toward which he strives to lead his countrymen.

Indeed, the whole story on which the play is based - the rescue of the suppliant Heraclids, was regarded by the Athenians as one of the most glorious of their ancestors' achievements. Proof of this statement may be found in many passages of the orators, who frequently quote it as one instance par excellence of Athenian generosity. (Lys. Epitaph 11-15; Dem. 60.8; Isocrates Paneg. 54-60, Panath. 168 ff, 194 ff; Dem. de Cor. 186.)

The incident is also cited by the Athenians before the battle of Plataea in the contention which then arose between them and the men of Tegea for the post of honour on the left wing.

“Ηρακλείδας, τῶν οὐτοί φασι ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τοῦτο μὲν τούτους πρότερον ἐξελαυνομένους ὑπὸ πάντων Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοὺς ἀπικοίῃτο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μόννοι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Εὐρευσθέος ὕβριν κατεΐλομεν, σὺν ἐκείνοισι μάλῃ νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον” Her. IX, 27

The scene, too, was well calculated to kindle the patriotic ardour of every Athenian. Marathon, where Athens had proved herself the saviour of Hellas by her repulse of the hostile Persian army, is represented as destined to be threatened, as indeed it was actually threatened by those whose forefathers had been saved by Athens. Thus the drama epitomizes all that was highest and best in Athenian character and national tradition,

the heroine is Athens herself.

However, Euripides has been attacked by many critics for this display of national pride and patriotism. August Schlegel, for instance, whose verdict on Euripides is generally severe, says of him that "his constant aim is to please at any price".⁽¹⁾ On this play, which he calls "a very poor piece" he makes a particularly trenchant attack. "The 'Heraclidae' and the 'Suppliques'" he says are true occasional tragedies, and could only be successful from their flattery of the Athenians". To me this seems an excessively censorious judgment. Prof. C.O. Muller, too, says⁽²⁾ "The pieces of this period are rich in allusions to the events of the day, and the relative position of parties formed in the Greek states, and calculated in many ways to flatter the patriotic vanity of the Athenians...lays hold of any opportunity of pleasing the Athenians by exalting their national heroes, and debasing the heroes of their enemies.

C.S. Jerram adds "This persistent laudation of Athens often exceeds the limits of a self-respecting patriotism" (ed. of Heraclidae p.7) Mahaffy, too, adopts this tone, and says "At this agitated time the tragic stage was degraded to be a political platform."

But surely such criticisms are unduly harsh. Why should, we regard this as "vulgar patriotism" to quote Mahaffey, or to use Jerram's words, "A mere pandering to popular vanity"? It seems hardly likely that the recluse, the lonely poet who dwelt

(1) Schlegel, Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature, tr. by Black; p 138, 182.

(2) Literature of Ancient Greece XXV, 12.

in a retreat by the sea at Salamis,⁽¹⁾

"A man that never kept good company,
The most unsociable of poet-kind."⁽²⁾

would descend to fulsome and unseemly flattery merely for the purpose of pleasing the popular ear. He is described in the ancient lives as gloomy, stern, thoughtful, a hater of laughter, a man who avoided the society of other men and was generally disliked- "σκυθρωπὸς δὲ τὸ εἶδος ἦν, καὶ ἀμειδής, καὶ φεύγων τὰς συνεσίας." and "οὖν δὲ σύννους καὶ στρυφνὸς τὸ ἦθος, καὶ μισόγελως."

The Satyrus biography, which is though by Wilamowitz to be as early as the second century BC. confirms this tradition, telling us, "ἀπὸ ἅθροιστον αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες διὰ τὴν δυσομιλίαν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες διὰ τοὺς ψόγους."⁽³⁾

Certainly, Euripides cannot have been very successful in his attempts to pander to popular vanity "if in his long career of nearly fifty years as a competitor in the tragic contests he won the first prize but four times. The fact that at the end of his life he left his beloved Athens for Macedonia in bitter disappointment shows that he was a prophet "without honour in his country". Surely it is more in keeping with our knowledge of Euripides' life and character to conclude that this ^{his} way of setting up in concrete form before Athens' eyes the ideals for which she stood, and of striving to hold her to these lofty standards of conduct at this time, when the stress of war made it especially hard to

(1) A story which goes back to Philochorus. It is found in Satyrus fr. 39, IX, and in Gellius XV, 20, 5, as well as in the life (1.61 seq)

(2) Browning, Balaustion's Adventure.

(3) See Vita 11.64 seq; Suidas s.v. Εὐριπίδης ; Gellius XV, 20, 5, Satyrus, Fr. 39, X.

maintain them. Viewed in this light, this idealizing of the Athenian national virtues, these appeals to patriotic sentiment, take on a new significance, and are revealed as a noble effort on the part of the poet to keep up the morale of the people in wartime.

One cannot but notice how closely the characteristics which Euripides praises in the Athenians correspond to Pericles' confession of faith in Athens' policy in the Funeral Oration. And so we might say, on Euripides' behalf, the words with which Thucydides closes that glorious panegyric.

"Δι' ὅδ' ἡ καὶ ἐμήκυνα τὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως, διδάσκαλ' ἴαν τε ποιοῦμενος μὴ περὶ τῶν ἡμῶν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς τῶνδε μὴδὲν ὑπάρχει ὁμοίως." Thuc. II, 42.

And let us remember, too, that Pericles was addressing only Athenians, while Euripides had a larger audience, and could speak, through his dramas, to representatives of every state of Greece.

However, although the "Heraclidae", written as it was in ^{the} tension of strife, gives utterance to ardent national enthusiasm and indignation against Spartan perfidy, and was, as has been pointed out, designed by the dramatist to give his fellow Athenians confidence in themselves, their leader Pericles and his policy, it must by no means be supposed that he was a partisan of the war party. It is noteworthy that even in this play, Athens is represented as being driven into war against her will. It is Athens' foe who is the aggressor, Athens the aggrieved. Honour demands that she take up arms, but her natural desire is for peace.

"Εἰρήνη μὲν ἐμοί γ' ἀρέσκει

ἀλλ' οὐ, πολέμων ἐραστὰ,
μὴ μοι δοεῖ συνταράξεως
τὰν ἐὼ χαρίτων ἔχουσάν
πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρόχου."

Moreover, in the "Cresphontes", which was probably produced at the same time, there is a chorus which voices a most impassioned appeal for peace and tranquillity. Willamowitz, in reliance upon a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus (XXVIII.4.27) where it is said that certain senators whose manners are very polite when borrowing, "cum adiguntur ut reddant, ita cothurnatos et turgidos ut Heraclidas illos Cresphontem et Temenum putes", conjectured that these three plays form a trilogy. He says (Hermes XI p.301) "dudum igitur debebat conici trilogiae Euripidiae indicem alicubi ab Ammiano lectum parum prudenter hic proferri."

Εἰρήνην βαθύπλουτε καὶ
καλλίστα μακάρων θεῶν,
ζῆλός μοι σέθεν ὡς χρονίζεις.
δέδοικα δέ μῃ πρὶν πόνοις
ὕπερ βάλῃ με γῆρας,
πρὶν σὰν χερῖέσσιν προσιδεῖν ὤραν
καὶ καλλιχόρους ἀοιδὰς
φιλοστεφάνους τε κώμους.
ἴθι μοι, πόντα, πόλιν
τὰν δ' ἔχθραν στάσιν εἰργ' ἀπ' οἴ-
κῳ τὰν μαινομέναν τ' εἶν.
θηκτῷ, τερπομέναν σιδάρω, "

Fragment 453 (Nauck)

2.

In the second year of the war, the Peloponnesians again marched into Attica, again destroyed the crops. But this time the Athenians suffered the ravages of a far more deadly foe within their walls. The plague had broken out in Athens - an insidious pestilence which, as Thucydides tells us, physicians were unable to cure, and prayers and supplications powerless to avert. Conditions were further aggravated because of the overcrowding of the people who flocked in from the rural districts. For several seasons Death stalked with relentless tread through the streets

of Athens, taking as his toll about one fourth of the population. The dead lay unburied in the streets, the very temples were full of corpses, funeral customs were of necessity forgotten or violated

Thucydides tells us of the sad demoralization caused by the plague and of the spirit of lawlessness it engendered in men.

Athens fell into the deepest despair.

"Μετὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥς ἢ τε γῆ αὐτῶν ἐτέτμητο τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἡ νόσος ἐπέκειτο δ' αὖ καὶ ὁ πόλεμος, ἡλλοίωντο τὰς γνώμας." Thuc. II, 53

Their frenzied terror vented itself upon Pericles when the Spartans rejected their overtures for peace. He was suspended from the post of strategos, tried for the misappropriation of funds, and fined. Though shortly reappointed to his office, he did not live to give Athens the benefit of his guidance, for he died of the plague in the autumn of 429 B.C.

After his death we find Athens' destinies controlled by democratic statesmen of a totally different stamp. Men of the people hold sway in the assembly - self-made men like Cleon the tanner, Eucrates the rope-seller, Hyperbolus the lampmaker. Cleon, whom we next find assuming the unofficial position of leader of the Assembly, Thucydides calls "βιαιότατος τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ τε δήμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε πιθανώτατος" (Thuc III, 36)

Plutarch, in his life of Nicias (c.8) censures him for his undignified manners and contempt for propriety which, he says, had a very demoralizing effect upon the people. Aristotle makes the same criticism. "[Κλέων] ὅς δοκεῖ μάλιστα διαφθεῖραι τὸν δῆμον ταῖς ὁρμαῖς καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀνέκραγε καὶ ἐλοιφροῦσατο καὶ περιβωσάμενος ἐδήμηγόρησε, τῶν ἄλλων ἐν κόσμῳ λεγόντων." Pol. Ath. 28

Such were the city's new advisers. Though some of them possessed undoubted ability, they lacked not only Pericles' Olympian

dignity of manner, but, what was far more serious, his high ideals, his lofty conception of Athens' destiny as leader of Hellas.

In 428 B.C. the year after Pericles' death, Euripides brought out his Hippolytus, the next play of which we have definite knowledge, and gained the first prize.⁽¹⁾ This drama, regarded by many critics as the finest of Euripides' plays is based upon an old legend brought to Athens from Troezen and connected with a temple of Aphrodite, which was designated "ἑφ' Ἱππολύτῳ". J.E.Harry, in the introduction to his edition of the Hippolytus, remarks: "No tragic poet treated a greater number of patriotic themes----- He strove, more than the other dramatists, to search out the specific Attic myths which had been hitherto sparingly treated by the poets, and to put an Attic impress on well-known legends."⁽²⁾

In this play we find passages which reflect Euripides' attitude towards the new statesmen who were now directing Athens' policies. With rare political insight he had already discerned how dangerous they were and how fatal to a steadfast and deliberate policy.

ΦΑ. τοῦτ' ἐσθ' ὁ θνητῶν εὖ πόλεις οἰκουμένας
δόμους τ' ἀπόλλυσ', οἱ καλοὶ λίαν λόγοι." 1.486,7

Again, in another passage he speaks of the insidious power fair words have to glorify shameful deeds.

“τὰσχερὰ δ' ἦν λέγῃς καλῶς
εἰς τοῦθ' ὁ φεύγω νῦν ἀναλωθήσομαι.” 1.505,6

(1) ἡ δὲ δὶ δάχθη ἐπὶ Ἑπαμείνωνος ἀρχόντος Ὀλυμπιάδῃ πρὸς ἔπει δὲ πεῶτος Εὐριπίδης----- ἐστὶ δὲ οὗ Ἱππολύτος δεύτερος καὶ στεφανίης προσαγορευόμενος (Hypothesis)
(2) p.VIII.

Even as early as the "Medea" he had cause to deplore this same evil tendency.

"ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὅστις ἀδίκος ὢν σοφὸς λέγειν
πέφυκε, πλείστην ζημίαν ὀφλίσκάνει.
γλώσση γὰρ αὐχῶν τ'ἀδίκ' εὖ περιστέλει,
τολμᾷ πανουργεῖν." Medea 580-3

He realized all too well how susceptible the people were to conviction by these smooth-tongued demagogues, whose persuasive rhetoric could make any policy, however mad, however atrocious, seem expedient.

"ἐγὼ δ' ἀκομψος εἰς ὄχλου δοῦναι λόγον,
εἰς ἡλικας δὲ κωλίγους σοφώτερος.
ἔχει δὲ μοῖραν καὶ τόδ'. οἱ γὰρ ἐν σοφοῖς
φαῦλοι παρ' ὄχλῳ μουσικώτεροι λέγειν." Hipp. 986-989

At the end of the play, in the lament for Hippolytus, Euripides seems to allude, with reverent sorrow, to the recent death of Pericles, and to pay his tribute to the great statesman of whom Athens had just been bereft.

"ΘΗ. ὦ κλείν' Ἀθηναῖ Παλλὰδος θ'δρίσματα,
οἴου στερήσεσθ' ἀνδρός. ὦ τλήμων ἐγὼ." 1.1459-60

"ΧΟ. κοινὸν τόδ' ἀχος πᾶσι πολίταις
ἦλθεν ἀέλπτως.
πολλῶν σακρύων ἔσται πίτυλος.
τῶν γὰρ μεγάλων ἀξιοπενθεῖς
φῆμαι μάλλον κατέχουσιν." 1.1462-66

(Possibly, too, we have allusions to the plague in 1.176,209 ff.)

In the argument attached to the Hippolytus, we are told that it was called "στεφανιάς" to distinguish it from an earlier play of the same name, which was unsuccessful. This first play was called "ἵππόλυτος καλυπτόμενος" (1) and was probably produced in 430 or 429. In one of the fragments which has come down to us we find the part regretting the baneful influence of the demagogues

(1) Scholium on Theocr. II, 10; Pollux IX, 50.

“φεῦ φεῦ τὸ μὴ τὰ πρᾶγματ' ἀνθρώποις ἔχειν
 φωνήν, ἵν' ᾗσαν μηδὲν οἱ δεινοὶ λέγειν.
 νῦν δ' εὐτρεόχοισι στόμασι τὰ ληθέστατα
 κλέπτουσιν, ὥστε μὴ δοκεῖν ἄλλ' ἢ δοκεῖν.” Fragment 439 (Nauck)

II.

“It is excellent
 To have a giant's strength, but tyrannous
 To use it like a giant”.

Shakespeare, “Measure for
 Measure.”

1.

As the war dragged on drearily year after year, a change was gradually coming over the spirit of Athens. A continued state of war inevitably embitters and corrupts a nation. Thucydides, writing his history of the Peloponnesian War in exile where he was enabled to view events objectively, makes some profound comments on the demoralizing effect of the war upon the states of

Greece. “ἔν μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πρᾶγμασιν αἵ τε πόλεις καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται ἀμείνους τὰς γυνάμεις ἔχουσι διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰς ἀκουσίους ἀνάγκας πίπτειν. ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ὁ φελλὼν τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίαιος διδασκαλὸς καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα τὰς ὁργὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοιοῖ.”
 Thuc. III, 82

The sudden revolt, in 428 BC of Mytilene, one of the richest states in the Empire, threw Athens into a panic. Ships were immediately despatched, the rebellious city blockaded and forced through famine to surrender. The ringleaders of the revolt were sent to Athens. A special meeting of the Assembly was held to decide the fate of the refractory city. A feeling of unrelenting anger against Mytilene prevailed at Athens. The revolt had been deliberately planned, provoked by no particular grievance, and had come at a time when Athens was especially hard-pressed, both by

the ravages of the plague and by the incursions of the Lacedaemonians. Under the influence of Cleon's powerful arguments, the Athenians voted that not only the ring-leaders should be put to death, but the whole adult male population, and the women and children sold as slaves. A trireme was immediately sent to Mytilene with this sentence of doom. The next day, however, a feeling of repentance swept over the city. Upon the urgent request of the envoys from Mytilene, the Assembly was again summoned to reconsider the decree.

The debate has been recorded for us by Thucydides. Cleon was one of the chief speakers, and with brutal frankness he maintained that Athens was a tyrant city, and must use a tyrant's methods. (1)

“οὐ σκοποῦντες ὅτι τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν δεξιὴν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀκόντας δεχομένους, οἱ οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἂν χρεΐσθῃτε βλαπτόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἀκροῶνται ὑμῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἰσχύῃ, μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἐκείνων εὐνοίᾳ.” Thuc III, 37
πειργήνησθε.”

The supporters of the other side, however, finally won by a small majority, and it was decided to execute, only the chief authors of the revolt, who, as Thucydides grimly remarks (III, 50) numbered more than a thousand!

The old ideals which, as we have seen, the Athenians prided themselves on maintaining - defence of the weak and oppressed, no

(1) Even Pericles had maintained a frankly imperialistic attitude toward the subject states, as may be gathered from a speech he made, on the evening of the great struggle.

“κρατήσαντές τε γὰρ αὐθις οὐκ ἐλάσσοσι μαχούμεθα καὶ ἢ ν σφαλῶμεν, τὰ πῶν συμμαχῶν, ὅθεν ἰσχύομεν, προσαπρόλαυται οὐ γὰρ ἡσυχάσουσι μὴ ἱκανῶν ἡμῶν ὄντων ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς στρατεύειν.” Thuc I, 143.

Shortly before his death he realized. “ὥς τυραννίδα γὰρ ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτήν, ἣν λαβεῖν μὲν ἀδίκον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀφεῖναι δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον.” Thuc. II, 63.

longer mean much to her. Her faithful ally, Plataea, is in this same year beleaguered by the Peloponnesians. She sends envoys to Athens to ask for support, and is proudly assured that the Athenians have never yet betrayed Plataea, and never will desert her. (Thuc. II,73). But though the loyal little city lay but a night and a day's march away, the Athenians sent no help, and after two years' desperate resistance the Plataeans were reduced by famine and the survivors put to death (Thuc.^{III}.52-68). Thus did their trust in Athenian promises ensure their ruin.

These events may perhaps help us to understand the tone of the "Hecuba", the drama which we shall consider next. The date of this play may with fair certainty be limited to the years 425-423 BC. It must have been exhibited before 422 BC, since it is twice parodied in Aristophanes' Clouds (Clouds 1165=Hec 172; Clouds 718=Hec 162) The lines about Delos (462-465) are most probably a reference to the restoration of the Delian festival by the Athenians in 426(Thuc III,104)

This play, a powerful but horrible drama, shows that Euripides was not blind to the trend of events. Though in the early dramas which have been discussed he portrayed all the best and highest qualities of his beloved city, a note of bitterness gradually crept into his work as he saw how far his countrymen were falling short of these ideals.

This time, with the shameful memory of Mytilene ever present in his mind, Euripides could not find it in his heart to display the legendary ancestors of the Athenians as champions of chivalry and humanity. The Greek army, in superstitious frenzy, is clamouring to have a Trojan princess sacrificed at

Achilles' tomb. Among the princes who took Troy were the two sons of Theseus, Acamas and Demophon. They must of course be given a part to play; and so they are. In the debate held on the subject these Athenian princes spoke. Did they, upholding the traditional Athenian principles of chivalry and humanity, forbid this atrocious deed? No, on the contrary we are told that while expressing different opinions, they both advocated the murder. This episode is Euripides' reproach to the Athenians for the change that had come over their public policy.

In *Odysseus*, Euripides has drawn a shrewd and calculating politician, plausible of speech, absolutely unscrupulous, but determined and efficient. Agamemnon, "king of men," is weak and temporizing. He is won to Hecuba's side by an appeal not to justice or mercy, but to his lust. Though a ruler in name, he is really, as Hecuba points out, a slave - to money, to fortune, to public opinion.

Once more the poet makes direct and well-aimed attacks upon the mob orators who were exerting such an influence for evil upon the Sovereign Assembly, winning its consent to deeds of mad cruelty and senseless brutality. In describing the two sons of Theseus, he calls them "ἑήτορες", - an ironic reference to these professional politicians, these habitual haranguers of the ἐκκλησίᾳ towards whom his attitude was consistently hostile. In *Odysseus* he has drawn a graphic picture of such a demagogue.

"ὁ ποικιλόφρων
κόπις, ἡδυλόγος, δημοχαιστής
Λαερτιάδης πείθει στρατίαν." 1. 131-133

Hecuba's passionate outburst is a pointed denunciation of these politicians, whose sole aim is self-advancement, who seek

their own ends by fulsome flattery of the mob.

"ἀχάριστον ὑμῶν σπέρμ', ὅσοι δημηγόρους
ζηλοῦτε τιμάς· μηδέ γινώσκεισθέ μοι,
οἳ τοὺς φίλους βλάπτουντες οὐ φροντίζετε
ἦν τοῖσι πολλοῖς πρὸς Χάριν λέγητέ τι." 1.254-7

On these lines the Scholiast remarks: "εἰς τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν
δημηγοροῦντας ἀποτείνει τὸν λόγον, ὡς διὰ τὸ τοῦ δήμου
ἀρεστὸν βλάβην τοῖς φίλοις προξενοῦντας. κατατρέχει δὲ
ὁ Εὐριπίδης διὰ τῆς ἑκάβης τῶν τότε δημηγούρων."

Thus by portraying them in their true colors - in all their
baseness and selfishness, Euripides sought to undermine the
influence of these politicians whose mischievous ambition was
leading Athens to her ruin. We may well believe the story told
us by Satyrus that Cleon prosecuted the poet for impiety. "ὑπὸ μὲν
γὰρ Κλέωνος τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ τὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας δίκην ἐφύγευ
ἦν προειρηκάμεν." (Satyrus, Fr.39,X,11 15-22)

It is probable that the charge of impiety was the pretext rather
than the true reason, which may well have been "the desire of
silencing an influential critic who had access to the ears of the
public and whose ideas of justice and humanity were outraged by
some political acts of Cleon." (1)

But Euripides touches also upon the other side of the picture -
the necessity for public men to cater to the mob. With rare
political insight he saw that statesmen are often unable to follow
the dictates of their own judgment because such action would be
displeasing to the common people.

"οὐκ ἔστι θνητῶν ὅστις ἔστ' ἐλεύθερος·
ἢ χερμάτων γὰρ δοῦλός ἐστιν ἢ τύχης,
ἢ πλῆθος αὐτὸν πόλεος ἢ νόμων γραφαί·
εἰργουσι χεῖσθαι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην τέσποις." 1.864-7

When he wrote these severe lines on the "ναυτικὸς ὄχλος",
Euripides probably had in mind the frequent disorders of the

Piræus. ἀκόλαστος "ἔν τοι μυρίῳ στρατεύματι
ὄχλος ναυτικῇ τ' ἀναρχίᾳ
κρείσσων πύρος, κακὸς δ' ὁ μὴ τὶ δέων κακόν." 1.606-8

(1) The Cambridge Ancient History, vol.V p.383

The "Hecuba" is Euripides' protest against Mytilene, a condemnation of all the deeds of cruelty committed since Athens had become the Tyrant City.

"οὐ τοὺς κρατοῦντας χεῖν κρατεῖν εἰ μὴ χεῖν." (1.282)

says Hecuba, and this might well be taken as the text of the play. When Euripides penned this line, he was perhaps thinking sorrowfully of Cleon's statement of the principles on which, as he maintained, Athens must govern her Empire, and the advice he gave "not to be misled by the three most deadly enemies of Empire - pity and eloquent sentiments and clemency."

In speaking of this play, Gilbert Murray remarks: "The point in it that interests Euripides is, as often, the reverse of the picture - the baseness of the conquerors; the monstrous wrongs of the conquered; the moral degradation of both parties." (2)

2.

The Archidamian War wore on through its weary length of ten years. Finally in 422, the death of Cleon and Brasidas, who both fell in the same battle at Amphipolis, put a different aspect on the international situation, for they, as Thucydides remarks, were "the men who on either side had been most opposed to peace." The death of Brasidas removed the chief obstacle to peace on the Spartan side, for there was no one prepared to continue his projects in Thrace; while at Athens the death of Cleon assured the temporary predominance of the moderate peace party of which Nicias was then the leader. The general feeling in both Sparta and Athens was inclined toward peace. The Athenians had met defeat

(2) The Athenian Drama, vol.III p XLV.

at Delium and again at Amphipolis; they had lost confidence in their strength. The fear of a revolt of their allies was ever present, and they regretted that they had not come to terms after the affair at Pylos. The débâcle at Sphacteria had struck a terrible blow to Lacedaemonian prestige, and the Spartans lived in constant terror of a Helot revolt. Moreover, the Thirty years' truce with the Argives was on the point of expiring, and Argos evinced no great willingness to renew it. Above all, they were especially anxious to recover the men captured at Sphacteria, all Spartiates of high rank.

Ten years of intermittent warfare was a long time, and in both states there were many who longed for the old days of safety and security, and free intercourse with friends at home and abroad. The rural population in particular, suffered from the war. They longed for their former healthy, carefree life in the country, their rustic festivals and bountiful harvests. The annual invasions of the Peloponnesians forced them to abandon their crops to be trampled underfoot by the enemy, and to seek refuge in the city where no adequate and healthful accommodations could be made for them.

Pleistoanax, son of Pausanias, king of the Lacedaemonians, and Nicias, son of Niceratus, were the prime movers in the negotiations for peace; and a year's truce was arranged pending the drawing up of the treaty.

In his life of Nicias, Plutarch tells us that the year's truce had given both sides once more a taste of the sweets of peace, and that a chorus from the "Erechtheus" of Euripides, helped to foster the general desire for a cessation of hostilities.

“ἦσαν οὖν πρότερον πεποιημένοι τινὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκεχειρίαν
ἐνιαύσιον, ἐν ᾗ συνιόντες εἰς ταῦτὸ καὶ γενόμενοι πάλιν ἀδείας
καὶ σχολῆς καὶ πρὸς ξένους καὶ οἰκείους ἐπιμιξίας,
ἐπόθουν τὸν ἀμείαντον καὶ ἀπόλεμον βίον, ἡδέως μὲν ἀδόντων
τὰ τοιαῦτα χορῶν ἀκούοντες
κεῖσθω δόρυ μοι μίτον ἀμφιπλέκειν ἀεὶ χυαῖς-----
λοιδόρουσιν οὖν καὶ προβαλλόμενοι τοὺς λέγοντας ὡς
τεῖς ἐννέα ἔτη διαπολεμηθῆναι πέπρωται τὸν πόλεμον, ἔπειθ' οὕτω περὶ
παντὸς εἰς ἅγους συμβαίνοντες ἐποίησαν τὴν ἐφήνην” Plut. Nicias 9.

Several years before, Euripides had made an ardent appeal
(1)
for peace in his "Cresphontes". Now, in the year 422, he makes
a similar plea in the "Erechtheus", equally eloquent, and ap-
parently more successful.

The plot, which is preserved for us by Lycurgus the orator,
in his oration against Leocrates (ch. 98 ff) is as follows.
Attica is threatened with invasion by an army of Thracians under
Eumolpus, son of Poseidon and Chione, who lays claim to the
sovereignty of the land. Erechtheus the king, learning of the
enemy's approach, sends messengers to Delphi to inquire what he
must do in order to conquer his foes. The oracle replies
that victory is insured only if he will sacrifice one of his
daughters. This he does; and when the armies meet, Erechtheus
wins a great victory and expels the invaders.

The surviving fragments of the play reveal a renewed pa-
triotic ardour and enthusiasm which contrast happily with the
profound pessimism and intense bitterness of the "Hecuba".
The poet's hopes had been revived by the prospect of peace.
Athens might yet regain the heights from which she had fallen.

Lycurgus states quite distinctly that Euripides chose this
story from patriotic motives, and that it was his purpose in
writing the play to set up before the rising generation an

(1) See Wilamowitz, Anal. Eur. p. 151.

inspiring example of patriotism and duty to the state.

"διὸ καὶ δικάίως ἂν τις Εὐριπίδην ἐπαινέσειεν, ὅτι τὰ τε ἄλλ' ὧν ἀγαθὸς ποιητὴς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν μῦθον προείλετο ποιῆσαι, ἡγούμενος καλλίστου ἂν γενέσθαι τοῖς πολίταις παρὰ δειγματὰς ἐκείνων περὶ ξεῖς, πρὸς ἃς ἀποβλέποντας καὶ θεωροῦντες συνεθίζεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς, τὸ τὴν πατρίδα φιλεῖν." He then quotes the noble speech of

Praxithea, to which we shall refer, and remarks:

"ταῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐπαίδευε. φύσει γὰρ οὐσῶν φιλοτέκνων πασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν ταύτην ἐποίησε τὴν πατρίδα μᾶλλον τῶν παίδων φιλοῦσαν, ἐνδείκνυμενος ὅτι εἴπερ αἱ γυναῖκες τοῦτο τολμήσουσι ποιεῖν, τοὺς γε ἄνδρας ἀνυπερέβλητόν τινα δεῖ τὴν εὐνοίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἔχειν, μηδὲ φεύγειν αὐτὴν ἐγκαταλιπόντας μηδὲ καταισχύνειν πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὥσπερ Λεωκράτης." Lycurgus, Against Leocrates, 100.

We have the speech in which the queen Praxithea professes her willingness to sacrifice her child to save the state.

Once again Athens is exhibited as the incomparable city for whom it is a privilege to die.

"πρῶτα μὲν πόλιν
οὐκ ἂν τιν' ἄλλην τῇσδε βελτίω λαβεῖν,
ἢ πρῶτα μὲν λεῶς οὐκ ἐπακτὸς ἄλλοθεν
αὐτόχθονες δ' ἐφύμεν αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις,
πεσῶν ὁμοίως διαφοραῖς ἐκτισμέναι,
ἄλλαι παρ' ἄλλων εἰσὶν εἰσαγωγίμοι.
ὅστις δ' ἀπ' ἄλλης πόλεος οἰκῇσθαι πόλιν,
ἄρμος πονηρὸς ὥσπερ ἐν ξύλῳ παγεῖς.
λόγῳ πολίτης ἐστὶ, τοῖς δ' ἔργοισιν οὐ." Fragment 360 1.5-13

It is right that one life should be given to save the lives of many. Her daughter shall win a crown of glory by dying for her country. She concludes with this eloquent exclamation:

"ὦ πατεῖς, εἴθε πάντες οἱ ναίουσ' ἴσε
οὕτω φιλοῖεν, ὡς ἐγώ, καὶ ῥαδίως
οἰκοῖμεν ἂν σε, κοῦδέν ἂν πάσχοις κακόν."

One feels that it is his own wish that the poet is voicing here.

Erechtheus, before going forth to battle, gives his son counsel in a speech that is replete with sound political wisdom. He charges him to give equal opportunities to rich and poor.
"τῷ πλουσίῳ τε μὴ δίδους μείζον μέρος
ἴσον σεαυτοῦ εὖσεβεῖν πᾶσιν δίδου" Frag. 362 1.7,8

and advises him to follow a consistent policy,

"Δυσὸν παρόντοιν πραγμάτοιν πρὸς θάτερον
γνώμην προσάπτωντὴν ἐναντιαν μέθε' 1.9,10

He warns him not to resort to flattery of the mob, and never to allow unscrupulous politicians to gain the ascendancy in the state.

"Ἐξουσίᾳ δὲ μή ποτ' ἐν τῷ πόλει, τέκνον,
αἰσχροῦς, ἔρωτας δημοτῶν διωκᾶθαι,
ὃ καὶ σίσηρον ἀρχὸν τ' ἐφέλκεται,
χερσῶν πενήτων ἢ τις αἰσχροῦς τέκνα
καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς μή ποτ' αὖξιν ἐν πόλει.
κακοὶ γὰρ ἐμπλησθέντες ἡ νομίσματος,
ἢ πόλεος ἐμπεσόντες εἰς ἀρχὴν τινα
σκιεῶσιν, ἀδότητ' εὐτυχεσάντων δόμων." 1. 24-31

These were both evils which afflicted Athens throughout the Peloponnesian War, and contributed in large measure to her gradual corruption and final ruin.

Lastly, we possess the chorus, mentioned by Plutarch, which gives utterance to a wistful longing for peace - striking a note that evidently found an answering chord in the hearts of his countrymen.

"Κεῖθ' ὅτε μοι μίτον ἀμφιπλέκειν ἀράχναίς
μετὰ δ' ἡσυχίας πολὺ γῆρα συνοικοίην.
αἰδέοιμι δέ στεφάνοις κᾶρα πολίου σπεφανώσας
Θηρίκιον πέλταν πρὸς Ἀθῆνας
περικίον ἀγκρεμάσας θαλάμοις
δέλτων τ' ἀναπτύσσοιμι γῆρυν
ἄνσοφοὶ κλέονται." Frag. 369

III.

"I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries." Ex. 23,22.

Negotiations were protracted during autumn and winter, and the peace was concluded about the end of March 420 BC.

"ποιοῦνται τὴν ξυμβασιν καὶ ἐσπείσαντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὤμωσαν, ἐκεῖνοί τε πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους." Thuc. V, 17.

The exuberant joy felt at Athens at this time finds its expression in the "Peace" of Aristophanes, which had been written and produced during the days just preceding the signing of the treaty, when the outcome of the negotiations was no longer doubtful. For the five years past the comic poet had been pleading for peace. In 425 in the "Acharnians" he had made a strong appeal, and in 424 in the "Knights" he had directed a virulent and pointed attack against Cleon, whom he considered responsible for the continuance of the war. Now, in the "Peace", he "pictured the heartfelt delight with which the rural population of Athens beheld the return of happy and tranquil days"⁽¹⁾

But this treaty, welcomed with such ardent hopes as the dawning of a new era, was not destined to bring a lasting peace. For not only did Corinth, Boeotia and Megara repudiate it utterly, but the Lacedaemonians found themselves unable to carry out the terms upon which they had agreed. The Chalcidians steadfastly refused to surrender Amphipolis, and the Spartans could not or would not compel them to do so.

Sparta, fearing that Argos, who refused to renew the Thirty Years' Truce except on the cession of Cynuria, might combine against her with Athens, then entered into a defensive alliance with the latter for fifty years. The prisoners captured at Sphacteria were then restored, but Athens still retained Pylos and Cythera. Upon this Corinth, Mantinea, Elis and the Chalcidians of Thrace openly broke with Sparta, and formed an alliance with Argos. During these years Argos began to assume a new

(1) M. Croiset, "Aristophanes and the Political Parties at Athens"

importance, and indeed, aspired to the hegemony of the Peloponnese. Thucydides comments on her favourable position at this time.

" ἅμα ἐλπίσαντες τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἡγήσεσθαι---- οἱ τε Ἀργεῖοι ἀρίστα ἔσχον τοῖς πᾶσιν, οὐ ξυναρδμενοὶ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ πολέμου ἀμφοτέροις δὲ μᾶλλον ἑνσπονδοὶ ὄντες ἐκκαρπώσμενοι" Thuc. V, 28.

Meanwhile, at Athens, the tide of feeling was changing. The non-fulfillment of the conditions of the treaty had excited among Athenians an attitude of distrust and resentment towards Sparta, and the mutual suspicions that were growing up between the two states seemed to make a fresh outbreak of hostilities inevitable.

" ὑπώπτευσον δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐϋθύς μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τὴν τῶν χωρίων ἀλλήλοις οὐκ ἀπόδοσιν." Thuc. V, 35.

The next year two strongly Anti-Athenian ephors were elected at Sparta - Cleobulus and Xenares, and with the Corinthian and Boeotian envoys they intrigued, concocting the scheme that the latter should first make an alliance with Argos, and should then bring Argos into alliance with Sparta. But this ingenious plan fell through, because the members of the Boeotian council, misunderstanding the situation, refused to ratify the proposal.

The Spartans could not rest until they regained Pylos, and the Boeotians refused to yield Pahactum,⁽¹⁾ with which the exchange was to be made, unless the Spartans should make a separate alliance with them like that which they had contracted

(1) a fort at the foot of Cithaeron, which the Boeotians had seized in the preceding year. (Thuc.V, 3, 5.)

with the Athenians. This was a direct violation of their agreement with the Athenians, for both sides were pledged to make no engagements without the other's knowledge and consent. But the offer was too tempting to resist, and the Spartans concluded the alliance. Thereupon the Boeotians promptly demolished Panactum.

The Argives were now in terror lest they should be left without allies in the Peloponnese. In fear almost for their very existence they hastily dispatched envoys to Lacedaemon to negotiate a treaty. Terms were proposed, and the Argive envoys sent home to get the consent of their fellow-citizens to the provisions.

Meanwhile at Athens a new figure had flashed across the political stage for the first time, Alcibiades, the son of Cleinias. A young man of noble birth, brilliant intellect, physical prowess, strikingly handsome appearance, and irresistible charm and grace of manner, but utterly unscrupulous, he was well adapted to participate in the weaving of this tangled web of intrigues and counter intrigues. For purely personal reasons he now devoted himself to fostering the feeling of indignation against Sparta which now prevailed at Athens.

With rare political acumen and diplomatic foresight - gifts which he later employed against his native city - he discerned that an alliance with Argos would secure to Athens her former preponderance. The arrival of ambassadors from Lacedaemon to surrender to the Athenians not the fortress of Panactum, but its site, gave Alcibiades the opportunity for which he was looking.

While he declaimed indignantly against Sparta's duplicity in the Assembly, he sent a message to the Argives urging them to send envoys at once to propose an alliance with Athens, and to join with them representatives from Mantinea and Elis. This was just what Argos desired.

" νομίζοντες πόλιν τε σφίσι φίλιν ^{ἀπὸ} παλαιοῦ καὶ δημοκρατουμένην ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ δύναμιν ἡμετέραν ἔχουσιν τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν συμπολεμήσειν σφίσι, ἣν καθιστῶνται ἐς πόλεμον." Thuc. V,44 The Argives, accordingly sent

the embassy, and paid no more attention to the proposed Spartan alliance.

Alarmed by this news, the Spartans now lost no time in sending a counter-embassy, consisting of men personally popular at Athens. When they announced in the Council that they had come with full powers to settle all differences, Alcibiades saw that if such a statement were made before the Assembly, it might jeopardize his proposed alliance with Argos.

Accordingly, he played an unfair but exceedingly ingenious trick upon the envoys. He persuaded them, pledging his word that he would secure for them the surrender of Pylos, to disclaim their powers in the Assembly. The unsuspecting Spartans fell into the trap, and were consequently rejected with indignation. The Argive envoys were now introduced, and some days later, in spite of Nicias' attempts to frustrate it, a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance for one hundred years was concluded between Athens and Argos, Mantinea and Elis.

It was probably about this time that Euripides, sharing the general disappointment and indignation at Sparta's treacherous conduct, brought out a play which breathes a spirit of bitter

hatred towards that state, the "Andromache". The actual date of its production, however, cannot be definitely determined, and is, indeed, a much debated point.

The scene of the play is laid at Phthia in Thessaly. In the background is the palace of Neoptolemus, in the foreground a shrine of Thetis where Andromache, the widow of Hector has taken refuge. She speaks the prologue and explains that after the fall of Troy she had been given as a slave to Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, and has borne him a son, Molossus. He has, however, married, as his lawful wife, Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus, king of Sparta. The latter, being childless, attributes her barrenness to magic devices on the part of Andromache, and while her husband is away at Delphi, seeking to propitiate Apollo for his former impiety in demanding redress for his father's death, she seizes the opportunity to take vengeance on her rival. She is abetted by her father Menelaus, at present in Phthia on a visit. Andromache, anticipating trouble, has hidden her young son and has herself fled for sanctuary to the altar of Thetis. The bitter words, "την Ἀκάμαν" (1.29), with which she refers to Hermione, strike the keynote of the play, which is undisguised hatred of the Spartans and the Spartan character.

After the parodos, in which the members of the chorus - women of Phthia, express their sympathy with Andromache, Hermione enters, magnificently attired. She first addresses the chorus, claiming that her Spartan wealth gives her the right to speak freely. She then turns to Andromache and accuses her of having caused her childlessness by witchcraft and of

alienating her husband's affections. Threatening to force her to perform slavish duties, she gloats over the captive's humiliating situation, and taunts her with living with the son of her husband's murderer and bearing a child to him. In this speech the dramatist reveals the vanity (147,8) pride (151f) and heartless cruelty (160 f, 166 f) of Hermione's character. Andromache defends herself and professes her innocence. It is Hermione's own overweening pride and haughty manner, her petty jealousy and disparaging comments on her husband's birth (1.210) that have made her unattractive in his eyes. She should be more tolerant. Let her not imitate her infamous mother Helen. An angry altercation follows between Hermione and Andromache, consisting of mutual recriminations, Hermione is worsted in argument and resorts to dark threats of some means by which the captive will of her own accord leave the shrine. Then follows a choral ode on the Judgment of Paris. Had he been slain at birth, Hellas and Troy would have been spared much woe.

Menelaus now enters in triumph with Andromache's son Molossus, whom he has discovered and dragged from his hiding place. In a cruel and cynical speech, he offers her the alternative of dying herself or seeing her child slaughtered. Andromache makes a spirited reply, declaiming against the false ideas of glory and honour that prevail among men. She reproaches Menelaus for attacking a helpless woman, and advises him to consider the consequences before resorting to violence. The Spartan replies that he has undertaken to support his daughter in her conjugal rights, and nothing shall stop him.

“εὖ δ’ ἴσθ’, ὅτου τις τυγχάνει χεῖράν ἔχων
τοῦτ’ ἔσθ’ ἐκείτω μείζον ἢ Τροίαν εἰλιν” 1.368,9.

He claims that he has power over Neoptolemus' slaves and can deal with them as he thinks fit.

The unfortunate Andromache now leaves the altar and surrenders herself in order to save her son. She has no sooner done so, than Menelaus orders her to be seized, and declares that the child's fate is to be left to the tender mercies of Hermione. In a speech replete with cynical perfidy he boasts of the stratagem by which he has lured Andromache from her sanctuary (425-434).

She reproaches him with treachery, but he exults in the charge (435,6). He scoffs at the idea of divine retribution.

“AN. τὰ θεῖα δ' οὐ θεῖ' οὐδ' ἔχειν ἡγῆ δίκην;

ME ὅταν τὰδ' ᾗ, τότε ὀϊσόμεν· σὲ δὲ κτενῶ” 1.439,40.

Andromache now launches forth into a passionate denunciation of the Spartans, calling them traitors, liars, double dealers, murderous, covetous. Death has no terrors for her now. She died when Troy fell and Hector perished. She will not flatter her murderers. Some day Menelaus will pay the penalty.

“ὦ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχθιστοι βροτῶν
 ἑπάρτης ἔνοικοι, δόλια βουλευτήρια,
 ψευδῶν ἀνακτες, μηχανορράφοι κακῶν,
 ἑλκτὰ κοῦδέν ὀγίης, ἀλλὰ πᾶν πέρῃς
 φρονούντες, ἀδίκως εὐτυχεῖτ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα.
 τί δ' οὐκ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔστιν; οὐ πλείστοι φόνοι;
 οὐκ αἰσχροκερδεῖς; οὐ λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ μὲν
 γλώσση, φρονούντες δ' ἄλλ' ἐφευρίσκεσθ' αἰεὶ;
 ὀλοισθ'” 1.445-453

“ὅς σε πολλάκις δορεῖ
 ναύτην ἔθηκεν αὐτὶ χερσαίου κακόν.
 νῦν δ' εἰς γυναῖκα γοργὸς δολίτης φανείς
 κτείνεις” 1.457-9.

In these few lines, with their burden of concentrated hatred, are enumerated the specific charges that were most generally directed against the Spartans by the Athenians during the

Peloponnesian War. Their deceit and duplicity were particularly resented.⁽¹⁾ Herodotus, writing the last book of his history during the years immediately preceding the outbreak, makes the comment.

"ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονούντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων" Her. IX, 54.

Thucydides, too, often stresses this point.

"τὰ μὲν ἡδέα καλὰ νομίζουσι τὰ δὲ συμφέροντα δίκαια." Thuc. v, 105. The historian also contrasts the open courage of the Athenians with the "παρσκευαὶ" and "ἀπάται" of the Spartans (Thuc. II, 39). Many examples of their "φόνοι" (I. 450) can be adduced. The *Ταινάρειον ἄγος*, which Thucydides describes (I, 128), the sacrilegious murder of Pausanias (I, 134), the brutal massacre of the Plataeans in 427, the secret service "κρύπτεια" for getting rid of troublesome Helots, as in 424, are all probably alluded to in this word.

Avarice was one of the most characteristic traits of the Spartans, - one which they consistently displayed throughout their history. Aristophanes refers to this in the "Peace".

"κἀνέπειθον τῶν Λακωνίων τοὺς μεγίστους χεῖμασιν·
οἱ δ' αὖτ' ὄντες ἀσχεροκερδεῖς καὶ διεργωνόξενοι
τῇν δ' ἀπορεῖ ψαυτες ἀσχερῶς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνῆλθασαν." Pax 622

The word "γόργος" probably has a special reference to the scowling looks supposed to be characteristic of the Spartans. In Plutarch (Phocion 10) the description of the "Laconist" is that he had a "strangely long flowing beard, wore a Spartan cloak and scowling looks.

Possibly, too, as Paley thinks, in I. 457 a contrast is intended between the Athenian naval and the Spartan land power. Prof.

(1) See also Arist. Pax 1068 "δόλιαι ψυχαί, δόλιαι φρένες."

Decharme sums up the impression of this speech: "In this explosion of Andromache's anger against Spartan perfidiousness, we feel that all the rancors of Athens break loose, and that the poet here makes himself their echo." (2)

Next follows a choral ode dwelling on the evils of a double marriage, illustrated by a comparison with two supreme rulers in a state, two musicians in a concert, and two pilots in a ship.

"οὐδέ γ' ἐνὶ πόλεσι δίπτυχοι τυραννίδες
μῖζος ἀμείνουρας φέρειν,
ἀχθος ἐπ' ἀχθει καὶ στάσις πολίταις." 1.471-5.

Commentators are not agreed in their interpretations of this passage. Some consider these words to be a reference to the rivalry between Alcibiades and Nicias; (3) Fix thinks it is Nicias and Cleon. (4)

Bergk, too, thinks that the allusion is to the split in political parties at Athens; the "φαυλότερα φέρειν αὐτοκρατοῦς ἐνός" in his opinion standing for Cleon. (5)

However, it is more likely that the lines allude to the Spartan institution of having two kings ruling jointly - a reference which would be more in point in a play which is so obviously an attack on the Spartan character and institutions. The Scholiast quotes the well known verse of Homer,

"οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω"

(2) Euripides and the Spirit of his Dramas, p.131.

(3) Hermann, praefat. Andr. p.VIII "multo melius in Alcibiadis et Nicias aemulationem convenire."

(4) Chron. Fab. p.IX.

(5) Hermes 18, p.500.

To an Athenian mind, as Paley ⁽¹⁾ well remarks "the idea of a βασιλεύς was as of a thing οὐ φορητὸν under any circumstances. It was an ἀχθὺς at best, and one which, if doubled, became a crushing load."

In the next lines Euripides seems to regret the multitude of counsellors by whom Athens' destinies were guided after the death of Pericles, who failed to gain the success won by that great statesman, when, as προστάτης τοῦ δήμου he directed her policy.

“σοφῶν τε πλῆθος ἀσθενέστερον
φαυλοτέρας φρενὸς αὐτοκρατοῦς.
ένός, ἂ δύνασις ἀνὰ τε μέλαθρα κατὰ τε πόλιν,
ὅπῃ ταν εὐρεῖν θέλωσι καίρου.” 1.481-4

They conclude with a condemnation of Hermione's conduct, which they describe as "ἀθεός, ἀνόμος ἀχαιὶς ὁ φόνος" 1.491. and warn her that retribution will overtake her.

Next ensues a pathetic dialogue between Andromache and her son, who are being led off to execution by Menelaus and his servants. The Spartan remains utterly unmoved either by the mother's tears or the child's pitiful terror and prayers for mercy.

“καὶ γὰρ ἀνοία
μεγάλη λείπειν ἔχθρου ἐχθρῶν,
ἔξδον κτείνειν
καὶ φόβον οἴκων ἀφελῆσθαι ” 1.520-23.

But just at this moment Peleus appears and demands by what authority, Menelaus has arrested Andromache and her son.

“Πη. πῶς; ἢ τὸν ἀμὸν οἶκον οἰκήσεις μολῶν
δεῦρ'; οὐχ' ἄλιν σοι πῶν κατὰ Σπάρτην κρατεῖν;” 1.581,2

He orders their immediate release, threatening to use force. The other defies him with equal violence.

(1) Paley, Euripides, vol. II p.270.

The old man now breaks forth into a denunciation of Spartan morals. He charges Menelaus with cowardice and uxoriousness, and inveighs against the dissoluteness of Helen in particular and Spartan women in general.

“οὐδ’ ἂν εἴ βούλοιτό τις
σώφρων γένοιτο Σπαρτιατίδων κόρη,
αἳ θὺν νέοισιν ἐξερημοῦσαι δόμους
γυμνοῖσι μηροῖς καὶ πέπλοις ἀνειμένους
δρόμους παλαίστρας τ’ οὐκ ἀνασχετοὺς ἑμοῖ
κοινὰς ἔχουσι. κατὰ θαυμάζειν ἄλλων
εἴ μὴ γυναικας σώφρονας παιδεύετε.” 1.595-601

The poet here expresses his disapproval of the Spartan custom of having the women join with the men in the athletic national games, and the customary dress of the Spartan women.

They wore only the χιτῶν, omitting the πέπλος, and left the lower part of the tunic open above the knee, whence they were often called φαينوμηρίδες - all of this, he deemed incompatible with modesty and chastity. Peleus reproves Menelaus for not repudiating Helen and so averting the horrors of the Trojan War.

“Ψυχὰς δὲ πολλὰς κατὰ γὰθὰς ἀπώλεσας,
παῖδων τ’ ἀπαιδὰς γράυς ἔθηκες ἐν δόμοις,
πολίους τ’ ἀφείλου πατέρας εὐγενῆ τέκνῃ.” 1.611-614.

He comments on the injustice of the prejudice against bastards, whose intrinsic worth is often greater than that of those born in lawful wedlock. Finally he angrily orders Menelaus to depart and take his daughter with him.

Menelaus then tries to conciliate Peleus, making a specious attempt to justify his conduct. He fears that Andromache's child, in default of a legitimate heir, may succeed to the throne - a barbarian ruling Greeks. (1.665,6). He has merely been acting in his daughter's interests, as a true father should.

He makes a far-fetched attempt to whitewash Helen.

"καὶ τοῦτο πλεῖστον ὠφέλησεν Ἑλλάδα.
ὅπλων γὰρ ὄντες καὶ μάχης αἰστωρες
ἔβησαν εἰς τάνδρεϊον ἢ δ' ὀμιλία
(1) πάντων βροτοῖσι γίγνεται διδάσκαλός" 1.681-4

Peleus replies by declaiming against the Greek custom of giving all the glory and renown of a successful military enterprise to the general alone, while the common soldier, who has borne the brunt of the toil and danger, gets neither praise nor reward. (2) (1.693-702).

"σεμνοὶ δ' ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἡμενοὶ κατὰ πτόλιν
φρονούσι δήμου μεῖζον, ὄντες οὐδένες.
οἱ δ' εἰσὶν αὐτῶν μυρίῳ σοφώτεροι,
εἰ τόμα προσγένοιτο βούλησίς θ' ἄμα" 1.699-702 (3)

He warns Menelaus not to side with his daughter, or Neoptolemus will reject her. He frees Andromache and her child from their bonds, and promises to protect them. He ends with a scathing indictment of Sparta and Spartans. Stripped of their military reputation, they have no claims to superiority whatever.

"εἰ δ' ἀπὴν δορὸς
τοῖς ἑσπερίαις δόξα καὶ μάχης ἀγῶν,
τ' ἄλλ' ὄντες ἴστε μηδενὸς βελτίονες." 1.724-6

Menelaus now announces his intention of departing under the pretext of being obliged to attack a city near Sparta which though formerly friendly, is now showing signs of hostility.

"ἔστι γὰρ τις οὐ πρόσω
ἑσπερίας πόλις τις, ἣ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ἦν φίλη,
νῦν δ' ἐχθρὰ ποιεῖ· τήνδ' ἐπεξελαθεῖν θέλω
στρατηλατήσας χυποχείριον λαβεῖν." 1.733-6

(1) Paley aptly quotes Thuc. 1, 3 "πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν οὐδὲν φαίνεται προτέρων κοινῇ ἐργασαμένη ἡ Ἑλλάς."

The same argument is brought forward by Helen herself in Troades 932.

(2) Compare Hec. 306 seqq.

(3) "Die Opposition der Athenischen Strategen gegen Kleons Regiment entspringt nach Euripides' Meinung nur der Abneigung gegen die Demokratie und doch ist diese hochmuthige Geringschätzung ohne jede Berechtigung." Bergk, Hermes 18, p. 500

The city referred to is probably Argos; and an allusion to the enmity of Argos with Sparta would be especially appropriate at the time when, as will be shown, this drama was most probably produced - indeed it would be suitable at any time during the Peloponnesian war, when the support, or at any rate the neutrality of Argos was so important a factor in the balance of power.

After a few blustering remarks relative to his return, he beats an ignominious retreat, deserting his daughter in the most dastardly fashion. Andromache invokes blessings on Peleus for saving her from Menelaus. The chorus now expatiate on the advantages which attend noble birth - refuge in time of trouble, honour throughout life, and glory unforgotten after death. But an unjust victory is not to be desired.

Hermione's nurse appears, and describes her mistress' frenzied condition and her attempts at suicide. The latter rushes in, shrieking, tearing her hair and cheeks, half-mad with terror. She prefers to meet any death rather than face her husband's anger. The chorus now announces the approach of Orestes, who has come on his way to Zeus' oracle at Dodona, to pay his respects to Hermione. She at once appeals to him for protection, revealing the straits she is in, and explaining her fears of the consequences of her intrigue. She implores Orestes to take her away, claiming that the blame belongs to the wicked gossips who incited her to attack Andromache. Orestes agrees, and after some dark hints on his part of a plot to dispose of Neoptolemus, the two depart.

In the choral ode that follows, the divine founders of Troy - Phoebus and Poseidon, are reproached for having betrayed their city to Ares. Not only to Troy did the war bring suffering, but the plague has smitten Hellas too - the victors as well as the vanquished

"πολλὰ δ' ἂν Ἑλλάνων ἀγέρας στοναχάς
μέλποντο δυστάνων τεκέων -----

οὐχὶ σοὶ μόνα
δύσφρονες ἐπέπεσον, οὐ φίλοισι, λυπαί.
νόσον Ἑλλάς ἔτλα, νόσον· διέβα δὲ φευγῶν
καὶ πρὸς εὐκάρπους γύας
σκηπτὸς σταλάσων <τὸν> Αἶδα φόνον." 1.1037-46.

Peleus returns and finds the rumour of Hermione's flight confirmed by the Chorus, and learns in addition of Orestes' plot against Neoptolemus. He is on the point of dispatching a messenger to warn the latter of his danger, when another messenger arrives to announce his death at Delphi. Orestes had secretly instigated the Delphians against him as a thief intending to rob the temple treasures. He was attacked by the mob at the very altar, and after a brave attempt at resistance, is slain. His body is brought home, and the play concludes with a "deus ex machina". Thetis, the goddess wife of Peleus appears, and predicts for Neoptolemus worship as a hero, for Andromache a happy marriage with one of her own race, a kingdom for Molossus, and immortality for Peleus.

The dates to which this play has been assigned by different scholars are very divergent, and cover a wide range of years. Among those proposed are Ol.87,2, Ol.89,2; 89,3; 89,4; 90,1;^{90,2}92,1. Consequently, any attempt at fixing a date for the Andromache is necessarily discouraging. However, certain factors which enter into the problem will be briefly considered here - the

evidence of the scholia, the political allusions in which the play abounds, and the views taken by various scholars.

The most profitable starting-point for such an investigation is the long and detailed scholium on l. 445.

- Ia. "ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀνδρομάχῃ προσχέματί φησιν Εὐριπίδης λοιδ-
 ορούμενος τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις διὰ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτα πολέμου.
 καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρ' ἐσπουδῆκεσαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, καθάπερ οἱ
 περὶ τοῦ φιλόχορου ἀναγράφουσιν. (Ven Vat)
- II. εὐλκερινῶς δὲ τοὺς τοῦ δαμάτος χρόνους οὐκ ἔστι λαβεῖν.
 οὐδ' ἐδίδασκται γὰρ Ἀθηνησιν· ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος ἐπιγραφῆναί φησι
 τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ Δημοκρεάτην. (Ven)
- Ib. ἔξῃς δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ φιλοχεματίαν κακῶς
 λέγει· καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ τοῦτο ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ τῶν Λακωνῶν
 πολιτείᾳ καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ θεοῦ αὐτοματισθὲν προστίθῃσιν ἔπος· ὁ
 φιλοχεματία ἐπιδέταν ὁλεῖ, ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδέν. (Ven Vat)
- III. (καὶ) φαίνεται δὲ γεγραμμένου τοῦ δαμά ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ Πελοπ-
 οννησιακοῦ πολέμου. (Vat) (1)

On a first examination this scholium seems self-contradictory; the different statements which it contains do not agree with one another. The first statement is that the poet attacks the Lacedaemonians "because they violated the truce" - words which must refer either to the years' truce between Athens and Sparta in 423, or to the Peace of Nicias, signed in 421. Next we are told that the date cannot be ^{certainly} determined, because it was not produced at Athens, and that Callimachus says that a certain Democritus brought it out. The conclusion arrived at by the scholiast, however - that apparently (φαίνεται) it was written at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war - does not seem to follow from the preceding remarks - especially the reference to the breaking of the truce. Bergk explains ⁽²⁾ this apparent contradiction very ingeniously. He conjectures that this scholium has been compiled from the notes of three different commentators - Ia and Ib having been written by

(1) Dindorf Scholia in Euripidis tragoedias, vol. IV p. 165
 (2) Hermes XVIII p. 489 et seq.

Aristophanes of Byzantium, II by Didymus, and III by an unknown scribe who did not agree with the opinions of his predecessors. This suggestion seems reasonable and would account very adequately for the seeming inconsistency in the scholium.

Some critics assign the play to the earlier years of the war. Firnhaber,⁽¹⁾ for instance, on the basis of the afore-said note of the scholiast dates it as early as Ol.87,2, or not much later than the "Medea" and the "Hippolytus". Dindorf holds similar views, relying on the character of the choral metres, which are dactylo-trochaic, and which, in his opinion, indicate an earlier period than glyconics. Apparently, however, no sound structure of argument can be founded upon considerations of metre, about which critics do not seem to reach any unanimous conclusion. Wilamowitz, for example, is inclined to agree with the above mentioned remark in the scholium, "tempus rectius quam plerique recentiorum definivit vetus grammaticus nam numeri fabulam annis 430-24 attribuunt, nec historia obstat."⁽²⁾ Fix considers, on the other hand, "Numeri fabulae medium tenent inter antiquam severitatem et negligentiam recentiorem, sicutamen ut canticorum compositio propius ad usum veteris tragoediae accedere videatur."⁽³⁾ Haigh thinks that the versification of the dialogue and the irrevelance of some of the choral odes (in particular 274 foll., 1010 foll.) indicate a comparatively late date.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Philologus III S. 408 ff.

(2) Analecta Euripidea p 148 (3) Chron. Fab. IX.

(4) Tragic Drama of the Greeks p.297

According to the results of Mr. Church's examination of the iambic trimeters, the "Andromache" has a greater percentage of resolutions in the iambs than the "Hecuba", and a smaller proportion than the "Supplikes" (Hecuba .100, Andromache .100, Supplikes .125) Amid such wide divergence of opinion on the part of scholars, it seems useless to attempt to base any conclusions on questions of metre.

Other authorities again, incline to an intermediate date. Bergk and Zirndorfer assign the play to the year 423-2 BC, contending that it was produced shortly after the signing of the year's truce between Athens and Sparta. Brasidas, ignoring this truce, had continued his operations in the Thracian Chersonise, inciting the dismounted Athenian allies in that district to revolt. The deep and wrathful indignation aroused at Athens by the revolt of Scione just two days after the arrangement of the truce, may be gathered from the words of Thucydides. "ὁ γὰρ ποιοῦμενοι" and "ψήφισμά τ' ἐβόησεν ἔποιήσαντο, κλέωνος γνώμη πείσθεντες, Σκιωναίους ἐξελεῖν τε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι." (IV, 122).

Meanwhile, Mende had revolted, and had been promised Sparta's protection by Brasidas, and the Athenians "πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀργισθέντες" (Thuc. IV 123). It is to these events that Bergk and Zirndorfer refer the invectives against Sparta and the tone of bitter hatred that pervades the play. The former writes "die gereizte Stimmung gegen Sparta spricht sich in dem Drama des Euripides überall aus: die leidenschaftliche, masslose Invective der Andromache v. 445 ff nicht gegen Menelaos, sondern gegen die Spartaner ist gleichsam ein Nachhall der Demegorien in der Pnyx ----- Euripides ist der Dolmetscher
getreue
^

dieser eitlen Klagen"(1)

Fix⁽²⁾ also considers the play to have been produced at this time, and for the same reasons assigns it to 422 B.C.

The greater percentage of critics, however, incline to
(3)
a later date. Hermann thinks that in v. 733 ff there is an allusion to the enmity of Argos and Sparta, which he interprets of the treaty concluded between Argos and Athens in the year
(4)
BC 420. (Thuc.V,47). K.O.Muller agrees, remarking "The want of honour and sincerity with which he charges the Spartans appears to refer particularly to the transactions of the year 420." Haigh assigns the play to the year 419 BC on the same grounds. Beeckh would date it 418 BC, finding in l.733 ff a reference to the Argive expedition against Epidaurus, and the counter invasion of the Argolid by the Spartans under Agis (Thuc V,58) He further considers that the references to the treachery of the Lacedaemonians point to that date, when "Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδου πείσαντος τῇ μὲν Λακωνικῇ στήλῃ ἐπέγραψαν ὅτι οὐκ ἐνέμειναν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς ὅρκοις." (V,56), suggesting that possibly this was done at the very festival at which the "Andromache" was produced. Mahaffy considers that the allusion to this play at the end of the Orestes (l.1653 seq.) sounds as though its memory were still fresh, and hence suggests a still later date (5).

A.R.F. Hyslop comes to the conclusion that the play was produced between 421 and 418. "It is clear, then that the years 421-418 fulfil the conditions required by the play. They were years in which the tension between Athens and Sparta was great, and the neutrality previously adopted by Argos towards the

(1) Hermes 18,498 (2) Chron. Feb.p IX (3) edition of Andromache p VII. (4) History of Greek Literature p.373 (5) Hist. Gr. Liter.p.338

militant states was exchanged for a policy of active hostility to Sparta. Her hostility was shown by the alliances of 421 and 420, and the expedition was that which ended in the battle of Mantinea and the reduction of Argos." ⁽¹⁾ He points out that the play cannot be later at any rate than 418 BC, because in that year the Argives entered into a fifty year alliance with Sparta.

Mr. Hyslop further argues that the poet represents Menelaus as leaving Sparta to make mischief in Thessaly, and as worsted in argument and frustrated in purpose by Peleus, the aged chieftain of the Northern part of Greece, and as covering his departure by the excuse that he has to deal with Argos; that this is a thinly veiled allusion to the operations of Brasidas in Thrace and Sparta's enforced abandonment of these projects after the death of Brasidas at Amphipolis in 422 BC. But to find a parallel in the play to these events seems rather far-fetched.

We now come to a consideration of the political allusions in the play. There is some dispute as to whether the city mentioned in l.733 ff. refers to Argos or not. Fix considers that the words are not suited to Argos "urbem Λακεδαιμονίοις αἰεὶ διάφορον Atheniensibus autem φίλιαν ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιούτου ait Thucydides V 29 et 44." But Argos was not guilty of hostile acts against Sparta at the opening of the Peloponnesian War; for the Thirty years' Truce concluded between the two states in 450 was still in force, and according to our historian "τούτοις δὲ ἐς ἀμφοτέρους φίλῃ ᾔν." (Thuc.II, 9). Argos was neutral when the war broke out, but

(1) A.R.F. Hyslop, intr. to *Andromache*, p.XIX

after the signing of the Peace of Nicias between Athens and Sparta in 421 BC, she had joined a counter-alliance with Corinth, Mantinea and Elis. Then, as has been described, Alcibiades engineered an alliance, between Athens, Argos, Elis and Mantinea. An allusion to the enmity of Argos and Sparta would be especially appropriate at this time.

Again, the violent tirades against Sparta with which the play abounds (445-463, 595-601, 724-6) confirm the view that the play was produced 421-20, for the hostility between Athens and Sparta had reached a pitch of extreme bitterness about this time owing to the violations of the peace of Nicias. (Thuc.V.35) The purpose of the poet was clearly to set the character and customs of the Spartans in an odious light. This object is accomplished not only by means of direct undisguised invective, but by the constant exhibition of spite, selfishness, treachery and callous brutality on the part of the Spartan characters. Hermione is utterly detestable - vain, cruel, mean and insanely jealous. Menelaus is painted in even blacker colours than his daughter. He is treacherous and cruel, and exults in the deception which he has practised on Andromache. He is withal a coward - he is frightened by the angry words of the aged Peleus, and deserts his daughter when he sees that their scheme has failed. When Menelaus asserts vv.374 and 585 that he will kill Neoptolemus' slaves because friends should have all their property in common, the poet seems to be directing a well-aimed blow at the well-known club life of the Spartans. "Throughout the play the picture of human nature seems to have been distorted by the influence of national hatred against Sparta"⁽¹⁾

(1) Haigh, Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p.297.

The Delphic Oracle, too, is exhibited in an exceedingly unfavourable light. It is through Apollo that the death of Neoptolemus is brought to pass within the very precincts of the temple, though the latter was engaged in an act of restitution. The vengeance exacted by the god is compared to the conduct of one who basely remembers old grudges.

"τοιαῦθ' ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοισι θεσπίζων ἄναξ,
δὲ πῶν δικάϊων πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κρείττης,
δίκας δίδόντα παῖδ' ἔδρασ' Ἀχιλλέως.
ἐμνημόνευσε δ' ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος κακός,
παλαιὰ νείκη· πῶς ἂν οὖν εἴη σοφός;" 1.1161-5

Again, in 1.1241, Neoptolemus' death is referred to as "Δελφοῖς δ'νείδος." We see the political importance of Delphi brought out in great significance. Apollo it was who commanded Orestes to kill his mother, Apollo who has slain Achilles, and it is through Apollo's agency that the death of Neoptolemus is brought to pass. The god and his oracle are scathingly indicted, undoubtedly because throughout the Peloponnesian war, Delphi had taken the Spartan side with open partiality. At the beginning of the war, as Thucydides tells us, the oracle had assured the Spartans that if they fought with all their might they would be victorious and that the god himself would be on their side.

"ὁ δὲ ἀνείλεν αὐτοῖς, ὥς λέγεται, κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη εὐλαγῆσθαι καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἄκλητος" Thuc. I, 118. Furthermore, it is clear from the speech of the Corinthian envoy (Thuc.1,121) that the Peloponnesians planned to use the temple treasure at Delphi to defray the expenses of the war. It is no wonder then, that Euripides, as a patriotic Athenian, holds no brief for the god who had so plainly shown favour toward Sparta and proved throughout the war so convenient an instrument of Spartan policy.

Bergk thinks that Euripides was trying to win over to the Athenian side the oracle at Dodona, because it is said (1.885) that Orestes was on his way thither, but the casual nature of the reference and its brevity seems scarcely to warrant such an assumption. He sees a further allusion in the promise made to Andromache's child that he shall have a kingdom among the Molossi (1.1247), since, while at the beginning of the war the Molossi were on the opposite side, and Sabylinthus, the guardian of the young king Tharyps, led a force against Athens (Thuc.II,80), that same Tharyps completed his education at Athens and received the gift of Athenian citizenship, and hence was more inclined to entertain friendly sentiments towards Athens.

Next let us consider the place of production. Our scholium tells us that it was not exhibited at Athens; but whether it appeared elsewhere, or was never produced upon the stage at all, is not specifically stated. Bergk⁽¹⁾ thinks that it was produced at Athens, and explains the statement in the scholiast by suggesting that Didymus, to whom he attributes this comment, did not find the name of Euripides in the didascales for the year Ol.89,2 (to which he assigns the play), but did find the name of Democrates associated with a play of the same name, and hence assumed that the latter brought out the "Andromache". Bergk considers that the play was produced by the (Me)vekeátēs mentioned in Corp.Inscr. Att. 2,971, frag(b) as victor in the tragic contest at the Great Dionysia of 422 BC and conjectures that he was a chorus trainer to whom Euripides entrusted the production of the play and in whose name it was brought out. This theory, however, seems a very large superstructure to erect on such slight

(1) Hermes XVIII Die Abfassungszeit der Andromache des Euripides.

foundations, and necessitates too much explaining away of reasonable and well-accredited evidence.

(1)
Nauck conjectured that the play was perhaps produced at Argos, by that Timocrates the Argive referred to in the ancient life of Euripides "οἱ δὲ τὰ μέλη αὐτῷ φασὶ Κηφισοφῶντα ποιεῖν ἢ Τιμοκράτην Ἀργεῖον." This theory would account for the rather careless composition of the play, which certainly bears marks of hasty writing. Further, the ancient prestige of Argos, her strategic position and democratic institutions made her always an important factor in Greek politics, and we know from Aristophanes that it was a regular part of Athenian policy to foster Philo-Athenian sentiment in Argos.

"οὐκ οὐκ μ' ἐν Ἀργεὶ γ' οἶα πρῶτον λαμβάνει
πρόφασιν μὲν Ἀργείους φίλους ἡμῶν ποιεῖ.
ἰδίᾳ δ' ἔκει Λακεδαιμονίοις συγγίγνεται." Arist. Equites 465-7

It seems likely, then, that the play was sent to Argos as a direct piece of Anti-Laconian propaganda, to undermine Spartan influence in the Peloponnese.

The Andromache is generally considered a very poor play. According to the Hypothesis it was classed in antiquity as "τὸ δὲ δράμα τῶν δευτέρων", which probably means "second-rate". Modern critics point out that the play fails in dramatic unity (2) and that the action falls into two parts. Dr. Verrall, indeed endeavours to prove that there is more in the plot than appears, on the surface, that Menelaus is in league with Orestes, and incites Hermione to attack Andromache in order to involve her in a difficult situation and so compel her to throw herself into the

(1) Ed. Euripidis, vol. I. p. XVI.

(2) Four Plays of Euripides.

arms of Orestes, whose apparently fortuitous arrival at Phthia is really prearranged.

But even admitting the possibility of this interpretation, it would not mitigate the episodic character of the plot, which is due to the shift of interest from the fortunes of Andromache in the earlier part of the play, to the events connected with the death of Neoptolemus in the latter part. Fix remarks that the poet has attacked Sparta to the detriment of the dramatic effectiveness of the play "*poetam spectasse magis quod in praesente tempore placere posset ira in Spartanos incensis auditoribus quam curasse quod dignitas tragoediae requireret.*" And this criticism is undeniable. Yet perhaps we should think the more of Euripides because in critical years like these the patriot in him was stronger than the dramatic artist, and he was willing to make some sacrifice of his art for Athens' sake.

It is perhaps not superfluous to end this discussion with a brief summary of our view of the purpose of the play and the probable conditions of its production. The most satisfactory hypothesis seems to be that the play was produced at Argos by Euripides' friend Democrates, or Timocrates, shortly after the signing of the Peace of Nicias when Sparta was showing a signal lack of good faith by her failure to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, and was brought out to foster anti-Laconian sentiment at Argos, or else shortly after the conclusion of the Hundred Years' alliance with Argos, to cement that alliance and to encourage the Argives in their hostility towards Lacedaemon.

That theory accounts for the vehement attacks on Sparta, the discreditable part played by the Delphic oracle, as well as for the reference to Argos. The poet wished to impress upon Argos the fact that her natural ally was Athens, and Sparta her natural foe.

IV.

"Love thou thy land, with love far-brought
From out the storied Past, and used
Within the Present, but transfused
Thro' future time by power of thought." Tennyson.

"Who as his Theseus towered up man once more,
Made Alcibiades shrink boy again!" Browning.

1.

It was probably about this time, too, that Euripides produced ^{his} "Suppliant Women", a drama in which he returns to the same themes which he had treated with such enthusiasm and patriotic ardour in his earlier plays. The important alliance concluded with Argos in 420 B.C. had made Athens' prospects appear brighter, and the clouds that had seemed impenetrable were, for a brief time dispersed. Euripides' hopes in Athens' destiny revived.

The play is a companion picture to the "Children of Heracles", and is based on another of those legendary achievements of which the Athenians were so proud. The theme here is the respect due to the dead body of an enemy instead of protection extended to the living. When stating their claims to the post of honour and danger at the battle of Plataea, the Athenians cite this exploit as well as the rescue of the suppliant Heraclids.

"τοῦτο δὲ Ἀργεῖους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσαντας
τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι
ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φάμεν καὶ θάψαι
τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἑλευσίνι."
Her. IX, 27

The incident is also a common place of the orators (Cf Isocrates, Paneg. 54 ff., Panath. 168 ff, 193 ff; Lysias, Epitaph. 3ff; Demosthenes, Epitaph 8.)

The action of the drama takes place at Eleusis, between Athens and Thebes, and like the "Children of Heracles", opens with a scene of supplication. A band of Argive women, the mothers of the fallen chiefs who were slain in the attack on Thebes, have come to Athens as suppliants, under the Leadership of Adrastus, the defeated king of Argos. They find Aethra, the mother of Theseus, who has come to the temple of Demeter to offer sacrifice, and to her they make their appeal. They have placed their olive-boughs upon the altar, and from these are stretched woollen fillets attaching them to Aethra, weaving about her a chain of supplication that she cannot break without sacrilege. Adrastus lies prostrate upon the ground. They beseech Aethra to persuade her son, Theseus, to recover the bodies of their dead sons which the Thebans in violation of the laws of heaven ("νομίμ' ἀτίζοντες θεῶν" 1.19) refuse to give up, and have left lying unburied for wild beasts to prey upon.

Moved by their piteous lamentations and their appeals to the motherhood that is common to them both, Aethra sends a herald to Athens to summon her son, who arrives forthwith. A conversation then ensues between Theseus and Adrastus, who declares himself a suppliant of Athens.

"ὦ καλλίνικε γῆς Ἀθηναίων ἄναξ,
Θησεῦ, σὸς ἱκέτης καὶ πόλεως ἤκωσέ' εἰν." 1.113,4

The Thebans, puffed up with pride by their success, refuse to give up the bodies of the dead.

"Αδ. τούτους θανόντας ἦλθεν ἑξαίτων πόλιν.
 Θη. κήρυξιν Ἑρμοῦ πίσυνος, ὡς θάψης νεκρούς;
 Αδ. καὶ περὶ γ' οἱ κτανόντες οὐκ ἔωσί' με.
 Θη. τί γὰρ λέγουσιν, ὅσια χεῖζοντος σέθεν;
 Αδ. τίδ'; εὐτυχούντες οὐκ ἐπίσταται φέρειν." 1.120-124

Theseus is at first not inclined to help the suppliants .
 He moralizes on the folly of the expedition and of war in general.

"τοιαῦθ' ὁ τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται." 1.125

When Adrastus begs him to save Argos' sons, he replies:

"τὸ δ' Ἄργος ἡμῖν ποῦ ὅτιν; ἢ κόμποι μάτην;" 1.127

Adrastus then addresses an impassioned appeal to the Athenian. He is ashamed of his fallen estate - a once-mighty prince, now grey-haired, prostrate before a youthful sovereign, but necessity is no respecter of persons. He asks compassion, not on his own behalf, however, but for the sake of the aged matrons who have come thither to demand burial of their dead sons, whose hands they had hoped in happier times would one day perform that last office for them. He has appealed to Athens rather than to Sparta, for the latter is cruel, cunning and undependable; other states are weak; Athens alone is capable of standing against Thebes.

"Ἐπάρτη μὲν ὦμή, καὶ πεποίκιλται τρόπους,
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα μικρὰ κασθενῇ· πόλις δὲ σὴ
 μόνη δύναιτ' ἄν τόνδ' ὑποστήναι πόνον." 1.187-189

Athens has ever been the protectress of the suppliant, and possesses in Theseus a young and courageous leader.

"τά τ' οἴκτρά γὰρ δέδορκε καὶ νεανίαν
 ἔχει σὲ ποιμέν' ἐσθλόν· οὐ χρεῖα πόλεις
 πολλὰὶ διώλонт', ἐνδεεῖς στρατὴλίδου." 1.190-2.

Theseus replies that Adrastus' fall was caused by folly and conceit, he disobeyed heaven's warning in invading Thebes.

He was misled by a war party composed of headstrong and ambitious young men, who, aspiring to office, and covetous of gain, are concerned less for the public weal than for their own aggrandizement

"νέοις παραχθείς, οἵτινες τιμώμενοι
χαίρουσι πολέμους τ' αὐτοῦ ξάνουσ' ἀνευ δίκης,
φθείροντες ἀστούς, ὁ μὲν ὅπως στρατηλατῇ,
ὁ δ' ὡς ὑβρίσῃ δύναμιν ἐς χεῖρας λαβών,
ἄλλος δὲ κέρδους οὐνεκ', οὐκ ἀποσκοπῶν
τὸ πλῆθος εἴ τι βλάπτεται παῖχον τὰδε." 1.232-7

He then launches forth into an interesting discussion, of the three classes which compose a state - the rich and grasping aristocrats, the hard-working, law-abiding middle class, and the dangerous proletariat, ever discontented, ever envious of the rich, the slaves of the unscrupulous demagogues; It is the middle class, the respectable, sober, working men, who maintain law and order and are the real safeguard of the state.

"τρεῖς γὰρ πολιτῶν μερίδες· οἳ μὲν ὀλιβιοὶ
ἀγῶφελεῖς τε πλειόνων τ' ἐρῶσ' αἰεὶ·
οἳ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες καὶ σπανίζοντες βίου
δεινοί, νέμουντες τῷ φθόνῳ πλεόν μέρους,
ἐς τοὺς ἔχοντας κέντε' ἀφίσσιν κακὰ,
γλώσσαις πονηρῶν προστατῶν φηλούμενοι·
τρίων δὲ μοιρῶν ἡ' ν' μέσῳ σώζει πόλεις,
κόσμον φυλάσσουσ' ὅστιν' ἀντάρξῃ πόλις." 1.238-45

What reason could he give his people for supporting Adrastus' cause? Let him go then, and not involve others in his own misfortunes.

After one final appeal on the grounds of kinship (1.264,5) Adrastus and the broken-hearted mothers prepare to depart, leaving their suppliant boughs on the altar as a sign that their prayers have been rejected. But Aethra, who has been silently weeping all the while, now intervenes. Surely he will not cast forth these grey-haired mothers. The beast of the field finds shelter in the rock, the slave at the altar, and so too a city,

when in distress, has a right to expect protection from another city (1.268-70). The suppliant band now urge one of their number to embrace the king's knees and renew their request. She casts herself at his feet, and makes a final piteous appeal that the bodies of their sons may be saved from the beasts of prey.

Aethra adds her entreaties. Athens' honour is at stake.(1.293)

It is Theseus' sacred duty to champion the oppressed (1.304,5).

"πρὸς τοῖσδε δ', εἰ μὲν μὴ ἀδικουμένοις ἐχρῆν
τολμηρὸν εἶναι, κάρτε' ἂν εἶχον ἡσύχως.
νῦν δ' ἴσθι σοί τε τοῦθ' ὄσσην τιμὴν φέρεϊ." 1.304-6

The law which he is called upon to uphold is one respected universally throughout Hellas.

"νόμιμά τε πάσης συγχέοντας Ἑλλάδος
παῦσαι· τὸ γὰρ τοι συνέχον ἀνθρώπων πόλεις
τοῦτ' ἔσθ', ὅταν τις τοὺς νόμους σώζῃ καλῶς" 1.311-3

He must not allow anyone to say that his courage and honour were put to the test and found wanting. Athens has been accused of rashness and lack of deliberation; it is that very so-called rashness that has made her great. How favourably does her bold policy of action and enterprise contrast with the timidity and underhand intrigue characteristic of other states!

"δράς, ἀβουλος ὡς κεκερτομημένη
τοῖς κερτομοῦσι γαργὸν δ' ἄμ' ἀναβλέπει
σὴ πατερίς; ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πόνοισιν αὖξεται.
αἱ δ' ἡσύχοι σκοτεῖνὰ πρᾶσσουσαι πόλεις
σκοτεῖνὰ καὶ βλέπουσιν εὐλαβούμεναι." 1.321-325.

Finally, Theseus decides in favour of the suppliants. He will not retract what he has said to Adrastus about the folly

(1) Here the poet seems to refer to Thebes and Sparta. For the sentiment, Frag.1052 (Nauck) affords a good comparison.

"οἱ γὰρ πόνοι τίκτουσι τὴν εὐανδρίαν,
ἡ δ' εὐλάβεια σκότον ἔχει καθ' Ἑλλάδα."

of his conduct. But he is pledged by his former career to punish the insolent; the challenge is one which he cannot refuse. He will recover the bodies of the slain if not by fair words, then by force of arms. But his course must be ratified by the Assembly of the people. He is a constitutional ruler, and cannot act without their sanction. He was the first to consolidate Attica as one single realm under a single head, giving it a democratic constitution.

"The Athenians had at once a dread of kings, and yet a love for their royal ancestry of the heroic ages. And it was thus that they reconciled the two conflicting feelings,"⁽¹⁾ is Paley's very appropriate comment.

"καὶ γὰρ κατέστη σ' αὐτὸν ἐς μοναρχίαν
ἐλευθερώσας τήνδ' ἰσόψηφον πόλιν." 1.352,3.

He will muster an army in readiness to enforce his demands, but will first send a herald to Creon.

The chorus of Suppliants now rejoices that Theseus has chosen to champion the cause of piety. They pray that he will not merely recover the dead heroes' bodies, but will also bind Argos to Athens in eternal and undying gratitude.

"γὰρ σὲ φίλιον ἱνάχου
θεῶν δ' ὀνήσας
καλὸν δ' ἀγαλλμα πόλεσιν εὐσεβῆς πόνοιο
χάριν τ' ἔχει τὰν ἐς αἰεί." 1.371-4

Theseus returns from the assembly, accompanied by a herald whom he instructs to proceed at once to Thebes and either request or insist that the bodies be given^{up}_Λ for burial. The herald is just about to depart when a herald from Thebes arrives. The latter

(1) Paley, Euripides vol.I, p.418

stalks in and inquires, "Who is the tyrant of this land?"
Theseus of course immediately objects to the terms of this
address.

πρῶτον μὲν ἡρξω τοῦ λόγου ψευδῶς, ξένε,
ζητῶν τύραννον ἐνθάδ'· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται
ἐνὸς πρὸς ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρα πόλις.
οἷός μοι δ' ἀνδρῶσσι διαδοχὰς ἐν μέρει
ἐνὶ αὐσίαισιν, οὐχὶ πῶς πλοῦτον δίδρυσ
τὸ πλεῖστον, ἀλλὰ χῶς πένης ἔχων ἴσον." 1.403-8

This incident affords the poet an opportunity of introducing
a fine and eloquent panegyric of the political constitution of
Athens. The whole of this discussion between Theseus and the
herald on the merits and demerits of democratic government has
been sweepingly condemned by modern critics. Dr. Munro calls
it "out of place". Dr. Verrall speaks still more strongly on
the subject. "This controversy has not the slightest connection
with the plot of the play; it is the emptiest political speechi-
fying." Such criticisms however, fail to take account of the
conditions of the time when Euripides was writing this play.
The speech of the herald is made to bring forward some of the
main arguments used by the oligarchical party at Athens for the
purpose of allowing Theseus to reply to them. At this point
a short digression may be permissible and appropriate.

All through the years of the Peloponnesian War there
existed at Athens an active oligarchical party. They were known
as "οἱ νεώτεροι" - "the young party" - and included among others
the orator Antiphon. One can hardly fail to conclude that it
is this party whose influence Euripides was seeking to counteract
when he described "οἱ νεοί" as responsible for Adrastus'

(1) Journ. of Phil. XI p.270

(2) The Student's Greek Tragedy p.244

disastrous expedition. These young oligarchs advertised their dissatisfaction in anonymous political pamphlets. One of these we probably possess - a work ascribed to Xenophon, entitled " ἡ Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία" and probably written about 424 B.C. As the title indicates, it is a treatise on the Athenian democracy, and the writer professes to answer on behalf of the Athenians some of the criticisms of their detractors on Athenian institutions. But this pretended defense is in reality a well-aimed indictment, for the author has, with remarkable, acuteness discerned and exposed all the most characteristic defects of the Athenian democracy. With ruthless logic he sets out to dispel all illusions, and to prove that it was incapable of modification or reformation; that it was what circumstances demanded and could not be other than it was. In particular, after the death of Cleon the assembly did not again meet with a man who was able to sway it so completely. Athens' policy was influenced at one time by the advocates of peace, at another by the war-party. The oligarchical faction, taking advantage of the division in the democratic camp, grew constantly more powerful and dangerous.

But this controversy has an even deeper significance. The Peloponnesian War was not so much a struggle between two Greek states as between two principles of government-oligarchy and democracy. In almost every state in Greece there existed the two factions, bitterly opposed to each other, and according as the democratic or oligarchic faction was in the ascendant in each, was that state on the side of Athens or of Sparta.

“ἐπεὶ ὕστερον γε καὶ πᾶν ὥς εἰπεῖν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκινήθη,
διαφορῶν οὐσῶν ἑκασταχοῦ τοῖς τε τῶν δήμων
προστάταις τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.” Thuc. III, 82

"Political speechifying" this may be, but it is far from "empty". It was an answer to this dangerous oligarchical propaganda, which as the events of later years proved, was a real menace to the Athenian democracy. In this passage the poet definitely ranges himself on the side of the moderate democracy.

The Theban herald disparagingly describes democracy as government by the mob, - hasty, ignorant, and incompetent to direct with wisdom the affairs of state.

“πόλις γὰρ ἦς ἐγὼ πάρεϊμ’ ἀπο
ἐνὸς πρὸς ἀνδρός, οὐκ ὀχλῷ κρατύνεται.” 1.410, 11.

And the mob is in its turn swayed by demagogues.

He severely ridicules the love of the Athenians for the plausible flattery and showy rhetoric of the popular orator.

(This, indeed, was an evil which, as has been shown, Euripides perceived and deplored.)

“οὐδ’ ἔστιν αὐτὴν ὅστις ἐκ χαυνῶν λόγοις
πρὸς κέρδος ἴδιον ἄλλοτ’ ἄλλασε στρέφει.
εἰσαυθὶς ἐβλάψ’, εἶτα διαβολὰς νέαις
κλέψας τὰ πρόσθε σφάλματ’ ἐξέδου δίκης.” 1.412-415.

Plausible and popular, he works mischief in the state and when he comes to give an account of his public office, he evades justice, craftily laying the blame for his failures on others.

The herald then is made to depreciate the industrious agriculturist, - a class of men whom the poet admired - whom he declares too busy to study questions of state policy; and

concludes with further remarks on the mischievous influence of the demagogues.

"ἄλλως τε πῶς ἂν μὴ διορθεύων λόγους
 δεῦρ' ὅς τ' ἔστιν ἂν δῆμος εὐθύνοιεν πόλιν;
 ὁ γὰρ χεῖνος μάθησιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τάχους
 κρείσσω δίδωσι. γαπόνος δ' ἀνὴρ πένης,
 εἴ καὶ γένοιτο μὴ ἀμαθής, ἔρχων ὑπὸ
 οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο πρὸς τὰ κοῖν' ἀποβλέπειν
 ἢ δὴ νοσῶδες τοῦτο τοῖς ἀμείνουσιν,
 ὅταν πονηρὸς ἀξίωμ' ἀνὴρ ἔχῃ,
 γλώσση κατασχὼν δῆμον, οὐδὲν ὦν τὸ πρίν." 1.417-25

Theseus accepts the challenge and extols Athens' democratic institutions. Every man, rich or poor, high or humble is given the opportunity of voicing his opinion on matters of state policy and of active participation in the direction of public affairs.

"γεγραμμένων δὲ τῶν νόμων ὃ τ' ἀσθενής,
 ὃ πλούσιός τε τὴν δίκην ἴσῃν ἔχει,
 ἔστιν δ' ἐνισπεῖν τοῖσιν ἀσθενεστέροις
 τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα ταῦθ', ὅταν κλύῃ κακῶς,
 νικᾷ δ' ὃ μείων τὸν μέγαν δίκαι' ἔχων.
 τοῦλεύθερον δ' ἐκεῖνο. τίς θέλει πόλει
 χρηστόν τι βούλευμ' ἐς μέσον φέρειν ἔχων." 1.433-39

In black contrast he paints a despotic government such as that of Thebes.

"οὐδὲν τυράννου δυσμενέστερον πόλει,
 ὅπου τὸ μὲν πρῶτιστον οὐκ εἰσὶν νόμοι
 κοινοί, κρατεῖ δ' εἷς τὸν νόμον κεκτημένος." 1.429-31

The young men of greatest promise, the tyrant says, fearing lest they may threaten his power; maidens reared and cherished with the greatest care, he ravishes. (1.444-455) But when the people govern the land themselves.

"Ἐποῦσιν ἀστοῖς ἡδέται νεανίαις." 1.443.

The herald warns Theseus not to extend any protection to Adrastus or to attempt to recover the dead. Argos' troubles are no concern of his. (1.472) If he interferes, Thebes will declare war on Athens.

Then follows a discussion of the evils of war, remarks to which, it must be noticed, Theseus makes no reply. Men are lured into war by deceitful hopes that but beckon them on to disaster. They would never vote for war if they only knew the dreadful consequences that inevitably follow in its train.

(1) "ἔλπις γὰρ ἐστ' ἀπίστον, ἣ πολλὰς πόλεις
 συνήψ', ἄρουσα θυμὸν εἰς ὑπερβολάς.
 ὅταν γὰρ ἔλθῃ πόλεμος ἐς ψῆφον λεώ,
 οὐδεὶς ἐθ' αὐτοῦ θάνατον ἐκλογίζεται,
 τὸ δυστυχὲς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐς ἄλλον ἐκτρέπει·
 εἴ δ' ἦν παρ' ὀμμάθ' αὐτοῦ ἐν ψῆφον φερέα,
 οὐκ ἂν ποθ' Ἑλλάς δοριμανῆς ἀπώλλυτο."

1.479-85

He continues with a fine eulogy of Peace and the blessings that accompany her. What fools men, are to exchange them for war - which brings bondage and thralldom!

"καίτοι δοιοὶν γε πάντες ἄνθρωποι λόχοι
 τὸν κρείσσον' ἴσμεν, καὶ τὰ χεῖρ' ἀκακά,
 ὅσω τε πολέμου κρείσσον εἰρήνην βροτοῖς.
 ἣ πρῶτα μὲν Μοῦσαισι προσφιλεστάτῃ,
 Ποιναῖσι δ' ἔχθρᾳ, τέρεπεται δ' εὐπαιδία,
 χαίρει δὲ πλούτῳ. τὰ δ' ἄφρονες οἱ κακοὶ
 πολέμους ἀναιρούμεσθα καὶ τὸν ἥσσονα
 δουλούμεθ', ἄνδρες ἄνδρα καὶ πόλιν πόλιν."

1.486-493

The Theban concludes by reminding Theseus significantly that discretion is the better part of valour.

"σφαλερὸν ἢ γε μὴν θρασύς.
 νεώς τε ναύτης ἥσυχος, καὶ ῥῶ σοφός.
 καὶ τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ τ' ἀνδρείου, ἢ πρόμηθιά."

1.508-10

Theseus defies the herald. Creon is not his master, nor Athens', and has no right to dictate to him. If war ensues he is not to blame - he did not invade Thebes. (1.518-20)

All he demands is that the common law of all Hellas be respected. "τὸν Πανελλήνων νόμον σώζων"

1.526,7.

(1) Thuc. 1,70 "παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες"
 (the Corinthian envoy's famous characterization of the Athenians.)

Why should vengeance pursue the Argive chiefs even in death? Let the Thebans be satisfied with the glorious and complete victory they have won, and let the dead be restored to the elements whence they came, earth unto earth, spirit unto kindred aether. Not only Argos, but all Greece is affected by this desecration of the dead.

"δοκεῖς κακουρεῖν Ἄργος οὐ θάπτων νεκρούς;
ἤκιστα πάσης Ἑλλάδος καινὸν τόδε,
εἰ τοὺς θανόντας νοσφίσας ὦν χερὶν λαχεῖν
ἀτάφους τις ἔξει." 1.537-40

Why fear men in their graves? What harm can they do? Since men are at the mercy of Fortune's caprice, they ought to be moderate and patient towards one another. The Athenian king declares his intention of using force if necessary. Never shall it be said that Theseus permitted the violation of an ancient law of heaven.

"οὐ γὰρ ποτ' εἰς Ἑλλήνας ἐξοισθήσεται
ὥς εἰς ἐμ' ἐλθὼν καὶ πόλιν Πανδίωνος
νόμος παλαιὸς δαίμωνων διεφθάρη." 1.561-3

An angry altercation then ensues between Theseus and the herald; the one maintaining that the dead chiefs will never be surrendered the other resolutely declaring his intention of taking them by force. The herald scornfully accuses the Athenians of being meddling busy bodies

"πράσσειν σὺ πόλλ' εἴωθας ἢ τε σὴ πόλις."

Theseus accepts the appellation and turns it into a compliment.

"τοίγ' ἄρ' πονοῦσα πολλὰ πόλλ' εὐδαμονεῖ." 1.576, 7.

This accusation of being busy bodies was one which the Athenians were always willing, nay proud, to admit. As the Corinthian envoy pointed out to the Spartans "ὥστε εἴ τις αὐτοὺς ξυνελῶν φαίη πεφυκέναι ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἢ συχίαν μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἔαν, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴποι." Thuc. I, 70

The herald finally departs with threats and menaces. Theseus immediately orders his troops to advance into Theban territory, and tells Adrastus to remain at Eleusis and await the outcome. He prays for the support of the Gods, without which no mortal men can hope for success (1.595-8). The chorus, divided into two halves express to each other their fears and anxieties as to the result. They hope that they will not prove instrumental in bringing the horrors of war upon the land, and invoke Zeus to champion their cause.

A messenger enters with tidings of victory, and relates how a battle has been fought and won near the walls of Thebes. He describes in glowing terms the bravery and intrepid valour of Theseus and his soldiers, his moderation and humanity shown in his proclamation prior to the battle - he does not wish to prolong the bloodshed (1.672) - how he roused and rallied his forces by the cry "οἴχεται τὰ Παλλάδος". At the very moment of victory, Theseus showed his reluctance to play the part of the aggressor. Though he could have pressed on to destroy the city, he refrained from doing so - his purpose was merely to reclaim the dead (1.724,5). The speech concludes with an enthusiastic eulogy of the Athenian king whose unselfish conduct is contrasted with the ambition, and injustice of less high minded leaders.

"τοιοῦνδε τὸν στρατηγὸν αἰρεῖσθαι χρεὼν,
ὅς ἐν τε τοῖς δεινοῖσιν ἔστιν ἀλκιμος
μισεῖ θ' ὕβρισθῆν λαόν, ὅς πρᾶσσων καλῶς
ἐς ἄκρα βῆναι κλιμάκων ἐνὶ ἡλάτῃ
σητῶν ἀπώλεσ' ὄλβον ᾧ χεῖσθαι παρῆν." 1.726-30

"The election of Strategist at Athens was a matter of such vital import, that we may well imagine that political advice

was intended to be conveyed in these lines, and that the injustice and ambition of some one who held and abused that high office was to be had in view."⁽¹⁾

Adrastus now moralizes on the defeat of the Thebans, which he attributes, like his own, to pride. Cities ought to settle their differences by arbitration and not proceed to war.

« πόλεις τ', ἔχουσαι διὰ λόγου κλυψαι κακὰ,
φόνῳ καθαιρεῖσθ' οὐ λόγῳ, τὰ πρᾶγματ' » 1.748,9

These lines are significant in that they voice an aspiration towards a universal peace based on international understanding which has not even yet, 2350 years since the poet wrote the words, been completely realized.

He questions the herald as to the burial of the dead. Surely the slaves that took them up must have been repelled by their ghastly appearance! But he is told that no slave was allowed to touch them. The king himself took them up, and washed their wounds and "showed them love" (ἡγάπα) He thought it no defilement, no pollution. What shame is there for men in others' sufferings?

« Αδ. δεινὸν μὲν ἦν βλάσταγμα καὶ σχύ' ην ἔχον
Αγ. τίς' αἰσχρὸν ἀνθρώποισι τᾶλλήλων κακὰ » 1.767,8

The common soldiers had been interred at Eleutherae, but the chiefs - are being conveyed to Eleusis where they will be burnt. Theseus enters, bringing with him the dead bodies, and preparations are made for their cremation. Six will be placed on a single pyre, but that of Capaneus, who was struck by lightning, is to be burned and buried separately.

(1) Paley, Euripides, vol. I p.441.

A fine and eloquent funeral oration is delivered in honour of the dead by Adrastus, a panegyric well calculated to inspire the rising generation of Athenians with ideals of virtue and valour. In the character of Eteocles he gives a lesson in true patriotism - the young man who did not make the acquisition of wealth the goal of his ambition; who would not join in abusing his country, when some political mistake had been made, but laid the blame where it belonged, upon the evil counsellors who had led her astray.

"τοὺς δ' ἔξαμαρτάνοντας, οὐχὶ τὴν πόλιν
ἤχθαιρ'. ἐπεὶ τοι κοῦδ' ἐν αἰτίᾳ πόλιν
κακῶς κλύουσα διὰ κυβερνήτην κακόν." 1.878-80

Here again the poet reflects on Athenian affairs. Athens was censured as rash and thoughtless, but the fault really lay with the violent and unscrupulous demagogues who ruled the popular assembly. Again, in the description of character of Parthenopaeus, who though alien born,

"πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς χεὶρ τοὺς μετοικοῦντας ξένους,
λυπηρὸς οὐκ ἦν οὐδ' ἐπίφθονος πόλει
οὐδ' ἐξεριστῆς τῶν λόγων, δθεν βαρὺς
μάλιστα, ἂν εἴη δημότης τε καὶ ξένος.
λόχοις δ' ἐνεστώσας ὥσπερ Ἄερεος γελῶς
ἤμυνε χώρα, χῶπότ' εὐπράσσοι πόλιν
ἔχαιρε, λυπρῶς δ' ἔφερεν, εἴ τι δυστυχοί." 1.892-8

Here the poet seems to be urging upon the resident aliens the duty they owed to Athens; and to be indirectly reproving the litigious spirit of the Athenians.

Once again Theseus shows a fine delicacy of feeling.

Adrastus calls the mothers of the slain to look upon the corpses of their sons. Theseus objects. Why should fresh anguish be added to the grief of the hapless women? They need not look upon the bodies in their grievously marred and disfigured

condition; the ashes will be given them.

Once more Adrastus reflects on the cruelty and futility of war.

"ὦ ταλαίπωροι βροτῶν,
τί κτλσθε λόγχα, καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων φόνους
τίθεσθε; παύσασθ', ἀλλὰ λήξαντες πόνων
ἄστυ φυλάσσεθ' ἡσυχοὶ μεθ' ἡσυχῶν" 1.949-52

Euripides was undoubtedly thinking sadly of the continued evils of the long war between Athens and Sparta.

The matrons bewail their childless estate in a beautiful little ode. Evadne, the wife of Capaneus, enters and mourns his death. She climbs an overhanging rock, and despite her father Iphis' desperate attempts to prevent her, casts herself from it upon her husband's burning pyre. After the lament of Iphis for his daughter's death, the sons of the dead heroes now enter in solemn procession with the urns containing the ashes of their fathers. Then follows a lament between the chorus of children and their mothers, in which the sons swear a solemn oath that some day they will avenge the dead. Theseus urges them to remember always what Athens has done for them and to honour her forever. (1.1169-1175)

"παισὶν θ' ὑπειπεῖν τούσδε τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους,
τιμᾶν πόλιν τήνδ', ἐκ τέκνων αἰεὶ τέκνοισ
μνήμην παραγγέλλοντας ὧν ἐκύρσατε" 1.1171-3

Adrastus promises this on their behalf. Athena appears in her chariot above the temple roof and commands Theseus to exact an oath from the Argives that they will not only refrain from attacking Athens, but will aid in defending her lands against an invader, making the relics of the dead a solemn pledge of friendship for the future. The chorus, including the sons in the procession, swear an oath of undying allegiance to Theseus

and Athens; and so the drama ends.

Two possible dates have been proposed for the play - (1) 420 BC when the treaty between Athens and Argos was about to be or had just been concluded, (2) 418 B.C., when Argos repudiated her alliance with Athens and allied herself once more with Sparta - in which case it is intended as a rebuke to the Argives for their treachery.

According to Hermann and Boeckh, the play was produced in 420 B.C. Hermann suggests that the play may have been acted in the presence of the ambassadors from Argos just prior to the conclusion of the 100 years' alliance between Athens and Argos. Thus Argos would be directly reminded through her representatives of the debt of gratitude she owed to Athens, and of the duty of joining her against Sparta; and of the danger she incurred, according to the ancient prophecy of Athens, in case she should ever dare to invade Attica. Indeed the solemn words of Athena can hardly be more satisfactorily explained.

“ὁ δ’ ὄρεκος ἔσται, μή ποτ’ Ἀργείους χθόνα
 ἔς τήνδ’ ἐποίσειν πολέμιον παντευχίαν,
 ἄλλων τ’ ἰούτων ἐμποδῶν θήσειν δόρυ.
 ἦν δ’ ὄρεκον ἐκλιπόντες ἔλθωσιν, πάλιν
 κακῶς ὀλέσθαι πρόστρεπ’ Ἀργείων χθόνα.” 1.1191-5

It is noteworthy how closely these lines resemble the terms of the actual treaty ratified between the two cities, as preserved for us by Thucydides.

“Ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐξεύστω ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ πημονῇ μήτε Ἀργείους---
 ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίους--- ἢν πολέμιοι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τῇν γῆν τὴν Ἀθηναίων,
 βοηθεῖν Ἀργείους--- ὁμνύοντων δὲ τὸν ἐπιχώριον ὄρεκον ἕκαστοι
 τὸν μέγιστον κατὰ ἱερῶν τελείων.” Thuc.V, 47.

Furthermore, a fragment of the official document recording this treaty was discovered in 1877 upon a marble slab on the

southern slope of the Acropolis; and on this inscription also the text of the treaty contains the same provisions - that the Argives shall never invade Attica, and shall help the Athenians to repel any others who may invade it, by force of arms. These facts point to the conclusion that Euripides is celebrating in the Suppliants the recent alliance between Athens and Argos, and by tracing the friendship of the two cities to the legendary past was endeavouring to strengthen and dignify it. There is, furthermore, in l.571 a clear indication of the political object of the play - to inculcate perpetual amity between Athens and Argos. The words of Athena, at the close, enjoining eternal friendship between the two cities, would sound like a divine admonition. The goddess, by giving to Adrastus' promise the authority of her sanction, conferred additional dignity upon the oath. It is interesting to compare the similar attempt by Aeschylus to foster the alliance, offensive and defensive which had recently been concluded by the two states.

Orestes is addressing Athena:

“ἤγ' ὃν δὲ χώρᾳ τῇδε καὶ τῷ σὺ στρατῷ
τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἅπαντα πλείστην ἔχον
δεκωμοτήσας νῦν ἀπειμὶ περὶ δόμους,
μήτοι τιν' ἀνδρᾶ δεῖο πρηνήτην χθονός,
ἐλθόντ' ἐποιθεῖν εὖ κεκασμένον δόρυ.” *Suppl.* 762-6

Barnes and Markland, on the other hand, conjectured the date of production to be 417 B.C. the year of the treaty between Argos and Sparta, and that the dramatist's purpose was to upbraid the Argives for their ingratitude. But in addition to the reasons given above, the play apparently contains an allusion to an action of the Thebans. Four years previously,

after the battle at Delium, the Thebans had refused the Athenians permission to bury their dead soldiers.⁽¹⁾ As the Athenian herald was on his way to the enemy's camp after the battle, he was met by a Boeotian herald who returning with him to Delium, made at first the same refusal as Creon, and told the Athenians that the bodies of the dead would not be restored to them as long as a hostile force occupied the temple or its precincts. (Thuc.IV,98). Now it was a law universally recognized by all Hellenes that the victor should surrender the enemy's dead without any conditions. Such a violation of the rights of the dead was considered a very grave offence. With this event fresh in the memory of all the spectators, this scene would be doubly impressive. Another cause that contributed to this bitter hatred of Thebes was the destruction of Panactum already mentioned, which the Athenians regarded as an act of deliberate perfidy and treachery. Moreover at the time of the performance of the Suppliants - if we assign its production to 420 B.C. they were regarded by the Athenians with particular alarm and detestation, for they had contracted a menacing alliance with Sparta (Thuc.V,39). The attitude toward Sparta, too, is far from friendly.(187-189). The word πεποίκιλται (l.187) well describes the conduct of Sparta at this time.

With hatred of Thebes and distrust of Sparta, there is mingled in the play love of Athens, of her institutions and her policy. The real heroine of the play is indeed that

(1) "παρεβαίνοντες τὰ νόμιμα πῶν Ἑλλήνων" as the Athenians complained Thuc.IV,97, the words of the historian may be compared with 1.311,512,575,537,40.

glorious city whose so-called rashness is in reality a splendid daring, without which she would never have been so great.

(1.321-5). Athens, as represented by Theseus, stands for freedom, chivalry, law, piety and veneration toward the gods (1.155-7, 229-31, 595-8) and great delicacy of feeling. Theseus shows a fine respect for his mother (1.368). The law "κοινεῖς τιμᾶν" was one of the three especially held in honour by the Greeks.

Compare Frag. Incert. 853.

"τρεῖς εἰσὶν ἀρεταί, τὰς χρεῶν σ' ἄσκειν τέκνον
θεοῦς τε τιμᾶν, τοὺς τε φύσαντας κοινεῖς
νόμους τε κοινούς Ἑλλάδος." - characteristics all three

of which Theseus possesses. The Athenian king is represented as a constitutional monarch directing a democracy - much as Pericles guided the policy of Athens. He echoes the usual Athenian detestation of tyranny and oligarchy, and the Athenian pride in democratic institutions (Supp. 238; 429-31; 444-6, 450-5). The advantages of democracy are eloquently described as consisting in equal laws, free speech, protection from outrage and the encouragement of ability (429-55).

The statement in the Greek argument, that the play is a eulogy of Athens, "τὸ δὲ δῶμα ἐγκώμιον Ἀθηνῶν," alludes particularly to the speeches of Theseus (v. 195 and 334 seq.), in which the constitution of Athens is praised as intermediate between lawless ochlocracy and absolute monarchy. But it is not simply thoughtless praise, unmingled with criticism. The object of the poet was not merely to point out the evils of "τυραννίς", but also to warn his compatriots of the dangers of democracy under ambitious or incompetent leaders and to demonstrate the infatuate folly of their policy in seeking war rather than peace.

Some critics have supposed that Euripides was an admirer and adherent of Alcibiades who, because of the brilliant strategy which he had displayed in engineering the alliance between Athens and Argos, was at this time hailed by many as the destined saviour of Athens. It is true that in this play, Euripides congratulates Athens on possessing in Theseus a general "young and valorous", (1.190,1) and some have considered this an allusion to the election of Alcibiades as "στρατήγος" at an early age in the year 420. In the summer of that year the Olympian games were celebrated, the greatest of all the Pan-Hellenic festivals.

This year the Spartans had been convicted of a violation of the religious truce - all warfare was prohibited during the month of the festival - and excluded from participation. Alcibiades himself entered as a competitor, and, in order to dazzle all eyes by the splendour of his display, he sent seven four-horsed chariots to the lists, and won the first, second and fourth prizes (Thuc.VI,16) And Plutarch, in his life of Alcibiades (chap.XI) refers to a victory ode written in his honour "as is said, by the poet Euripides". But, as Plutarch himself seems to regard the authorship of this ode as doubtful (Dem.c.1), this rather uncertain evidence cannot be adduced in support of the theory that Euripides was an intimate associate and devoted adherent of Alcibiades.

Furthermore, the "Suppliant women" shows a warm and unqualified sympathy with the peace party. It is true that the old legendary friendship between Athens and Argos is painted

in glowing colours (1.1165-95). But in other respects the play is full of unequivocal denunciations of war. In many passages (1.479-95, 726-38, 744-9, 949-54) the poet emphatically advocates peace. In his oration in honour of the dead, Adrastus hardly speaks of the warlike virtues of the leaders, and makes chiefly their civil merits prominent. When reproached by Theseus for the folly of the expedition against Thebes, Adrastus replies (1.160) "νέων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν θόρυβος ἐξέπλησέν με." The unscrupulousness of those party leaders who foster strife in order to gain office and wealth; and the stupidity of the people who vote for war in the excitement of the moment, without having regard for the consequences are sternly rebuked (11.232,-245,250). Lines 231-237 in particular seem to be a direct attack on Alcibiades and his party, whose true policy was to make peace impossible.

Again, in the *Andromache*, Euripides reflects the prevailing animosity against Sparta by his unfavourable delineation of the Spartan characters in the play, and by his long tirades against Lacedaemonian character and institutions. But on these grounds one cannot assume that the play was a political pamphlet written at the dictation of Alcibiades for the promotion of his party.

The very fact that the militaristic sentiments of 1.681-4 are put into the mouth of Menelaus shows that the poet wished to depreciate them. Again, the democratic view of military reputation expressed in 1.693 was a sentiment which could

hardly be pleasing to the leaders of the war party. One of the choruses (1.1009 seq.) describes vividly the horrors caused by war.

Curiously enough, Euripides' enemy, Aristophanes attests his disapproval of Alcibiades. In the Frogs, Euripides and Aeschylus are both asked their advice as to what Athens should do about Alcibiades. Is he more dangerous as a friend or a foe? Aeschylus advises that they "submit to the lion's whelp". Euripides scorns all compromise and rejects him in these scathing words:

“μισῶ πολίτην ὅστις ὠφελεῖν πάτραν
βραδύς πέφυκε, μέγλα δὲ βλάπτειν ταχύς,
καὶ πόριμον αὐτῷ τῇ πόλει δὲ μὴ χανόν.” 1.1446-8

The fact that Euripides supported Alcibiades' policy on this occasion by praising the Argive alliance does not necessitate his being a partisan of the latter's party. The poet attempted to foster friendship with Argos because he believed it the best thing for Athens at the time.

What looks like a further political allusion perhaps merits mention.

“ὁ δ' χεῖρά, πόλεις
πολλὰ διώλουντ', ἐνδεδεῖς στρατηλάτου.” 1.191-2.

Is Euripides here referring to the divorce of the military command from the leadership in the assembly? The tradesmen who ruled supreme there after the death of Pericles had no military training. The comic poet Eupolis in his play "The Demes" in which he brings back to life the great leaders Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides and Pericles, in order that they may deplore the degenerate conditions of the time,

meditates thus on the contrast between these former generals and those of the present day.

"ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἡμῖν τῇ πόλει πρῶτον μὲν οἱ στρατηγοί
ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων οἰκιῶν, πλούτῳ γένει τε πρῶτοι,
οἷς ὥσπερ εἰ θεοῖσιν ἡὺ χόρμεσθα· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν.
ὥστ' ἀσφαλῶς ἐπράττομεν, νυνὶ δ', ὅποι τύχοιμεν,
στρατευσόμεσθ' ἀιρούμενοι καθάρματα στρατηγούς."

In conclusion, it may be stated, that the "Suppliant Women" is a political document in more than one sense of the word. In this play the dramatist sought to direct foreign policy by his attempt to promote the Alliance with Argos, domestic policy, too, by warning his fellow citizens against the turbulent and self-seeking instigators of war.

2.

The "Madness of Heracles" is another of those plays which we are unable to assign to any definite year; indeed, we cannot with any confidence suggest even the approximate date of its production. Wilamowitz⁽¹⁾ dates it as early as 423-2, as does K.O.Müller,⁽²⁾ taking the praise of light-armed troops in 11.188-203 as a reference to the battle of Delium in 424. The mention of the songs of the Delian maidens in 1.687 is thought to have been perhaps suggested by the restoration of Delos to the Delians in 420 B.C. (Diod. Sic. 12.77) But neither of these references are sufficiently clear to warrant the basing of any conclusions upon them.

The ode on old age (v.637 seqq), which rather resembles the similar one in Sophocles' "Oedipus at Colonus" (v.1211 seqq),⁽³⁾ has a distinctly personal tone; and the realistic picture of the discomforts and sorrows which it brings in its train

(1) Anal. Eur. p.151
(2) also 1.110-114

(2) Hist.Gr.Lit. p.372

inclines one to interpret it as a complaint on the part of the poet at his own increasing infirmities. Furthermore, lines 673-86 sound very much like the poet's own sentiments on a retrospect of his literary career. Some critics, relying on the evidence of this ode and on the sentiments in l.757-9, which resemble the conservative theology of the *Bacchae*, go to the other extreme and infer that this play was one of the very latest, and was written at Macedonia "We may well believe that this play, so similar in many respects to the *Bacchae*, was, like it written at the court of Archelaus of Macedonia, in which case there is a touch of sadness in the reflection (l.643 seq.,671) that the wealth and unlettered luxury with which the poet was surrounded in the tyrant's court afforded him no compensation for the loss of his golden youth."⁽¹⁾

⁽²⁾ Haigh suggests the year 416 as an approximate date, on the evidence of the versification (the use of trochaic tetrameters).⁽³⁾

Hermann judged that it was produced about the same time⁽⁴⁾ as the "Suppliant Women", and Fix seems to agree with him, assigning the play to Ol.90 on the basis of metre, references to old age (the poet would be at least sixty by that time), and the lines l.687-90 in which the songs of the Delean maidens are mentioned, remarking "ut credam eo magis adducor quod prius etiam, quum Athenienses insula occupata sollennia nova instituissent rem pariter respexit poeta in Hec. V 462." Though no conclusive evidence exists, either internal or external, respecting the date, the last mentioned view seems perhaps on the whole the most reasonable.⁽⁵⁾

As usual, J.A.Spranger has an unusual and interesting theory as to the date and purpose of this drama. The opening

(1) Gray and Hutchinson p.73 (2) Tragic Drama, p.300

(3) Praefat ad Supplices p.1 (4) Fix, Chron. Fab. p.X

(5) J.A.Spranger, Classical Review, 1919, p.54 seq.

scene shows us the suppliants at the altar of Zeus Soter (1.48), and in the territory of Thebes only one image of Zeus the Saviour is mentioned - at Thespiae (Paus IX, 26, 7) where there was also a sanctuary of Heracles (Paus. IX, 27, 6). He quotes Thuc. IV, 133, where it is related that in the summer of 483 the Thebans attacked the Thespians, accusing them of "Atticism", and that they had long wished to do this. The Thespians must therefore at some time have given help to the Athenians, and thus incurred ruin on their account. From these facts Mr. Spranger argues that the political motive of the play was the encouragement of feeling in favour of the Thespians against the Thebans, interpreting 1.217-35, 312-26, 498, 502 in this light. Hence he suggests that the play was produced at the city Dionysia of 422 B.C. But surely if the poet has any such definite purpose in writing the play he would have made some mention of the Thespians, if not by name, at any rate by more direct implication.

The scene of the drama is laid at Thebes, at the home of Heracles, which lies outside the walls. The house of Heracles, with an altar of "Ζεύς Σωτήρ" in front of it, forms the background. We learn from the prologue that during Heracles' absence on the last of his twelve labours, the populace has rebelled, put to death Creon the father of Megara, and his sons, and established as king Lycus, a stranger from Euboea. The latter, in order to secure his own position, has resolved to extirpate the family of Heracles. Taking advantage of the hero's absence, he orders his wife and children to be put to death.

They fly for refuge to the altar, but without avail, and they are on the very point of being slaughtered when Heracles appears, rescues them from destruction and takes vengeance upon the tyrant, Lycus. But in the very moment of triumph, he is smitten suddenly with madness by Hera, his implacable foe, and slays the wife and children whom he has just rescued. One after the other the three children are shot down or beaten to death with his club, and his wife Megara, after a vain attempt to escape within, is also slaughtered. He is about to kill his father, when Athena hurls a huge stone against his chest and the infuriated hero falls unconscious. His servants bind him by ropes to a pillar. On recovering consciousness and learning of the horrible crime he has just committed, he at first abandons himself utterly to despair. Overwhelmed by shame and frantic with horror he wishes to destroy himself, too.

Then Theseus appears, announcing that he has come to Thebes with an armed force to aid Heracles against the usurper Lycus. He has come too, actuated by motives of duty and gratitude, for Heracles restored him to life and light from the regions of the dead. (1.1163-1171) The grief-stricken hero shrouds himself in his mantle (1.1198) and silently waves his friend away (1.1218). According to all generally accepted notions he is accursed and bloodguilty, and would bring pollution upon any who looks upon his face or hears his voice (1.1199-1201). But Theseus thinks otherwise. To Amphytrion, Heracles' father he says:

“ἄλλ', εἰ συναλγῶν γ' ἦλθον, ἐκκάλυπτέ νιν” 1.1202

Heracles himself he addresses with affection and sympathy:

"εἶεν· σὲ τὸν θάσσοντα δυστήνους ἔδρας
αὐδῶ, φίλοισιν ὄμμα δεικνύναι τὸ σόν.
οὐδεὶς σκότος γὰρ ᾧδ' ἔχει μέλαν γέφος,
ὅστις κακῶν σῶν συμφορὰν κεύθειενάυ." 1.1214-17

He has no fear of contracting pollution from conversing with his friend. A feeling of gratitude overwhelms all other emotions; and he has nothing but contempt for those who receive favours and then desert their benefactors in misfortune.

"τί μοι προσείων χεῖρα σημαίνεις φόβου;
ὥς μὴ μῦθος με σῶν βάλη προσφθεγμάτων;
οὐδὲν μέλει μοι σὺν γε σοὶ πράσσειν κακῶς.
καὶ γὰρ ποτ' εὐτύχησα. ἔκετο' ἀνοιστέον,
δ' τ' ἐξέσωσάς μ' ἐς φάος νεκρῶν πάρα.
χάριν δ' ἡγεάσκουσιν ἐχθαίρω φίλων,
καὶ τῶν καλῶν μὲν ὅστις ἀπολαύειν θέλει,
συμπλεῖν δέ τοῖς φίλοισι δυστυχούσιν οὐ." 1.1218-25

Heracles warns him not to unveil his head, voicing the prevalent superstition that crime should be concealed from the sun. (cf. Soph. Oed. Tyr. 1424; Or 822). Theseus replies that the immortal sun can contract no pollution from mortal eyes.

"τίδ'; οὐ σημαίνεις θνητὸς ὢν τὰ τῶν θεῶν." (1)

Heracles urges his friend to fly from his guilt lest it should defile him. The latter replies that no infectious curse can pass from friend to friend.

"οὐδεὶς ἀλδύτῳ τοῖς φίλοις ἐκ τῶν φίλων." 1.1234

Heracles is comforted by his friend's sympathy and devotion, but is still determined to die. But Theseus holds suicide up to contempt as the reverse of brave or honourable. Is this an act befitting the Heracles who is famed for his endurance (1.1250), who is the benefactor and friend of mankind? (1.1252) Hellas will not suffer him to die under these perverse views. (1.1254). (1). cf. Antigone 1044.

"The passage illustrates not only nobility of feeling in Theseus, but ----- genuinely 'free' thought'. Theseus dares the contagion for the sake of his friendship. He also does not believe in the contagion."⁽¹⁾ This condemnation of suicide was unusual in antiquity.

In a long speech Heracles next unfolds his reasons for committing suicide. In the first place, he realizes that a stain of guilt adhered to him from the very day of his birth; secondly, he has been pursued since infancy by the unrelenting hostility of Hera, through whose malignance he has now slain his own children. Under present circumstances he can neither stay at Thebes, being a murderer, nor go to Argos as being an exile from that city. He cannot wander from state to state - he would be taunted everywhere. If he continues to live, the very elements will repudiate him. Death is the only course open to him.

Theseus counsels Heracles to abandon the idea of self-destruction and submit with courage to his destiny - to live and bear his sorrow. He invites him to leave Thebes, since (l.1281) the law forbids murderers to remain there, and to come with him to Athens where he will be purified, given a home, and half of his substance.

"Θήβας μὲν οὖν ἐκλείπε τοῦ νόμου χάριν,
ἔπου δ' ἔμ' ἡμῖν περὶ πόλιν Πάλλας.
ἔκεῖ χέρας σὰς ἀγνίσας μιάσματος,
δόμους τε δώσω χερμάτων τ' ἐμῶν μέρος." l.1322-5

The shrines and temples hitherto consecrated to Theseus shall henceforth be called after Heracles. The poet is here referring to the story told by Plutarch (Thes. c.35), that Theseus

(1) Gilbert Murray. The Athenian Drama, vol.III, p.XXXV

dedicated to Heracles the *τεμεῖνῃ* assigned to him by the Athenians. During his lifetime he will have shrines, *Ἡρακλεῖα*, consecrated to him, and after his death, altars for sacrifice to him as a hero.

“πανταχοῦ δέ μοι χθονὸς
τεμεῖνῃ δέσασται· ταῦτ’ ἐπωνομασμένα
σέθεν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκ βροτῶν κεκλήσεται
ζῶντος· θανόντα δ’ εὖτ’ ἂν εἰς Αἴδου μόλῃς,
θυσίαισι λαίνοισι τ’ ἐξογκώμασι
τίμιον ἀνάξει πᾶσ’ Ἀθηναίων πόλις.” 1.1328-33

The lines would of course suggest to the audience the Theseum at Athens where the labours of Heracles and Theseus are sculptured.

Heracles is finally persuaded to take the nobler course - to refrain from suicide and accompany Theseus to Athens. It shall not be said of him that he was a coward and dared not face misfortune. He charges his father to perform the last rites for his dead wife and children, to whom he addresses a touching apostrophe. He begs Theseus to come to Argos and help settle the reward for bringing Cerberus from Hades, promised by Eurystheus, which, as we are told at the beginning of the play, consisted in the restoration of the family of Heracles to their native land, Argos. Thus in this play, as in the "Heraclidae" the poet connects Athens with the return of the Heraclidae; and the friendly offices of Theseus to Heracles are intended to represent and further the friendly relations existing between Athens and Argos during the Peloponnesian War.

Theseus again shows his enlightened attitude - he does not fear the infection of blood. He is willing to allow

Heracles to touch his robes with his bloody hands.

"Θη. παύσαι· δίδου δὲ χεῖρ' ὑπηρετῇ φίλῳ.
 Ηρ. ἀλλ' αἶμα μὴ σοῖς ἐξομώρξωμαι πέπλοις.
 Θη. ἔκμασσε, φείδου μηδέν· οὐκ ἀναίνωμαι." 1.1398-1400

At this proof of generosity and devotion on the part of Theseus, Amphitryon bursts forth into an admiring exclamation in praise of Athens.

"ἦ γὰρ τεκοῦσα τόνδε πατρίς εὐτεκνός." 1.1405

Before leaving, Heracles promises his father that after the children have been buried he will send for him to come to Athens (1.1421). This detail was obviously added to glorify Athens still further at the expense of the tradition, recorded by Pausanias, that Amphitryon was buried at Thebes (Paus.1.41.1). The two heroes now leave the stage together, joined in an affectionate embrace (1403), and thus the drama ends.

It has been remarked that the legend of Trachis treated by Sophocles in the "Trachiniae", is more romantic and dramatic than the Theban story of the madness of Heracles which Euripides preferred; but it was not without reason that our poet made his choice. The latter story, being one of the myths connected with the return of the Heraclidae provided him with a subject for a splendid patriotic drama. As has been already pointed out in connection with the "Heraclidae", it was one of the proudest boasts of the Athenians that they had protected the Heraclidae, when rejected by all the other states of Greece, and had championed them against their powerful oppressor, Eurystheus. In this play the early king of Attica, Theseus, is represented

as the friend and benefactor of the famous hero Heracles, the traditional embodiment of chivalry and physical prowess.

Excluded from both Argos and Thebes, the latter is offered an asylum in Athens, where he will be purified and will receive joint worship with his friend. It is clearly with the object of associating the national Hellenic hero with Attic cults that Euripides remarks (1.613) on the initiation of Heracles at Eleusis, and on the fact that the two heroes were worshipped together in many shrines throughout Attica, and particularly in the Theseum at Athens, whose sculptures depict the labours of both. (1) Paley, with great felicity of expression, describes the play as "the history of the connection of Heracles with the Athenian people", and as "a temple of Theseus in verse".

The chief purpose of the play is obviously the glorification of Athens. But we may also discern certain subsidiary aims which the poet had in mind when writing the drama. In several passages the idea is expressed that it is dissension and civil strife in Thebes that has made it possible for Lyceus to establish himself as tyrant.

(1) "στάσει νοσοῦσαν τὴν δ' ἐπεσπεςὼν πόλιν." 1.34

(2) HP ὅπλοις ἀπαντῶν ἢ νοσησάσης χθονός;
ME στάσει· τὸ καὶ μου δέπτα πύλον ἔχει κράτος. 1.542,3

(3) ... οὐ γὰρ εὖ φρονεῖ πόλις
...στάσει νοσοῦσα καὶ κακοῖς βουλευμασιν. 1.272,3

This last is perhaps a regretful reflection on the warring factions and internal strife that afflicted Athens during those years.

(1) Paley, Euripides, vol. III p.6.

The chorus invoke the Theban people to rise against the tyrant and throw off his yoke.

"οὐ σκῆπτρα, χεῖρὸς δεξιᾶς ἐρεῖσματα,
ἀρεῖτε καὶ τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς ἀνόσιον κᾶρα
καθαίματ' ὅσθ' ἴσθις οὐ καδμεὺς ὦν
ἔχει κᾶκιστος τῶν νέων ἔπηλυς ὦν;" 1.254-7

It is noteworthy that Lycus is described as the leader of ... of νέοι the party of turbulent and factious young men so sternly censured in "The Suppliant Women" (1.231-7)

Again, Amphitryon, referring to the king's adherents, says

"πολλοὺς πένητας, ὀλβίους δὲ πῶ λόγῳ
δοκοῦντας εἶναι συμμάχους ἀναξ' ἔχει,
οἳ στάσιν ἔθηκαν καὶ διώλεσαν πόλιν
ἔφ' ἔρπα γάρ σι τῶν πέλας, τὰ δ' ἐνδομοῖς
ἀπᾶναισι φροῦδα διαφυγόνθ' ὅπ' ἀργίας." 1.588-92

Such men it is whose influence in the city Euripides deploras - restless mischievous adventurers, threatened by ruin, who hope to mend their private fortunes by plundering the state. Thus in this play, as well as in the "Suppliant Women" Euripides mingles his praise of his native city with thoughtful criticism of the evils which beset her, and which, as he saw, were combining to ruin her. However, the dominant note of the "Madness of Heracles" is on the whole one of joyful pride in Athens and serene confidence in her destiny and continued greatness.

V.

"behold
Where on the Aegean shore a city stands
Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil,
Athens, the eye of Greece, Mother of Arts,
And Eloquence, native to famous wits
Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,
City or Suburban, studious walks and shades."

Milton, Par.Reg.IV.237

The Athenians as we have remarked before, were intensely proud of their autochthonous origin and the purity of their descent. According to the common tradition, however, Ion, the legendary founder of the Ionian race, was the son, not of Apollo, but of Xuthus, a wandering soldier who had aided Athens in a war with Euboea. (Paus. 7.12) and Creusa, the daughter of King Erechtheus. This was certainly the original form of the legend. But such an ancestry was hardly sufficiently lofty for the Athens of Euripides' day - the proud mistress of so many dependent states, the cultural centre of Hellas. The founder of the Ionian race must not be the son of a military adventurer, nor indeed of any mere mortal; he must derive his origin from a god. And what deity was better suited to be the forefather of so artistic and versatile a people than the patron of music, poetry, medicine and prophecy?

The "Ion" was undoubtedly written to praise the pure blood of the Athenians, and to show that the Ionian stock from which they derived their descent had not originated in the Achaean stranger, Xuthus, but in Apollo himself; and the poet not only expounds all this to his fellow-citizens, but at the same time also impresses upon the strangers and allies present in the audience the divine descent of the Athenians and the ancient greatness of the city of Pallas - "οὐκ ἄσκημος Ἑλλήνων πόλις" (1.8)

A poetic love for Athens shines brightly through the whole play, which is rich in allusions to the art and topography of that city. The mighty works of art executed at Athens a few years before under the administration of Pericles were before the eyes and in the mind of the poet and his audience, in all

their matchless beauty. The epithet "χευσολόχου" (1.9) probably refers to the golden point of the spear of the colossal bronze statue of Athena Promachos on the Acropolis. In the Parodos, the chorus, which is composed of Athenian maidens, before describing the sculptures adorning the temple at Delphi, exclaim

"οὔκ ἐν ταῖς ζαθέαις Ἀθά-
ναις εὐκίονες ἦσαν αὖ-
λαί θεῶν μόνου, οὐδ' ἄγχι-
ἀτιδὲς θεραπείαι." 1.134-7

And the spectators would instinctively think of two wonderful and newly-built αὐλαὶ θεῶν - the Parthenon and Erechtheum .
(1)

"σκέψαι κλόνον ἐν τείχεσι λαῖνοισι γιγάντων.
ὥς δὲ δερκόμεθ', ὦ φίλαι.
λεύσσεις οὖν ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδω γοργωπὸν πάλλουσαν ἴτυν;-
λεύσσω Παλλάδ', ἐμὲν θεόν." 1.206-211

Here perhaps is intended a comparison with the representation of the battle with the Giants, said to have been embroidered on the peplos of Pallas.

In the first stasimon there is a fine invocation of Pallas, urging her to leave Olympus and fly to Delphi in company with her sister Artemis.

"σὲ τὰν ὠσίυνων λοχίαν ἀνειλείθουσαν, ἐμὲν
Ἀθάναν, ἱκετεύω,
προμηθεῖ Τιτᾶνι λοχευθεῖσαν κατ' ἀκροτάτας
κορυφᾶς Διός, ὦ μάκαιρα Νίκη,
μόλε Πύθιον οἶκον
Ὀλύμπου χερσέων θαλάμων
πταμένα περὶς ἄγυιός." 1.453-60

The birth of Athena referred to in the first lines was the subject of the sculpture on the eastern pediment of the Parthenon.

(1) If the Erechtheum had been built when the Ion was produced! As both dates are uncertain one cannot dogmatize on the subject.

The title of *Νίκη*, according to another passage, had been bestowed upon Athena because of the assistance she rendered to Zeus in the battle against the giants.⁽¹⁾ Thus were the Athenians agreeably reminded that Zeus' victory in that famous struggle was not won without the help of their patron goddess. Athena was often represented as a winged victory, and as a wingless victory, "*Νίκη ἀπτερος*", had a temple on the Acropolis near the Propylaea (to suggest that her home was fixed in Athens). This temple was adorned also with winged victories.

In this play we see brought out very strongly what Mr. John Drinkwater calls "Patriotism of Place." The "Long Cliffs" - the rocks along the northern side of the Acropolis, the Cave of Pan, at the base of its N.W. angle, dedicated in common to Apollo and Pan, the grotto of Aglauros, - the scene of Ion's birth - are all described with a fresh and delightful enthusiasm. The audience must indeed have been enchanted by the exquisite apostrophe of the Cave of Pan.

ὦ Πάνος θακήματα καὶ
παρὰυλίζουσα πέτρα
μυχώδεσι Μακράϊς,
ἵνα χοροὺς στείβουσι ποδοῖν
Ἀγλαύρου κῆραι τείγονοι στάδια χλοερά περὶ Παλλάδος
ναῶν, σφείγγων
ὕπ' αἰθέρας ταχῶς
θμυνων, ὅτ' ἀναλίοις
σφείγεις, ὦ Πάν,
τοῖς σοῖσιν ἐν ἀντροῖς."

1.492-502

The daughters of Aglauros are imagined as returning after death and dancing on the green terraces before the Erechtheum and Parthenon while Pan pipes to them from his cave below.

(1) "τὴν παρασπίζουσαν ἄεμασίν ποτε
Νίκην Ἀθηναίαν Ζηὶ γηγενεῖς ἔπε"
cf. also "αὐτίκα Νίκη πέτεται πτεροῖν χευσαίν." Arist. Avos 574
"Νίκη τ' Ἀθῶνα Πολιάς, ἥ σώζει μ' αἶ." Soph. Phil. 134

1.1528

It is a faery scene of idyllic loveliness and wonderful romantic imagination, inspired by and inspiring in others a love for the locality itself.

Reference is made, too, to a spring of brackish water on the Acropolis and a mark in the rock resembling the impression of a trident, which used to be shown as having been produced by Poseidon when he slew Erechtheus by an earthquake;

ἦω. πατέρα δ' ἀληθῶς χάσμα σὸν κρύπτει χθονός,
κε. πληγαὶ τριδίνης ποντίου σφ' ἀπώλεσαν." 1. 281, 2

also to the altar of Zeus Ἀστραπαῖος, which stood near the Long Rocks, between the Πύθιον and the temple of Olympian Zeus, from which lightnings were watched for on three days and nights of three months of the year. "τιμῇ σφε Πύθιος ἀστραπαῖ^{ν τε Πύθιαι.} 1. 285

"The olive-tree grows in all parts of Greece ---- but it flourished best in Athens, and in Athenian poetry." (1) And the olive plays an important part in the "Ion". It was with a wreath of olive that Creusa adorned her new-born child, and this wreath is the third and decisive test in the recognition scene between Mother and son.

"στέφανον ἐλαίας ἀμφέθηκά σοι τότε,
ἦν πρῶτ' Ἀθῶνα σκόπελον ἐσηνέγκατο,
ὅς, εἴπερ ἔστιν, οὐ ποτ' ἐκλείπει χλόην
θάλλει δ', ἐλαίας ἐξ ἀκηρεδτου γε γῶς." 1. 1433-6

Its leaves are represented as unfading, and it is called "ἀκηρεδτου" "unpolluted by human touch", probably with reference to the sacred olive trees, "μορῖαι", which belonged to the state and were under the protection of Ζεὺς Μορῖος. (2) In another

(1) Zimmern, Greek Commonwealth p. 51

(2) cf. Soph. Oed. Col. 699: "φύτευμ' ἀχείρωτον αὐτοποιόν,
ἐργέων φόβημα δαίων,
δ' τὰ δὲ θάλλει μέγιστα χώρῃ,
γλαυκὰς παιδοτερόφου φύλλον ἐλαίας."

passage the Acropolis is called "τὸν ἐλαιοφυῆ πάγον." 1.1480.

The neighborhood of Athens was also famous for nightingales,⁽¹⁾ and this feature is remembered by the poet in a lovely epithet "παρ' ἀηδόνιον πέτεται." 1.1482. The whole play, in fact, is imbued with a romantic devotion to the landscape of Attica, and a profound feeling for its natural beauties. "Love of country", says Mr. Drinkwater,⁽²⁾ is yet perhaps in nothing so intimate and tender as in the passion the patriot feels for the very earth of his familiar habit ----- this love of a man for a natural scene against which his life is set is, as it were the inner domestic bliss of patriotism."

The poet's constant theme throughout the play is the praise and glorification of Athens. When Creusa announces that she is an Athenian princess,

"Ἐκ δ' Ἑρεχθέως
πέφυκα, πατεῖς γῇ δ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις." Ion exclaims, in enthusiastic admiration.

"ὦ κλεινὸν οἶκός τ' ἀστυ, γενναίων τ' ἀπο
τεαφείσα πατέρων, ὥς σε θαυμάζω, γύναι." 1.262, 3 And Creusa's reply is "τοσαῦτα κεῖτοχούμεν"

Ion prays that his mother may be one of Athens' daughters so that he may inherit the privilege of free speech.

"Ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν μ' ἤτεκόσ' εἴη γυνή,
ὥς μοι γένηται μητρόθεν παρρησία" 1.671, 2.

In the first stasimon the chorus entreat Athena and Artemis to intercede with their brother Apollo in favour of Athens' ancient royal house, the line of Erechtheus.

(1) cf. Oed. Col. 16

"Χῶρος δ' ἔδ' ἱερὸς, ὥς σάφ' εἰκάσαι, βρούων
δάφνης, ἐλαίας, ἀμπέλους. πυκνόπτεροι δ'
εἴσω κατ' αὐτὸν εὐστομοῦσ' ἀηδόνες."

(2) Patriotism in Literature p. 109

"ἴκετεύσατε δ', ὦ κόραι,
τὸ παλαιὸν Ἑρεχθέως
γένος εὐτεκνίας Χρονίου καθαροῖς
μαντεύμασι κῦρσαι." 1.468-71.

Again, the play is steeped in Attic traditions. There are many allusions to the early myths of Cecrops and Erechtheus, regarded as the most ancient Attic heroes; both autochthonous, both said to have been the first kings of Attica. Erechtheus was supposed to have established the worship of Athens there, building her a temple in which he placed the original wooden image of the goddess, and instituting the Panathenaic festival, and was himself worshipped in the Erechtheum jointly with Athens. There are references to the Erichthonian myths in 1.267-70; 999-1003; and in the long Messenger's speech, to a picture of Cecrops, reputed to have been half-snake, half-man. (1.1163-5) and in 1.1261 to the Cephissos, also a legendary ancestor of the Athenian race. (Cf. Medea 835) The autochthonous origin of the Athenians, of which they were so proud, is mentioned in 1.589.

"τὰς αὐτόχθονας κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας", and in 1.1465 "ὅτε γηγενέτας δόμος"

At the end of the play Athena appears. She declares that she has come in a spirit of good will to the Athenians.

"μή φεύγετ' οὐ γὰρ πολεμῖαν με φεύγετε,
ἀλλ' ἐν τ' Ἀθήναις, κἀνθάδ' οὔσαν εὐμενῇ.
ἐπώνυμος δὲ σῆς ἀφικόμεν χθονὸς
Παλλὰς." 1.1553-5

There are great honours in store for Ion, who will succeed to the throne at Athens, and become the founder of the Ionian race. He will have four sons whose descendants will form the four Attic tribes.

“οἱ τοῦδε γὰρ
παῖδες γενόμενοι τέσσαρες εἴβης μιᾶς
ἐπώνυμοι γῆς καπιφυλίου χθονὸς
λαῶν ἔσονται, σκόπελον οἱ ναίουσ' ἐμόν.
Γελέων μὲν ἔσται πρῶτος· εἴτα δεύτερον
“Ὀπλητες Ἀεγαστῆς, ἐμῆς τ' ἀπ' αἰγίδος
ἐμφυλον ἔξουσ' Αἰγικορῆς.” 1.575-81

Euripides here offers an aitiological explanation of the names of the four tribes of Attica (which existed as the political unit down to the revolution of Cleisthenes, 509 BC.), the origin of which however, is very uncertain.

The goddess continues with a prediction of the fortunes of the Ionian race.

“οἱ τῶνδε δ' αὖ
παῖδες γενόμενοι σὺν χερσὶν πεπερωμένῳ
Κυκλάδας ἐποικήσουσι νησιᾶς πόλεις
χέρσους τε παράλους, ἔσθ' ἐνός τῇ μὲν χθονὶ
δίδωσιν· ἀντίπορθμα δ' ἡπείρουιν δύοιν
πεδία κατοικήσουσιν, Ἀσιᾶδος τε γῆς
Εὐρωπίας τε· τοῦδε δ' ὀνόματος χάριν
Ἴωνες ὀνομασθέντες ἔξουσιν κλέος.” 1.1581-8

Their descendants shall become the colonists of the Cyclades, which, with the islands of Samos and Chios were included in the original Ionian settlements in Asia Minor, especially the twelve cities of the Ionian confederacy.

The Athenians considered themselves the indigenous and aboriginal stock from which all that bore the Ionian name had descended.

This seems to have been Thucydides' belief.

“Καὶ Ἴωνας μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ νησιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ὥκισαν.” Thuc. 1, 12

and Strabo also gives the same account “ἐκτίσαν δὲ δώδεκα πόλεις ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τῆς Καρίας καὶ τῆς Λυδίας.” Strabo 8, 363

Athena prophesies that Xuthus and Creusa shall have two sons—Dorion, after whom shall be called Doris the small state in

northern Greece that was the original home of the Dorian conquerors of the Peloponnese, and Achaïos who is to give his name to Achaia. (1) (1.1589-94) Thus Creusa is represented as the mother of the two Greek nations, descended respectively from Ion and Doros, who were in Euripides' day the rival leaders of the Hellenic world, and it is further implied that, in virtue of their descent, through Ion from Apollo, the Athenians are naturally entitled to the supremacy. The seeming wrong of the god was but a means of bringing honour to the house of Erechtheus and securing its continuation. The company then leave the stage in triumphal procession, escorted by the goddess, who is thus made to conduct Ion to occupy the throne of her ancient city - a spectacle calculated to arouse the patriotic enthusiasm of the audience.

This play is also interesting as reflecting the strongly marked jealousy and suspicion shown by all Greek citizens towards aliens. The Athenians were extremely chary with the privileges they extended to this class. A metie had no legal personality, and could only exercise his rights through his *προστάτης*. (Cf. Suppl. 892; frag. 362,11.)

Xuthus is a foreigner - this is brought out in the dialogue between Creusa and Ion (1.290-6), and this fact is continually mentioned disparagingly by the chorus. On learning of the favourable reply Xuthus has received from the oracle, they express the wish that their mistress, who is of the direct line of

(1) "Δωριῆς, ἡ μητρόπολις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων" Thuc. 3, 92

Erechtheus, had found a son, rather than Xuthus, an alien

"ὅμως δὲ καὶ δέσποιναν ἐς τέκν' εὐτυχεῖν
ἐβουλόμην ἂν τοῦς τ' Ἐρεχθέως δόμοις." 1.567,8

They refer to Ion as an alien, "θυραῖος" (1.702) and an "ἄλλων
πόνον εἰσπεσών---- ἀλλάτας". 1.1088,9, and declare without
reserve that they do not want him for their ruler, but one of
the stock of Erechtheus.

"ἄλις, ἄλις ὁ πάρος ποτ' ἀρχαῖος ὦν Ἐρεχθεὺς ἄνδρ' (1.723)

The same wish is expressed again.

"μηδὲ πρὶτ' ἄλλος [ἄλλων ἀπ'] οἶ-
κων πόλεως ἀνάσσοι
πλήν τῶν εὐγενετῶν Ἐρεχθιδῶν." 1.1058-60, also in 1.1069-73

This prejudice against foreigners is emphasized in the indignant
speech of the old slave. (1.810 ff), and in the angry dialogue
between Creusa and Ion, when the son is furiously seeking to
tear his mother from the altar and slay her.

"τοῖς Αἰόλου δὲ πῶς μετῆν τῶν Παλλάδος" 1.1297

Ion's long speech contains pointed allusions to the disabilities
of foreigners

"κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας οὐκ ἐπείσακτον γένος,
ἵν' ἐσπεσοῦμαι δύο νόσω κεκτημένος,
πατρὸς τ' ἐπακτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὦν νοθαγενῆς." 1.590-2

Although the "Ion" is in the main a glorification of Athens -
her ancient shrines, her legends and her pure stock, the poet's
praise is not unmingled with censure. As usual, Euripides is always
ready to show the reverse side of the picture, and gives his country-
men some plain-spoken criticisms of contemporary politics.
Xuthus, hailing Ion joyously as his son, presses him to return

to Athens with him. But the latter is not very enthusiastic about the proposal. The Athenians, he says, are proud, of their indigenous descent. A man who is not only an alien, but born out of wedlock as well, will be treated with nothing but contempt. Thus if powerless, he will remain in obscurity, if he attains to office in the state he will be disliked and disparaged by all parties. The good and wise, but retiring citizens will condemn his ambition, the politicians who wield the power in the state will envy his superior ability and oppose all his measures. Besides, from a domestic point of view, his adoption into Xuthus' household will cause nothing but unhappiness. These evils cannot be outweighed by the advantages attaching to a ruler's position. Sovereignty is fair in aspect, but full of anxieties - its possessor must live in constant fear. He would rather live in security as a private citizen than as a tyrant who hates the good and must ally himself with the bad.

"δημότης ἂν εὐτυχὴς
 ζῇν ἂν θέλοιμι μᾶλλον ἢ τύραννος ὦν,
 ὃ τούς πονηρούς ἡδονὴ φίλους ἔχειν,
 ἐσθλούς δέ μισεῖ κατθανεῖν φοβούμενος."

1.625-8 (Cf. Hipp. 1016)

Wealth has no attractions for him either. His present condition has many advantages. He has leisure, and the people are friendly toward him. He serves the gods, converses freely with men, sees no sorrowful faces, meets many different people and possesses a disposition that is naturally just. All these blessings he considers far more desirable than the preferred throne and the misery that accompanies it.

(1) For the prevalence of men of inferior type in contemporary Greece, see Thuc. III 83 "καὶ οἱ φαυλότεροι γινώμεν ὥς τὰ πλείω περιεγίγνοντο."

In the course of this speech there are several thinly-veiled criticisms of the Athens of Euripides' day. Athens is called

"πόλις φόβου πλέα." (1.601) in which
 "τῶν δ' αὖ λογίων τε χρωμένων τε τῇ πόλει
 ἐς ἀξίωμα βᾶς πλέον φρουρήσονται
 ψήφοισιν. οὐτῶ γὰρ τὰ δ' ὧ πάτερ, φιλεῖ·
 οἱ τὰς πόλεις ἔχουσι καὶ ξιώματα,
 τοῖς ἀνθαμίλλοις εἰσὶ παλεμώτατοι." 1.602-6

Again, he points out that at Delphi he is not rudely jostled on the streets by low fellows.

"οὐδέ μ' ἐξέπληξ' ὁδοῦ
 πονηρὸς οὐδεὶς· κείνο δ' οὐκ ἀνασχετόν,
 εἴκειν ὁδοῦ χαλῶντα τοῖς κακίοσιν." 1.635-7

This same complaint about democratic fifth century Athens is voiced by the writer of that oligarchical pamphlet already mentioned.

"πανταχοῦ πλέον νέμονται τοῖς πονηροῖς ---- ἢ τοῖς χερστοῖς,
 ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ φανοῦνται τὴν δημοκρατίαν διασώζοντες ----
 ἐν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ ἀμαθία τε πλείστη καὶ ἀταξία καὶ πονηρία.
 ἢ τε γὰρ πενία αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ἄγει ἐπὶ τὰ ἀισχρὰ καὶ ἡ ἀπαιδευσία
 καὶ ἡ ἀμαθία." Ath. Pol. I 4,5. In another passage the author

refers to the insolent manners of the slaves at Athens.

"τῶν δούλων δ' αὖ ---- πλείστη ἐστὶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀκολασία, καὶ οὐτε
 "πατάξαι ἔξεστιν αὐτόθι οὐτε ὑπεκστήσεται σοὶ ὁ δούλος."
 I, 10. (Cf. Plato Rep. 8, 563)

The chorus declare their hatred of crafty plotters "κακούεργους
 ἀνδρας ---- οἱ συντιθέντες τὰ δίκ' εἴτα μηχαναῖς | κοσμοῦσι." (1.832-4) -
 a type of politician that played all too prominent a part in
 Athenian affairs during the Peloponnesian War.

The "Ion" has also another important motive. It is a severe and deliberate criticism of the traditional gods, and in particular, of Apollo and his Delphic oracle. On the other

side it has been argued that "the sanctity of the oracle is gloriously vindicated at the close"⁽¹⁾; and the beautiful monody in which Ion describes the joy he takes in the service of the god is full of worship and high religious ecstasy (1.82-182) But on the whole, Apollo is exhibited as a heartless ravisher of women - utterly selfish - who endeavours to conceal his past misdeeds by a fraudulent response, and who, when his deception is exposed, is ashamed to face the mortals he has wronged and sends Athena to take his place (67-73, 881-922, 1557, 8) The whole plot of the play is a tremendous indictment of such a god. "Thy Delos hates thee!" cries Creusa (1.919) "As an honest man for whom gods who do wrong are not gods at all, Euripides probes his theme until his play becomes in effect a damaging attack upon Delphi."⁽²⁾ And one should remember that, as has been pointed out in connection with the "Andromache", an attack upon Apollo was by no means objectionable in Athens at this time. That god had brought great discredit on himself by his disgraceful neutrality during the Persian wars, and had incurred well-earned odium at Athens by the partiality he showed the Peloponnesians in the present struggle. When Creusa would inquire of the god the fate of the child "her friend" had exposed, Ion tells her that she is not likely to receive any reply.

"πῶς ὁ θεὸς ὁ λαθεῖν βούλεται μαντεύσεται;" 1.365

Creusa's indignant retort is a direct protest against the partisan favour shown by Apollo toward the Lacedaemonians

(1) Haigh, Tragic Drama of the Greeks; p.305

(2) J.T.Sheppard, Cambridge Ancient History, Vol.V, p.135

throughout the Peloponnesian war.

"εἴπερ καθίξει τείποδα κοινὸν Ἑλλάδος." 1.366.

The date of the *Ion* is very uncertain. The mention of Rhium (1.1592) as descriptive of the coast line along the gulf of Corinth has been supposed to allude to the victory of Phormio over the Peloponnesian fleet B.C.429 (Thuc.II 84), and the stress laid on the sculptures adorning the temple at Delphi to allude to the new stoa which the Athenians had just dedicated at Delphi (Paus.11,5) in honour of this victory. On this latter conjecture Bayfield remarks "It is much more likely that the poet would make his scene a faithful representation of the eastern front of the temple as familiar to (1) hundreds of his audience".

On the other hand, Haigh considers that the play belongs to the period immediately following the Sicilian expedition, basing his view on the use of trochaic tetrameters in three places, the irregularity of the versification, which approximates to the style of the poet's final period. (it has a greater percentage of resolved feet in the trimeters than the *Phoenissae*, and the vein of hostility towards Apollo and the Delphic oracle, which, he argues, suggests a date subsequent to the Sicilian expedition. The last conclusion, however, is obviously unnecessary, in view of the unfavourable comments on the oracle in the *Andromache*. The prominence of monodies in the play, however, point to a fairly late date.

(1) ed.*Ion*. p.81.

Hermann thinks that the play was written at a time when the question of birth and descent was uppermost - about 424 BC when a great many citizens were disfranchized for dubious parentage, on account of the disputes over the distribution of grain from Euboea (Schol.Arist.Vesp.716)⁽¹⁾ As has been remarked, there are many references in the play to the disadvantageous position of aliens in Athens, and this was a time when the attention of men was directed toward this question. Hermann also sees an allusion to Cleon in l.1298. Fix however, remarks that as the metres seem to indicate a later date, he is inclined to date the play 420 BC, especially⁽²⁾ since the picture of conditions in Athens given in Ion's speech (589 ff.), agrees with the actual political situation at the time, when Cleon was dead, and Hyperbolus ruled the assembly. The last mentioned views seems on the whole the most satisfactory and consistent.

The "Ion" is in many ways a baffling play. It is full of an infectious enthusiasm for Athens, her temples, her legends of divine ancestry, her pride in pure lineage. The poet has refashioned the old patriotic myth, with admirable ingenuity and charm. The very features of the Attic landscape are tenderly and intimately described. Yet there is in it an irony, a bitterness, that strikes a note curiously discordant with that enthusiasm. Yet this seeming contradiction was merely the natural result of Euripides' reaction to the times. He

(1) Praef. Ion p.32

(2) Chron Fab. Eur. p X.

loved Athens as deeply as any of her sons, but he did not love the politicians who now ruled her so completely, and were turning her away from the ideals that had made her great. Hence we have this puzzling combination of an almost naive patriotism and a cynical disgust with contemporary life and politics.

VI

"How shall I move a world by lamentation,
A world which heeded not a nation's tears?

Yet none the less I speak. Nay, here by Heaven,
This task at least a poet best may do,
To stand alone against the mighty many,
To force a hearing for the weak and few

To fight and conquer; 'tis the boast of heroes,
To fight and fly: of this men do not speak."

Wilfred Scawen Blunt: "The Wind and the Whirlwind."

"φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμᾷ ἠκούσθη,
κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὀδυρμὸς πολὺς.
Ῥαχὴλ κλαίουσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς, Matt. 2, 18
καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν παρακληθῆναι, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν."

Throughout these years Athens had been reaping the inevitable harvest consequent on fratricidal war. A continuous process of degeneration and decay was going on in every sphere of public life, and the "Saviour of Hellas" was falling far short of the bright dreams and high ideals visioned but a few years before. Even Pericles, the great statesman who had given them immortal expression in his "Funeral Oration", realized before his death that Athens' Empire had become a despotism", and in 427 Cleon had with brutal frankness pointed out to the Sovereign Assembly that "whenever you yield out of pity, your weakness involves you in danger and does not win the gratitude of your allies."

We no longer hear that "the very name of equality is beautiful" but that democracy is "incompetent to govern an empire", and later still Alcibiades, a professed democratic champion declared at Sparta "ἐπεὶ δημοκρατίαν γε καὶ ἐγὶ γινώσκωμεν οἱ φρονεούτες τι---- ἀλλὰ περὶ ὁμολογουμένης ἀνοίας οὐδὲν ἔν καὶνὸν λέγοιτο" *Thuc. VI, 89*

The penetrating mind of Thucydides correctly discerned the relation between cause and effect "War" he says, "is a teacher who educates through violence, and makes men's characters fit their conditions". And as the toils of war closed tighter around Athens, and desperate needs encompassed her, she resorted to desperate expedients. Her policy became more aggressive as time went on.

In 425, at Cleon's instigation, Athens broke the "Charter of her Empire", ⁽¹⁾ the agreement between her and her allies that had been drawn up forty-five years before by Aristides the Just, and doubled the rates of tribute. If we compare the revised tribute list with the old one, we shall find one name on it for which no earlier rate of payment is recorded - the island of Melos, which had hitherto preserved its independence. It was a small rocky island with an agricultural population of Dorian race; it had little commerce, and no military power. For nine years Melos disregarded the assessment of tribute. At last in 416 it paid a heavy penalty for its presumption. Athens decided to collect the arrears. Troops were dispatched to the island and envoys sent to deliver Athens' ultimatum. By means of an imaginary debate between these envoys and the Melian Council Thucydides has thrown the episode into dramatic relief, and with relentless irony laid bare the cynical contempt for right which

(1) The phrase is Zimmern's, *Greek Commonwealth*, p.439

now characterized Athenian policy. In frank and shameless words the Athenian envoys enunciate in all its nakedness the "law of nature" that the stronger shall rule the weaker.

"εἰδότες ὅτι δίκαια μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ λόγῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσῆς ἀνάγκης κρίνεται, δυνάτ' αὖ οἱ πρέσβυχοντες πελάσσουσι καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖς συγχωροῦσιν." Thuc.V.89

They explain to the Melian government that it is in their interests to have Melos subject to their Empire. They will not waste words on a specious justification of that Empire, and will not pretend that the Melians have done them any injury; but it is dangerous to their imperial sway that any of the islands should remain independent. Their power is practically irresistible. They offer Melos the choice of surrender or destruction. When the Melians declare that retribution is sure to overtake a power guilty of such wanton aggression, the Athenians reply that they are willing to take the risk. The appeal to religion and divine justice, "ὅτι ὅσιοι πρὸς οὐ δικαίους ἱστάμεθα," the Athenians superciliously deprecate, alleging their own careful worship of the gods. They sneer at the hopes expressed by the islanders that the Lacedaemonians will, as in duty bound, come to their aid; the latter are no doubt a very virtuous people, but in their attitude towards other states, they are governed wholly by considerations of expediency. "τὰ μὲν ἡδέα καλὰ νομίζουσι, τὰ δὲ συμφέροντα δίκαια." (Thuc.V, 105)

The Melians plead to be allowed to remain neutral, but are refused. The Athenians then retired from the conference, and after a brief consultation the Melian government announced their decision. Their resolution is unshaken; they will not in a short moment

rob of its liberty a city seven hundred years old. The Athenian army immediately commenced hostilities, walling in the city of Melos, while the fleet blockaded it by sea. The Melians held out through the autumn, making two successful sallies. Later, reinforcements were sent from Athens, the siege was pressed more closely, and "some treachery taking place", the Melians surrendered at discretion. The Athenians slew all the grown men and enslaved the women and children. Later they sent out five hundred colonists to the island.

To this event Thucydides devotes thirty-two consecutive chapters of his austere chronicle - a treatment seemingly all out of proportion to its actual military and political importance. But the massacre at Melos was the greatest and most atrocious crime of which the Athenians had yet been guilty. It is remarkable, not so much for the inhumanity, as for the unprovoked and inexcusable aggression of Athens. Furthermore, this event occurred only six months before that ill-fated Sicilian expedition which was destined to bring due retribution and to humble Athens' pride in the dust. It is a fitting prologue to that infatuated enterprise.

After describing the punishment inflicted by the Athenians on the disobedient islanders, Thucydides' next words

are "τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβούλοντο αὐθις μείζονι παρασκευῇ τῆς μετὰ Λάχης καὶ Εὐμέδοντος ἐπὶ Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες καταστράφησθαι." (VI, 1) and he tells us later that

this same armament "ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἐπίδειξιν μᾶλλον εἰκασθῆναι τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐξουσίας ἢ ἐπὶ πολέμους παρασκευῇ." VI, 31 "Thucydides ----- selected the war

on Melos as a type of sin leading to punishment - that sin of

"Hubris" or Pride which according to Greek ideas was associated with some heaven-sent blindness and pointed straight to a fall." (1)

Melos fell in the autumn of 416 B.C. In the Spring of 415 when the mighty fleet was still preparing to sail, Euripides produced "The Trojan Women." In the prologue we see Poseidon mourning over the wreck that once was Troy. He announces that he has risen from the Aegean to view the ancient city, now a smoking ruin.

"ἢ νῦν καπνοῦται καὶ πρὸς Ἀργείου δορός
ὁ λῶλε πορθηθεῖσ'." 1.8,9

He gives a vivid picture of the desolation and destruction wrought in the conquered city by the Greek victors

"ἔρημα δ' ἄλσῃ καὶ θεῶν ἀνάκτορα
φόνῳ καταρρεῖ· πρὸς δὲ κρηπίδων βάθεοις
πέπτωκε Πριάμος Ζηνὸς ἑρκείου θάδων." 1.15-17

The conquerors, homesick and eager to leave these scenes of horror, are waiting for a favourable wind to set sail for their native lands. The river Scamander moans with the wails of the captive women, allotted to their new lords

"καὶ τὰς μὲν Ἀρκάς, τὰς δὲ Θεσσαλὸς λεῶς
εἴληχ' Ἀθηναίων τε Θησεῖδαι πρόμοι" 1.30,31

(1) Gilbert Murray, "Euripides and His Age", p.127,8

(2) The date of this play and the tetralogy to which it belonged have fortunately been preserved by Aelian, Var. Hist. II, 8. "κατὰ τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἐνενηκοστήν δαυμπριάδα ---- αὐτηγωνίσαντο ἀλλήλοισι βενοκλήες καὶ Εὐριπίδης ---- δεύτερος Εὐριπίδης ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Παλαμίδει καὶ Τρωάσι."

This testimony is confirmed by the Scholia on Ar. Av. 843 and Vesp. 1317. In the former it is stated that the Palamedes was brought out shortly before B.C. 414, the year of the "Birds", and in the latter that the Troades was exhibited seven years after the "Wasps" B.C. 422.

(3) Gilbert Murray points out the parallel. "We see gods brooding over the wreck of Troy; as they might be brooding over that wrecked island in the Aegean---- it is from the Aegean that Poseidon has risen." (Euripides and his Age, p.131).

Even the Athenian chieftains accept their share of the miserable captives! And the author of all this ruin, all this unhappiness and misery, is Athena, daughter of Zeus.

"εἴ σε μὴ διώλεσεν
Παλλὰς Διὸς παῖς, ἦσθ' ἂν ἐν βάθεοις ἔτι" 1.46,7

She had been the implacable foe of Troy, according to the Homeric story; but one cannot help remembering that Athena is in a very intimate sense the patron goddess of Athens! She immediately appears. But her attitude towards her former favourites is entirely changed. The Greeks have sacrilegiously violated her shrine and ravished the virgin priestess Cassandra. She declares her purpose

"τοὺς μὲν πρὶν ἐχθροὺς Τρῶας εὐφραῖναι θέλω,
στρατῶ δ' Ἀχαιῶν νόστον ἐμβαλεῖν πικρόν." 1.65,6.

She is determined to punish them for their sin and asks Poseidon's cooperation. Zeus has promised to send rain, hail and wind, and to smite the guilt-stained ships with his thunderbolt. She and Poseidon swear a compact. A storm shall break as soon as the fleet sets sail. The gulfs of the Aegean shall be choked with corpses, and the cliffs strewn with dead. The angry god's last words pronounce judgment on the insolence and impiety of the conquerors.

"μῶρος δὲ θνητῶν ὅστις ἐκπορθεῖ πόλεις,
ναοὺς τε τύμβους θ', ἱερὰ τῶν κεκμηκότων,
ἐρημιά δούς αὐτὸς ὥλεθ' ὕστερον." 1.95-7

These words, when transferred from the sackers of Troy and applied to the sackers of Melos, seem both a warning and a prophecy - a warning against further aggression, and a prophecy of impending retribution.

When these wrathful presences have vanished, the poet presents us with a powerful and moving picture of the inner side of the great conquest. In the background are the shattered walls of the city; dead bodies lie about. Nearby are wooden huts in which the captive Trojan women are lodged. An aged woman is lying asleep on the hard ground. She is Hecuba, formerly queen of Troy. As day dawns, she awakes and sings a long lament bewailing her fate and the ignominies to which she has been subjected. In this she is joined by the chorus of captive Trojan women. They are to be distributed this morning among the Achaean chieftains. The herald Talthybius enters and announces the decisions of the Greek leaders. Cassandra, the priestess of Apollo, vowed to eternal virginity, has been awarded to Agamemnon - to be his concubine! Andromache is assigned to Pyrrhus, the son of him who slew her husband, and Hecuba to Odysseus. When this last decision is announced, Hecuba breaks out into a passionate tirade against her new master - his guile and low cunning, his duplicity, his slanderous tongue (1.282-6) Cassandra comes on the stage, crowned with flowers, brandishing a lighted torch, and singing a wild strain in honour of her coming nuptials with the "king of men". On growing calmer, the prophetess, points out that the victors are even more wretched than the vanquished.

“πόλιν δὲ δείξω τήνδε μακαριωτέραν
ἢ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς.” 1,365,6

They have wasted lives untold for the sake of one woman. Those who fell died far from home, seeing neither their wives nor children, and received no burial rites at the hands of their

kin; while in their homes are widowed wives, childless fathers and fatherless children. The Trojans died a glorious death, fighting for home and country; their own friends gave them burial in their native earth. While they lived they saw daily their wives. They proved themselves heroes and have gained a great reputation. She concludes with three splendid lines that explain Euripides' attitude toward war.

" φεύγειν μὲν οὖν χεῖ πόλεμον ὅστις εὖ φρονεῖ.
εἰ δ' ἔς τόδ' ἔλθοι, στέφανος οὐκ ἀσχερὸς πόλει
καλῶς ὀλέσθαι, μὴ καλῶς δὲ δυσκλεές." 1.400-2

Still possessed by the spirit of the god she predicts the calamities that are in store for the Achaian chieftains, the bloody bath that awaits Agamemnon, and her own miserable fate.

A wagon loaded with spoil is driven in, and on it is seated Andromache with her young son Astyanax. She tells Hecuba of the sacrifice of her daughter Polyxena at Achille's tomb. Even in this moment of grief Hecuba advises Andromache to propitiate her new lord that she may bring up to manhood her son, the one hope of Troy. At this moment Talthybius returns with the news that Astyanax, lest he prove a second Hector, is to be hurled from the battlements of Troy. Andromache is advised not to attempt resistance.

" μήτε σθένουσα μηδὲν ἰσχύειν δόκει." (1.728)

in words reminiscent of those used by the Athenians in Thucydides' Melian Dialogue. "περὶ δὲ σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἢ βουλή πρὸς τοὺς κρείσσονας πολλῶ μὴ ἀντίστας." Thuc. V, 101. "δυνατὰ δὲ οἱ προύχοντες πράσσουσι καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖς συγχωροῦσιν." V, 89.

The boy is taken from his agonized mother, and the unhappy woman is hurried off to her new life of slavery, though not without a last protest against such atrocities.

"ὦ Βάρε βαρ' ἐξευρόντες Ἑλλήνες κακά,
τί' τόνδε παῖδα κτείνεται οὐδέν αἴτιον; 1.764,5.

And this reproach is echoed later by Hecuba (1.1158-60)
The dead body of Astyanax is brought back to his grandmother to lay out for burial on Hector's shield. The unhappy queen and her women perform this last service and lament the child's death. The tragedy closes as Troy is fired. Hecuba rushes to throw herself into the flames, and is prevented, and by the red light of the burning city the Trojan women are led off to the Grecian ships.

It has been suggested that the choral ode beginning 1.799 was inspired by a desire to encourage the Sicilian Expedition by recalling the success of a similar expedition, undertaken in the mythical ages. But such an inference is merely a vague surmise. Besides, the mention of Sicily by name in 1.221,2.

" ἀκούω

καρύσσεσθαι στεφάνοις ἀρετᾶς," which can hardly be accidental, considering the year in which the play was produced, is scarcely of such a nature as to encourage an enterprise against that island. On the contrary, by saying that it was renowned for valour the poet probably intended to deter his fellow citizens from undertaking the expedition. Euripides hated and shrank from war, and the attitude he adopts towards it in this same play (1.400) makes it unlikely that he would lend his approval

to so rash and aggressive an enterprise.

The play consists in a series of significant pictures unfolded one after the other, and submitted to the contemplation of the reflective spectator. The Athenians, who had laid waste many a city, are presented with a picture of the destruction of Troy, the proudest feat of conquest famed in story. But they were shown that conquest stripped of the glamour of victory - the conquered city's outraged shrines its altars dripping with blood. The conquerors themselves are unhappy and contemptible, seen when the thrill of battle is over. It was not the men of the humbled city, now at rest in their graves, in whom the true tragedy lay, but in the women, now captives, doomed to a life of slavery in a foreign land, and in the arrogant victors themselves, who are shown to be in reality more wretched than the vanquished.

One can hardly doubt, as one reads the play, and notes the close parallelism in situation, that Euripides wrote this drama as a protest against the recent crime of Melos, which must have been a terrible shock to so true a patriot. A powerful picture of the horrors and degradation such conquest brings to vanquished and victors, alike, it presents an unanswerable argument against aggressive warfare. The poet sought to warn his people, against the policy they were pursuing, and to turn them back before it was too late. The Athenians are reminded in this play - as they had been in Thucydides' dialogue, of the instability of fortune.

"Ὀνητῶν δὲ μῶρος ὅστις εὖ πράσσειν δοκῶν,
βέβαια χαίρει τοῖς τρόποις γὰρ αἱ τύχαι
ἐμπληκτος ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοσε
πηδῶσι, κοῦδείς αὐτὸς εὐτυχεῖ ποτε." 1.1203-5

Yet even in this play, whose theme and development were so obviously influenced by the merciless treatment accorded to Melos, the poet's innate patriotism and irrepressible love ~~for Athens~~ for Athens forces its way out. The captive Trojan women, when speculating as to what lands are destined to be their new homes, declare that they would prefer above all to dwell in Athens.

"τὰν κλεινὰν εἴθ' ἐλθοίμεν
Θησέως εὐδαίμονα χώραν
----- τὰν ἱερὰν
Θησέως βαθέαν----χώραν." 1.208,9;218,9.

Later there is another bit of description that shows us how unquenchable was the fire of patriotism that burned within the poet.

"ἴχθοις ἱεροῖς, ἴν' ἐλαίας
πρῶτον ἐδείξε κλάδον γλαυκᾶς Ἀθάνας,
οὐράνιον στέφανον λιπαρὰ στήθεϊ κόσμον Ἀθήναις." 1.801-3

There are also traces of Anti-Spartan sentiment. In the above-mentioned ode, the chorus deprecate a banishment to the hated land of the Eurotas.

"μὴ γὰρ δὴ δίναν γ' Εὐρώτα,
τὰν ἐχθίσταν θεράπυναν Ἑλένας,
ἐνθ' ἀντάσω Μενέλα δούλα,
τῷ τᾶς Τροίας πορθητᾷ." 1.210-213

The Spartan characters are most unfavourably represented. Helen is a bold and shameless courtesan, Menelaus an uxorious

weakling.

But the dominant note of the play is that of indignant pity and dire foreboding. Athens is reminded

"Thy deeds of violence men count and reckon

Who takes the sword shall perish by the sword.",

as many centuries later another great Empire was reminded by one of her poets.(1).

In fact, as Gilbert Murray says "the 'Trojan Women' is something more than art. It is a prophecy, a bearing of witness --- and while the gods of the prologue were prophesying destruction at sea for the sackers of Troy, the fleet of the sackers of Melos, flushed with victory and marked by a slight, but unforgettable taint of sacrilege, was actually preparing to set sail for the fatal enterprise against Sicily."⁽²⁾

The "Alexander", the first play of the sametetralogy is not extant; but twenty-two fragments, with a total of fifty lines, have been preserved. They are full of interesting discussions of slavery and its injustices and show that Euripides held remarkable advanced and enlightened opinions on the subject. However, this topic lies without the province of the present discussion and cannot be enlarged upon here. But there are other fragments which are interesting in showing how consistently Euripides combatted what was perhaps the most insidious evil of Athenian democracy - the power of persuasive, oratory to prevail over a just cause.

(1) Wilfred Scawen Blunt, whose indignation was roused by what he held to be England's shameful maladministration of Egypt. But unlike Euripides, Blunt shows no desire to correct, but only a fury of denunciation, and prophecy of doom. His protest, "The Wind and the Whirlwind", passes into a malediction.

(2) Introduction to translation of Troades, p.6.

"ἀναξ, δια βολαὶ δεινὸν ἀνθρώποις κακόν·
 ἀγλωσσίᾳ δὲ πολλὰ κίς ληφθεὶς ἀνὴρ
 δίκαια λῆξας ἦσσαν εὐγλώσσου φέρεϊ." Frag.56 (Nauck)

He despises the citizen who is full of specious words, but is not ready to follow ^{them} up with good deeds.

"μισῶ σοφὸν ἐν λόγοισιν ἐς δ' ὀνῆσιν οὐ σοφὸν." Frag.61

The theme of the "Palamedes", the remaining tragedy of the group is that of the righteous man slandered to his death by the evil man who possesses the power of persuading the multitude. When Odysseus tried to avoid going on the Trojan expedition by feigning madness, the fraud was detected and disclosed by the wise Palamedes. In revenge Odysseus buried a hoard of gold in his tent and forged a letter purporting to be a communication from Priam to Palamedes. This letter was found and brought to Agamemnon, the tent of Palamedes searched, and the gold discovered. Palamedes was adjudged guilty of treason and given over to the army to be stoned to death. The same motif - the contrast between fair words and base deeds recurs.

"ὅστις λέγει μὲν εὖ, τὰ δ' ἔργ' ἐφ' οἷς λέγει
 ἀίσχρ' ἐστί, τούτου τὸ σοφὸν οὐκ αἰνῶ ποτέ." Frag.583.

Odysseus, who secures the condemnation of the innocent man by treachery and fair speeches is the type of the dangerous demagogue (1) whom Euripides ever tried to discredit.

Among the fragments of this play are the sage lines in which Euripides plainly showed his distrust of the city's leaders at that time and counselled his fellow-citizens to chose other advisers.

(1) Tro. 282 ff; Hec.131-3, 254; Iph. Aul. 526.

" εἰ τῶν πολιτῶν οἷσι νῦν πιστεύομεν
τούτοις ἀπιστήσαιμεν, οἷς δ' οὐ χρώμεθα,
τούτοισι χρῆσάμεσθ', ὥς σωθῆμεν ἅν." Frag. 582.
(1)

These lines are found in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (1.1446) where they are actually represented as Euripides' advice to his fellow-citizens on the political situation. "What measures of safety have you for the city?" asks Dionysus, and this is the reply put into the mouth of the poet - Athens' best chance of safety lay in distrusting the demagogues and listening to moderate men.

The chorus lament the unjust murder in three beautiful lines

" ἑκάνετ' ἑκάνετε τὰν
πάνσοφον, ᾧ Δαναοί
τὰν οὐδέν' ἀλγύνουσιν ἀηδόνα μουσῶν." Frag. 588

VII

" ἃ γὰρ δὴ πολὺπλαγκτος ἑλπίς πολλοῖς μὲν δ' ὕασις ἀνδρῶν,
πολλοῖς δ' ἀπάτα κουφονόων ἐρώτων." Soph. Ant. 615-7

1.

In the midsummer of the same year the great Athenian Armada set sail for Sicily. For some time Athens has been casting covetous eyes upon that large and prosperous island, eager to lay her greedy hands upon the wealth described in such glowing terms by exiles from Leontini and Segesta. Volunteers eagerly offered themselves for service on the expedition, and with like enthusiasm the trierarchs fitted out their ships in the most lavish style. The hoplites vied with one another in the

(1) That these lines came from the *Palamedes* is evident from the fact that Dionysus exclaims, "εὖ γ', ᾧ Παλάμηδες" (1.1451) and the scholiast's comment is "πρὸς τὸν Εὐριπίδην, ὅτι εἰκὸς ἔκ Παλαμήδους πεπλάσθαι τὰῦτα."

splendour of their arms; immense stores were gathered and sent on. As Thucydides tells us:

"παρασκευὴ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ πρώτη ἐκπλεύσασα μιᾶς πόλεως δυνάμει Ἑλληνικῇ πολυτελεστάτῃ δὴ καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτῃ τῶν ἐς ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐγένετο." "Thuc VI,31.

The people generally were wrought to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by the prophets and soothsayers, who assured them of victory (Thuc VIII,1) A feeling of hope prevailed. "ἐπὶ μεγίστῃ ἐλπίδι τῶν μελλόντων πρὸς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐπεχειρήθη." ibid. In spite of the alarm and panic caused by the mutilation of the Hermae in which Alcibiades was suspected of having been implicated, the preparations proceeded. The whole population crowded down to the Piraeus to see it sail. The trumpeter proclaimed silence, prayers were offered, libations poured, the paean was sung; the ships sailed out in single column, an imposing array of (1) might and power, symbolic of proud hopes and bright dreams.

But these hopes were destined to meet with bitter disappointment. Alcibiades, who had been recalled to stand his trial for impiety, now became Athens' evil genius. He escaped to the Peloponnese and there advised the Spartans to send troops to the aid of the Syracusans, and to seize and fortify Deceleia in North Attica. In due time a force was sent to Syracuse under Gylippus. One of the leaders of the expedition, Lamachus, was killed. In reply to a dismal despatch from Nicias, Eurymedon

((1) Alcibiades declared at Sparta (though we must take his statement with the proverbial grain of salt) that the Athenians' ambitious designs did not stop with the conquest of Sicily, but "μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους αὖθις καὶ Ἰταλιώτας ἔπειτα καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίωνδε χώρας καὶ αὐτῶν ἀποπειράσονται. εἰ δὲ προχωρήσειε ταῦτα---- ἢ δὴ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἐμέλλομεν ἐπιχειρήσειν---- καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ ξυμπαντος Ἑλληνικοῦ ἀρξείν." Thuc VI.90.

was sent forward in the winter of 413 with ten triremas, while Demosthenes prepared to follow with 65 more ships.

It was probably about this time that Euripides' "Electra" was produced. Various dates have been proposed for this play, but the majority of scholars incline to either 413 or 412, as the metre and style suggest a late date. Hartung⁽¹⁾ and Fix⁽²⁾ assign it to the latter year in consideration of 1.1200-4 where the myth about the phantom Helen is given in the same form in which it appears in the "Helena", which is known to have been exhibited in 412. The former argues, that the Electra was brought out before the Helena, but in the same trilogy - the brief statement of that version of the story in the Electra being a kind of announcement by the poet that he was about to introduce the Helen legend on the stage in a novel form. But though this passage probably indicates that the Electra preceded the Helena, it does not necessarily prove that it was produced in the same year; and 11.1347 seq. in the epilogue surely exclude 412 as the date of the Electra. The words of the Dioscuri, announcing that they are going to the Sicilian Sea to protect sailors upon the deep, must refer to the Sicilian expedition, and to a time prior to the last disaster, or at least prior to its announcement at Athens, for otherwise, as Weil justly remarks "les Dioscures n'auraient plus rien trouvé à sauver."⁽³⁾ To this argument Fix, who advocates the later date, replies that the Athenians did not at first credit the news of the final destruction of the

(1) Hartung, Euripides Restitutus. (2) Fix, Chron.Fab. p.XI
(3) Sept Tragédies d'Euripide, p.568

army of Nicias and the Athenian fleet, citing Thucydides (VIII,1.) But as Weil points out, the army of Nicias had been destroyed before the end of September 413 (Plut.Nic.28), and it is impossible that the news of so dreadful and serious a disaster should not have been positively known at Athens long before the Great Dionysia in March 412. Therefore the Electra cannot have been brought out later than the spring of 413 B.C. - a date which suits the tone of the epilogue, which points to a period when the position of Athens was endangered, but not hopeless. Weil conjectures that ^{the} ships which the Dioscuri promise to protect are probably those dispatched under Demosthenes in the spring of 413 BC; or, if the Electra were exhibited at the Lenaea, February 413; those sent on in advance under Eurymedon in the winter. These lines would bear a message of sympathy and comfort to the poet's audience, many of whom had relatives or friends in Sicily or on the way thither. Keene further suggests that "the reference to the pious man also, and the dangers he incurs in sharing the voyage of the perjured would recall to their minds two of the leaders of the expedition. Nicias, the ideal pious man of the Athenian democracy, and Alcibiades, who lay under the dreadful suspicion of sacrilege."⁽¹⁾

The "Electra though dealing with a very well known story, and one treated by both of Euripides' great rivals, is a most unusual play, and has called forth much bitter criticism."⁽²⁾

(1) C.H. Keene, edition of Electra, p.XXXIV

(2) Schlegel's violent attack upon it is too famous to need citation.

Euripides departs from the conventional treatment and strips the bloody deed of vengeance of all the heroic glamour that surrounded it. Apollo and his Delphic oracle, who commanded the murder are condemned in no uncertain terms. Orestes and Electra are conscious themselves of the horror of their deed. When they come forth from the cottage where Clytaemnestra has been butchered, they are not exalted and triumphant, or secure in their confidence of having done their duty. They come forth pale and shaken, feeling that the mother-murder is an abomination, doubting the wisdom and justice of the god who ordained it.

"Ορ. ὦ φοῖβε, πολλήν γ' ἀμαθίαν ἐθέσπισας,
 Ηλ. ὅπου δ' ἠπόλλων σκαῖος ἦ, τίνες σοφοί;
 Ορ. ὅστις μ' ἐΐχερσας μητερ', ἦν οὐ χεῖν, κτανεῖν." 1.971-3

At the end of the play Castor, one of the gods in the epiphany, condemns the deed - with a subtle hint that Apollo deserves censure for having commanded it.

"φοῖβός τε, φοῖβος - ἀλλ' ἀνάξ γὰρ ἐστ' ἐμός,
 σιγῶ σοφὸς δ' ὦν οὐκ ἐΐχερσέ σοι σοφά" 1.1245,6.

When asked why they, the two heavenly horsemen, did not save their sister, Castor replies

"μοῖρ' ἀνδράγκης ἦρ' ἦ τὸ χρεών,
 φοῖβου τ' ἀσοφοί γλώσσης ἐνοπαί." 1.1301,2

A distrust of soothsayers is shown. "βροτῶν δὲ μαντικὴν χαίρειν ἐῷ." 1.400, but it is against Apollo, the chief representative of the art of divination - the god who presided over it, that the most uncompromising attack is directed.

The "Electra" is further unusual in being perhaps to use Muller's phrase - "of all the extant tragedies the most openly

democratic."⁽¹⁾ The poet has made peasants the noblest and most enterprising of the characters. Electra's husband is the hero, the old farmer from the Spartan frontier is the moving spirit in the execution of the plot. The peasant husband is one of Euripides' noblest creations, and withal one of his most striking innovations on the stage. He speaks the prologue and exhibits an unusually unselfish attitude. He explains that Aegisthus, fearing that if Electra were to marry a man of her own rank she might bear a child who would exact vengeance for Agamemnon's murder, married her to himself - a poor peasant. But when he received from Aegisthus a wife of whom he did not feel himself worthy, he resolved to respect her. He is Electra's humble protector, nothing more. His nobility is further revealed in Electra's attitude towards him - she is full of gratitude and tries to lighten his toil. In the first scene the poet presents to us a picture of the early morning life of a rural household. When Orestes is shown the cottage in which his sister lives, he exclaims "σκαφεύς τις ἢ βουφορβός ἀξίος δούμων" (1.252), and Electra replies "πένης ἀνὴρ γενναῖος εἰς τ' ἐμ' εὖσε βῆκε". When the peasant returns he cordially offers Orestes and Pylades such hospitality as his humble home affords. Orestes is deeply moved and amazed, and breaks out into a rather lengthy dissertation on the subject of birth. He observes that true merit has no connection whatever with noble birth, and that the highest virtue is often found in the humblest lot. Neither wealth nor

(1) C.O.Muller, History of Greek Literature, p.360

poverty, nor the profession of arms, nor the possession of a noble name are the invariable accompaniments of real worth.

" αὐτος γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὐτ' ἐν Ἀργείοις μέγας
οὐτ' αὖ δοκῆσει δωμάτων ὠγκωμένος,
ἐν τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ὦν, ἄριστος ἠυρέθη." 1.380-382

He then addresses an apostrophe to the world at large urging men to judge one another by their actions and by the associates they chose. ⁽¹⁾ It is such persons as this upright peasant farmer who are really best fitted to govern states and homes, while handsome young nobles are often no more than statues to adorn the agora.

" οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι καὶ πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν εὖ
καὶ δώμαθ'· αἱ δὲ σάρες αἱ κενὰ φρενῶν
ἀγάλματ' ἀγορᾶς εἰσιν." 1.386-8

It is not a strong arm that best withstands the foe in battle, but the courage that is born in a man.

After these words, Orestes enters the cottage, declaring that he prefers the hospitality of the poor when the welcome is sincere, to that of the rich. All this seems perhaps rather sententious, but as Decharme explains "Orestes reasons a great deal for a dramatic personage, but this fault makes us sure of finding here ----- the personal thought of the poet." ⁽²⁾ Indeed, the upright and magnanimous peasant contrasts favourably with the royal prince and princess - the vindictive Electra, and the emotional and unbalanced Orestes, easily swept away by his sisters' stronger will. We have already seen that the honest hard-

(1) Cf. Frag.812 (2) Euripides and the Spirit of his dramas, p.115.

working agriculturists formed the class which Euripides considered the backbone of the commonwealth, and in this play again it is for the small farmer that his best word is spoken.

Like the staunch patriot that he was, Euripides puts in a word of praise for the Areopagus. Aeschylus had done the same, at greater length, in his Eumenides, and in this play our poet seeks to exalt the ancient council, which had long since been deprived of most of its functions, by hinting at its divine origin (l.1261 ff)

The words of the Dioscuri at the end of the play might be construed as disproving my previous contention, that Euripides was no advocate of the Sicilian expedition. But that he was deeply interested in the affairs of his native city, that he rejoiced in her successes and grieved at her misfortunes has already been amply proved by illustration, and however much he might himself disapprove of the enterprise, he could hardly withhold the expression of a hope for its safety and success.

The well-known story told by Plutarch (lys.15) shows us how this play served as "political propaganda" on Athens' behalf in a way unforeseen by its author. He tells us that when, after the capture of the city by Lysander, the Theban Erianthus proposed to raze Athens to the ground and sell its inhabitants as slaves, the city was saved from utter destruction by a Phocian who, at a banquet of the allied generals recited the parodos from the Electra (beginning at l.167). "Ἀραμέμνονος ὦ κόρα"

The description of the low estate to which Eleetra, once a princess, had been reduced struck the listeners as resembling the present degradation of Athens, and moved all to pity so that they refused to destroy a city of such renown, the foster mother of such great men. Thus Euripides helped to spare his native city the last humiliation of the vanquished.

2.

"When Athens' armies fell at Syracuse
And fettered thousands bore the yoke of war,
Redemption rose up in the Attic Muse,
Her voice their only ransom from afar." Byron, Childe Harold,
Canto IV, XVI.

The mighty host which Athens had sent to Syracuse had been nearly annihilated. The few thousand captives who survived the last crushing defeat were penned like cattle in the stone quarries of Epipolae, where, crowded together, without shelter from the scorching sun by day and from the sharp frosts of the autumn nights they had to live as best they could on a daily allowance of half a pint of water and only half the portion of food usually given to slaves, until wounds, disease or famine released many from their miseries; the dead were piled in heaps to rot away, breeding foul diseases among the living. Of the horrors they endured, Thucydides has given a vivid description (VII, 87). Finally, after seventy days the Syracusans picked out all but their most hated foes and sold them. The rest suffered this atrocious treatment for six months longer, and the survivors were finally sold as slaves. The historian emphasizes the seriousness of this disaster.

"Ευνέβη τε ἔργον τοῦτο τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε μέγιστον γενέσθαι, δοκεῖν δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ὦν ἀκοῇ Ἑλληνικῶν ἴσμεν, καὶ τοῖς τε κρατήσασι λαμπρότατον καὶ τοῖς διαφθαρείσι δυστυχέστατον."

and the completeness of Athens' defeat "κατὰ πάντα γὰρ πάντως νικηθέντες καὶ οὐδὲν ὀλίγον ἐς οὐδὲν κακοπαθήσαντες, πανωλεθρία δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον." VII, 87

Athens was stunned by the report of the final defeat. At first people could hardly believe that so terrible a calamity had overtaken them (Thuc VIII, 1; Plut. Nicias, 30) But when at last the news was confirmed, they were plunged into deep despair. Their treasury was exhausted, their troops gone, their dockyards empty. They expected their allies to revolt and the Lacedaemonians, joined by the Syracusans to sail at once to the Piraeus. The general feeling in Greece was that the last moment of Athens has arrived.

We have already seen how earnestly Euripides had tried to warn the Athenians against demagogues and soothsayers. Now the time had come when their dupes realized to their cost that the poet was right, and turned in wrath upon the orators and oracle-mongers who had encouraged them to undertake the fatal enterprise. "Χαλεποὶ μὲν ἦσαν τοῖς συμπεροθυμηθεῖσι τῶν ἐητόρων τὸν ἔκπλουν---- ὡργίζοντο δὲ καὶ τοῖς χρησμολόγοις τε καὶ μάντεσι καὶ ὁπόσοι τι τότε αὐτοὺς θειάσαντες ἐπήλπισαν ὥς λήψονται ζικελίαν." Thuc. VIII, 1. The historian testifies to the influence and popularity of the soothsayers, in the early part of the war. "Χρησμολόγοι τε ἦδον χρησμούς παντοίους ὦν ἀκροᾶσθαι ὥς ἕκαστος ὤρμητο" (Thuc. II, 21), and at the time of the Sicilian expedition, as Plutarch tells us, oracles and prophecies were lavishly employed in its favour. (Nicias 15).

Yet at this moment of national dismay and private grief, Euripides perhaps found some personal consolation. According to Plutarch (Nicias 29) many of the Athenians obtained their freedom, others who had already escaped, got food and shelter by teaching verses from Euripides to their Syracusan masters, who greatly admired him, and were forever learning by heart the snatches of his poetry, which visitors brought them from time to time. Some, indeed, were suffered to return to Attica. These, we are told, did not fail to go to the house of their deliverer and thank him gratefully for their preservation. This story is confirmed, too, by the account given in the Satyrus life of Euripides.⁽¹⁾

In view of this story, it seems eminently fitting that Euripides should have been chosen to write the national epitaph in honour of the Athenian dead, (Plut. Nic. 17)

“Ὅςδε Συρακοσίους ὀκτὼ νίκας ἐκράτησαν
Ἄνδρες, ὅτ’ ἦν τὰ θεῶν ἐξ ἴσου ἀμφοτέροισι.”

two austere beautiful lines which, like the more famous ones on the soldiers who died at Thermopylae, “delicately veiled the final catastrophe and recalled the departed glory.”⁽²⁾

And so, in the next year, when the city, no longer dreaming of supremacy, was fighting for her very life, Euripides intentionally turned away from reality to the realms of pure fancy and romance. In the same spirit as Aristophanes had written his “Birds”, the brightest, sweetest and most fantastic of all his plays, with its lovely lyrics, its escape to the splendid Cloudland of the birds, when that expedition was threatened with mortal danger,

(1) Oxyrhynchus Papyri, IX, 1176.

(2) Decharme, Euripides and the Spirit of his Dramas, p. 141.

Euripides, seeking to heal and comfort rather than to chasten, in his next few plays transported his audience to "magic casements opening on the foam of perilous seas and faery lands forlorn."

(1)

In the spring of 412, Euripides produced the "Andromeda", a beautiful love romance whose fragments contain some exquisite lyrics, and the "Helena", also a brilliant piece of imaginative work. The latter play introduces the spectator to a delightful wonderland of marvellous adventures and hair-breadth escapes, but it strikes a serious note as well.

Perhaps the most deliberate and bitter of all Euripides' attacks upon the art of divination is contained in this play.

ἔσειδον ὥς φαῖλ' ἔστι, καὶ ψευδῶν πλεῖα
οὐδ' ἦν ἄρ' ὕγιες οὐδὲν ἐμπύρου φλογός
οὐδὲ πτερωτῶν φθέρματ'. εὐηθες δέ τοι
τὸ καὶ δοκεῖν θενίθας ὠφελεῖν βροτοῦς.
-----μαντεῖας δ' ἐάν-
βίου γὰρ ἄλλως δέλεαρ ἠδ' ἔσθ' ἴσθ' ὅδε,
κοῦδεῖς ἐπ' αὐτῇσ' ἐμπύροισιν ἀεγὼς ὦν.
γνώμη δ' ἀείστη μάντις ἢ τ' εὐβουλία." 1.744-757

The poet cannot refrain from an implied censure of the aggressive policy against which he had continually warned his fellow-citizens, in this reflection on the folly and fruitlessness of warfare.

ἄφρονες ὅσοι τὰς ἀρετὰς πολέμῳ
λόγχοισι τ' ἀλκαίου δορὸς
κτασθε, πόνους ἀμαθῶς θνα-
τῶν καταπαύομενοι.
εἴ γὰρ ἄμιλλα κρίνει νιν
αἵματος, οὐ ποτ' ἔρις
λείψει κατ' ἀνθρώπων πόλεις." 1.1151-7

(1) The Helena was performed along with the Andromeda. "συνδεδίδακται γὰρ (ἡ Ἀνδρομέδα) τῇ Ἑλένῃ" Schol. Ar. Thesm. 1012, and the Andromeda was produced in the eighth year before the Frogs which came out in 405 B.C. "ἡ γὰρ Ἀνδρομέδα ὀγδόῳ ἔτει προέσκηται" Schol. Ran. 53. The Andromeda is parodied in the Theophrastus (411 BC) as "τῇ καὶ νῦν Ἑλένῃ." and as a piece produced the year before (1.1060) Hence it is almost certain that these two plays were produced B.C. 412.

This passage clearly disproves the notion that Euripides was an adherent of the war party at Athens. It expresses the sentiments of one who had disliked the Sicilian expedition from the first; not of one who had given it his support.

In several passages he has glanced tenderly at the national disaster. When he made his Helen sing

"ματέρες τε παῖδας ὄλεσαν,
ἀπὸ δὲ παρθένου κῶμας
ἔθεντο σύγγονοι νεκρῶν Σκαμάνδριον
ἀμφὶ φεσγίον οἶδμα.
βοᾶν βοᾶν δ' Ἑλλάς
κελεύσῃσε κἀνοτότυξεν,
ἐπὶ δὲ κρατὶ χέρας ἔθηκεν,
δύυχι δ' ἀπαλόχρεα γένυν
δέσσε φονίαισι πλάγαϊς." 1.566-374

he was perhaps thinking of the young men who had died in Sicily, (1) whose grief-stricken mothers were now lamenting. Euripides realized that at a time of deep and universal depression, when the whole state was in mourning, when his fellow-citizens despaired even of immediate safety and seemed in danger of losing their morale, the best thing he could do was to comfort and cheer, rather than condemn.

To the same period belongs the "Iphigenia among the Taurians", which was produced either the year before, the same year, ^{or,} as I am inclined to believe, the year after. (2) At any rate, the irregularity of the iambs and the use of trochaic tetrameters point to a late date.

The action of the drama is intimately connected with existing Attic religious rites and customs. At the end of the

(1) Wilamowitz sees another reference in 1.397 (Heracles, vol. I p. 14, n. 21)

(2) Wilamowitz, *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 153; Haigh, *Tragic Drama*, p. 308; Fix, *Chron. Fab.* p. XII

play Athena, who was in a very special sense the tutelary goddess of Athens, is represented as the founder of a very ancient and time-honoured custom of the court of the Areopagus (the principle that equal votes gave acquittal) and of local rites connected with the worship of Artemis then existing in Attica. At Halae Araphenides was a temple and ancient wooden statue of Artemis Tauropolis, and there a yearly festival was held in her honour, and at the neighboring Brauron there was a temple to a goddess, known as "Iphigenia". In both places the primitive worship of this goddess seems to have included human sacrifices. When this barbaric custom disappeared, it was represented by certain symbolic rites - for instance, in the festival at Halae a human victim was led to the altar, touched on the throat with a sword and then set free. Now it was natural that Euripides, always zealous for the honour of his native land should endeavour to account for these rites by referring their origin to a far distant and barbaric country. Among the savage Tauri there was some goddess to whom shipwrecked sailors were sacrificed (she also was called Iphigenia. Cf. Her. 4, 103) Athena orders Orestes to build a shrine at Halae for the image of Artemis, (to be transported thither from the land of the Tauri) while Iphigenia is to be priestess at Brauron. Thus Euripides has ingeniously woven together the threads of these diverse legends, and has made out of them an aitiological explanation of the Attic rites. He alludes also to the feast of $\chi\acute{o}\epsilon\varsigma$ (1.949) which took place on the second day of the Anthesteria.

Athens is designated by her favourite epithets. She is called (1.1449) θεοδόμητους, a glance at the antiquity of their city which would naturally please an Athenian audience; (1.1086) εὐδαίμονα, (1.1130) λιπαρὰν. In the choral passage where the various sacred objects in Delos connected with the birth of Apollo and Artemis are described, the Athenian olive is added, "γλαυκᾶς θαλλὸν ἱερὸν ἑλαίας" (1.1101).

Again Euripides shows himself the uncompromising foe of soothsayers and does not hesitate to declare that their pretended knowledge is fraudulent.

ὅς οὐκ ἄφρων ὦν μάντεων πεισθεὶς λόγοις
 ὅλῳ λεν—ὥς ὅλῳλε τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν." 1.573-5
 nor is Apollo spared

ἡμᾶς δ' ὁ φοῖβος μάντις ὦν ἐψεύσατο·
 τέχνην δὲ θέμενος ὥς προσώταθ' Ἑλλάδος
 ἀπ' ἡλᾶσ' αἰδοῖ τῶν πάρος μαντευμάτων,
 ᾧ πάντ' ἐγὼ δοῦς τὰ μὰ καὶ πεισθεὶς λόγοις
 μητέρα κατακτὰς αὐτὸς ἀνταπόλλυμαι." 1.711-715.

Though the mood of the play is on the whole one of serenity, yet, as Gilbert Murray^{has} remarked, the shadow of exile, home-sickness, broods over it. There is the beautiful lament of Iphigenia, yearning for Greece, mourning that she cannot take part in the choric dances in honour of Hera, or in the Panathenaic festival (1.218-225) The song of exile (1.1096) is possibly a sympathetic echo of the feelings of those who were still prisoners in Sicily.

(1) Gilbert Murray, introduction to translation of Iphigenia in Tauris, p.X.

VIII

"ἢ τις ἦν τότε ἐν δόμοις
 ἕρως ἐρίδματος ἀνδρὸς οἴσους." Aesch. Agam. 1460, 1.
 "τὸν Εὐριπίδην σοφὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιστήμονα νοσημάτων,
 διακελευσάμενον φυλάττεσθαι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὡς ὀλεθριωτάτην
 καὶ κακίστην δαίμονα τοῖς χρωμένοις." Plut. Sulla. c. 4, 4.

1.

In enemies, neutrals and subjects alike, the Syracusan disaster inspired the idea of seizing this opportunity to shatter Athens' power irretrievably. In the following summer, encouraged by the appearance of a few Spartan ships, Chios, Miletus, Teos and Lebedus revolted and were soon followed by Methymna, Mytilene, Cyme and Phocaea. Moreover Persia now throws her weight into the balance once more. Sparta, eager to crush her hated rival, sold to the barbarian the freedom of the Asiatic Greeks, recognizing, by the treaty of Miletus, the Great King's dominion over them, while, in return, he was to provide pay for the sailors of the Peloponnesian fleet as long as the war with Athens lasted. Alcibiades, by this time was no longer persona grata at Sparta. His intrigues with Tissaphernes at Miletus had rendered him an object of suspicion, and he was bitterly hated by King Agis, whose wife he had seduced. With characteristic change of front he now set himself to dissolve the alliance between Sparta and Persia and to bring about an understanding between Tissaphernes and Athens.

Meanwhile at Athens there was no thought of surrender. The war-stricken city displayed a desperate activity. A measure was passed to touch the reserve fund of 1000 talents; the

winter was spent in building triremes; Chios was laid waste and Lesbos won back. But in spite of the determined energy and obstinate courage shown in carrying on the war, within the city itself there reigned distress, fear and discontent. Intrigue was everywhere rampant. The oligarchical party, perceiving the weakness of the democrats, saw that now was the moment to set a revolution in motion and overthrow the democracy. Outside their own ranks there were large numbers of influential men who were dissatisfied with the democracy whose rash policy had ruined them, and who, though opposed to oligarchy desired a modification of the constitution. The extreme oligarchs, headed by the orator Antiphon, Pisander, and Phrynichus, the last one of the commanders of the fleet at Samos, were ready to support this moderate party for the purpose of effecting a change in the government. Alcibiades had entered into negotiations with the officers at Samos, promising to secure an alliance with Tissaphernes, if the democracy were abolished. Pisander was sent to Athens to prepare the way, and finally persuaded the Assembly to vote that he and other envoys should be sent to negotiate a treaty with Tissaphernes. But the Persian proposed terms no Athenian could accept and the mission failed. The revolution, however, went on just the same. The conspirators did not scruple to use intimidation and open violence (Thuc.VIII,66); and having frightened the people by political assassinations, they succeeded in passing a measure whereby, in place of the old government a body of 400 should assume control. Thucydides ironically compliments the oligarchs

on the ability with which they carried out their plans.

“Χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον ἐπ’ ἔτει ἑκατοστῷ μάλιστα
ἐπειδὴ οἱ τύραννοι κατελύθησαν ἐλευθερίας παῖσαι, καὶ οὐ μόνον
ὑπήκοον θύνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμισυ τοῦ χρόνου τούτου αὐτὸν
ἄλλων ἀρχειν εἰωθότα.” Thuc.VIII,68.

For more than three months the Four Hundred governed the city
with a high hand, assassinating all those who ventured to oppose
them, “εἰ δὲ τις καὶ ἀντεῖποι εὐθὺς ἐκ τρόπου τινὸς
ἐπιτηδείου ἐτεθνήκει, καὶ τῶν δρασάντων οὔτε ζήτησις
οὔτ’ εἰ ὑποπτεύοιντο δικαίωσις ἐγίγνετο.”
and entering into treasonable negotiations with Sparta.

Meanwhile the fleet at Samos deposed their generals and
elected in their stead Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus, swearing to
uphold the democracy. Furthermore, they formally recalled and
elected as their general Alcibiades, because he had quarrelled
with the oligarchs. At Athens, too, feeling rose strong
against the Four Hundred, and in the alarm aroused by the sudden
revolt of Euboea, the people turned against them. An assembly
on the Pnyx deposed them, and voted that the government should
be entrusted to a body consisting of all those who could furnish
themselves with arms which should be called "The Five Thousand".
The control of the state was thus placed largely in the hands
of the landed proprietors - conservative and moderate democrats.
Thucydides praises this new constitution with unusual enthusiasm.
“καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα δὴ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον ἐπὶ γε ἑμοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι
φαίνονται εὖ πολιτεύσαντες· μετρία γὰρ ἦ τε ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ
τοὺς πολλοὺς εὐγκρασις ἐγένετο καὶ ἐκ πονήρων τῶν πραγμάτων γενομένων
τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀνὴν ἐγκρατὴν ὡς πόλιν.” Thuc.VIII,97. Alcibiades' recall
was voted.

For a while the tide of victory seemed to be turning in
Athens' favour. The Athenian fleet under Thrasybulus and
Thrasyllus was victorious in a great battle off the Cape of

Cynossema. This success was followed by the recovery of Cyzicus which had revolted. In the following spring (410 BC) after a stubbornly contested battle by land and sea, a sweeping victory at Cyzicus annihilated the Peloponnesian navy. Athens was once more supreme at sea, and Sparta offered peace and the evacuation of Decelæa. These overtures, however, were rejected through the influence of Cleophon the lyremaker, the leading demagogue of the day. He was a man of the same class as Cleon and Hyperbolus, and was the former's true successor. A strong imperialist like his predecessors, he now fostered the prevailing sentiment for war; and hostilities were carried on with continued vigour. In the course of the next two years the Athenians, under the strenuous leadership of Alcibiades, had recovered Byzantium and all the revolted towns of the Bosphorus, the Propontis, and the Hellespont. When Alcibiades finally returned to Athens, he was welcomed with great acclaim.

Meanwhile the democratic party, reassured by its successes, had upset the government of the 5000, and reestablished the democracy in its previous form. The radical party had again grown influential under the leadership of Cleophon, and now seized the opportunity to take revenge upon their enemies. All who had belonged to the Four Hundred, all who had been in any way connected with them, all who were even suspected of having favoured them were accused by eager informers; many were condemned to pay heavy fines, and some even exiled or deprived of the rights of citizenship.

In 411 B.C. at the Lenaea, Aristophanes had brought out his "Lysistrata". Inspired by the hope of harmony and the sincere reconciliation of all classes, the comic poet made in this play a strong plea for the surrender of prejudices and political animosities, and the cooperation of citizens in a spirit of mutual good-will. Lysistrata declares her aim to be "κοινὴν εὐνοίαν" (1.579). But the play had an even wider purpose, and exhibits a remarkable Pan-Hellenic sentiment. At the end of the play, Athens and Sparta are united by Διαλλαγή, Reconciliation, personified as a woman. The poet tried to appeal to deep-rooted sentiments which had for many years been restrained, and to make his play a moral preparation for peace.

A play which somewhat resembles Aristophanes' Lysistrata in its purpose and general trend is Euripides' "Phoenissae". Unfortunately the exact date of its production cannot be determined. According to the mutilated hypothesis of Aristophanes of Byzantium, the play was brought out in the Archonship of Nausikrates, and gained a second prize. But this name is not found in the list of archons. It has been suggested that he may have been either the representative of an archon absent during his year of office, or a "suffectus". The scholia on Arist. Av. 347 and 424 state that the Phoenissae had not then been produced (i.e. by 414 BC). The scholium of Ar. Ranæ 53 shows that it was produced later than 412 when Dionysus says that

(1) "(ἐδιδάχθη) ἐπὶ Ναυσικράτους ἀρχοντος Ὀλυμπιάδῃ--- πρῶτος--- δεύτερος Εὐριπίδης--- καθῆκε διδασκαλίαν περὶ τούτου. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα δ' Οἰνόμαος καὶ Χρύσιππος καὶ...σώζεται."

he derived his longing for Euripides from reading his "Andromeda", the scholiast asks " τίμῃ ἄλλο τι τῶν περὶ ὀλίγου διδαχθέντων καὶ καλῶν Ὑψιπύλης, φοινισσῶν, Ἀντιόπης;" (1)

The Ranae was produced in 405, shortly after the death of Euripides,

which had occurred in the early part of the previous year. The Orestes was exhibited in 408, and if it has been correctly concluded that Euripides left Athens for Macedonia shortly afterwards, the Phoenissae must either have appeared with the Orestes or have been exhibited 411-409. (though it must be admitted that he might have entrusted its production to another while he himself was in Macedonia, and accordingly Haigh assigns it to 407 and Fix to

(2) 406. Hartung infers, from a scholium on Orestes 1492 " ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ δράματι οὗτος φησιν ἐν τῷ χόρῳ τῷ 'Κάδμος' ἐμολε" that the Phoenissae was the third play in the same trilogy as the Orestes. But as Powell has pointed out, the words " τρίτου δράμα " denote the third place in the Byzantine triad of tragedies - Hecuba, Orestes, Phoenissae. The words " περὶ ὀλίγου " suggest a later date than

411, but in 410 Mnesilochus was archon for two months and Theopompus for ten; and in 409 Glaucippus was archon, and Sophocles' Philoctetes was produced in this year, winning the first prize. Powell therefore concludes that perhaps the Philoctetes and Phoenissae were produced in 409, and that either the name of Nausierates has been erroneously substituted for Glaucippus, or

(1) According to Meinecke (Com.Frag. 11.902 n.) this scholium would imply that it came out as a middle play with Hypsipyle and Antiope, and won the first prize. But as Mahaffy remarks (History of Greek Literature, p.364) "The Scholiast may be referring to these plays as separate specimens of Euripides' excellence, and he only calls them καλὰ which implies general approbation, but not necessarily the first place."

(2) Chron. Fab. p.VI.

that he was the διδάσκαλος. (1)

Such is the external evidence. The internal evidence of diction and metre unmistakably proves that the Phoenissae was one of the later plays, and editors have also detected supposed historical references. Zirndorfer and Hermann think that the triumphant return of Alcibiades from exile (411 B.C.) is alluded to in the dialogue between Polyneices and Jocasta (390 seq.)

Paley remarks on the considerable resemblance between the complaints of Polyneices on the hardships of exile and the language of Alcibiades, before the Assembly at Samos.

τὴν τε ἰδίαν συμφορὰν τῆς φυγῆς ἐπητιδάσατο καὶ ἀνωλοφύεατο
ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης."

Thuc.VIII,81, and that Euripides was echoing before the Athenians shortly after they had decreed his recall, the sentiments which he had expressed at Samos. (2)

To this Fick objects that Alcibiades did not return to Athens till 407 according to Xen.Hell.I,4.12, and concludes that it must have been produced after that event.

Powell also compares Phoen. 393 "τὰς τῶν κρατούντων ἀμαθίας." with Orestes 772 "κακοῦργοι πρόστατοι" and suggests that the reference is to Cleophon's war policy in 410, and in l.852-7

to the war with Cyzicus. He considers that there is an allusion to Alcibiades in the words "ἡ ποθεινὸς φίλοις κτλ." and

"ἀναγκάϊως ἔχει πατείδος ἔρᾳ ἅπαντας", and sees a connection

between Euripides' representation and characterization of

Polyneices and the tendency to pardon Alcibiades. The fear

and caution of Polyneices when entering Thebes has been thought

to refer to the hesitation of Alcibiades just before his

return. (Xen.Hell.I,4,18.)

(1) edition of Phoenissae, p.36 (2) Euripides, vol.III,p.115.

However, as Decharme points out, Polyneices resembles Alcibiades in one particular - he has been banished - and there the resemblance ends. Alcibiades returned as his country's champion, recalled for her defence, Polyneices enters Thebes in secret, and as its enemy, at the head of a foreign army. (1) Prof. Decharme explains this passage as "one of those ethical, psychological or philosophical commonplaces which Euripides from time ^{to time} inserts into his plays." Moreover, the incident is short and is justified by Polyneices' situation. Radermacher finds in l.202 seq., 281 seq. allusions to the victory of the Carthaginians over the Selinuntians in 410 (Diod.13,44). But none of these supposed references to contemporary events is sufficiently definite to fix the date. On the basis of the other evidence, however, it may be assumed to be 410 or 409.

The incident round which the play centres is the splendid scene in which the two sons of Oedipus meet and their mother Jocasta endeavours to effect a reconciliation between them, and it is this scene that Euripides has chosen as a medium for conveying political advice. Polyneices, who has been invited by his mother to a secret conference with his brother, enters cautiously with drawn sword. He is apprehensive of treachery and half suspicious of the facility with which he has passed the gates. The sight of the altar before the house serves to reassure him; he sheathes his sword, and addresses himself to the chorus who summon Jocasta. Jocasta rushes into her son's arms. In a long monody she expresses her joy at his return and laments

(1) See "Euripides and the Spirit of his Dramas" p.126,7 for a detailed discussion of this question.

the misery which has followed upon the curse of Oedipus - in particular the estrangement of Polyneices from his family. Polyneices apologizes for having arms in his hands in her presence. He declares, that in spite of the grievous wrongs suffered at his brother's hands, he still cherishes a natural love for his native land.

“ἀλλ’ ἀναγκαίως ἔχει
πατρίδος ἔρῳ ἀπαντας· ὅς δ’ ἄλλως λέγει,
λόγοισι χαίρει τόνδε νοῦν ἐκεῖσ’ ἔχει” 1.358-60

He laments the strife between himself and his brother.

“ὥς δεινὸν ἔχθρα, μήτερ, οἰκείων φίλων
καὶ δυσλύτους ἔχουσα τὰς διαλλαγάς.” 1.374-5

Was Euripides addressing these lines to his people, warning them against the consequences of the internal strife that raged in the state during those years?

The succeeding dialogue discusses the sufferings involved in a life of exile. Its chief evil is declared to be the loss of free speech, an advantage supposed to be especially characteristic of Athens, but which had in the previous years been stemly suppressed and was even now being infringed upon.

Ιο. τί τὸ στέρεσθαι πατρίδος; ἢ κακὸν μέγα;
Πο. μέγιστον· ἔργῳ δ’ ἐστὶ μείζον ἢ λόγῳ.
Ιο. τίς ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῦ; τί φυγάσιν τὸ δυσχερές;
Πο. ἐν μὲν μέγιστον, οὐκ ἔχει παρεησίαν.
Ιο. δούλου τόδ’ εἶπας, μὴ λέγειν ἅ τις φρονεῖ.
Πο. τὰς τῶν κρατούντων ἀμαθίας φέρειν χρεώ(1).
Ιο. καὶ τοῦτο λυπεῖν, συνασφείν τοῖς μὴ σοφοῖς. 1.388-94

Euripides warns the Athenians here against the κακοῦργοι προστάται to whose influence they were now yielding once more. Polyneices still maintains his love for his native land.

“ὦ ἢ πατρίς, ὥς ἔοικε, φίλτατον βροτοῖς.
Πο. οὐδ’ ὀνομάσαι δύναι’ ἂν ὥς ἐστὶν φίλον.” 1.406

(1) Cf. Antiope, Frag. 200. “σοφὸν γὰρ ἐν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας·
νικᾷ, σὺν ὀχλῷ δ’ ἀμαθία πλεῖστον κακόν.”

Is it possible that the bitter reflection

"τὰ χεῖματ' ἀνθρώποισι τιμιώτατα,
δύναμιν τε πλείστην τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔχει." 1.439,40

may be an allusion to Sparta's readiness to sell the liberties of the Asiatic Greeks for Persian gold?

At this point Eteocles hurriedly enters. His fierce looks and curt speech bode ill for the proposed reconciliation. Jocasta tries to put him in a more amenable frame of mind.

"ἐπίσχε· οὗτοι τὸ ταχὺ τὴν δίκην ἔχει,
βραδεῖς δὲ μῦθοι πλείστον ἀνύουσιν σοφόν." 1.452,3

She urges the two to refrain from fierce looks and passionate words. They are brothers; let them forgive one another.

"ὅταν φίλος τις ἀνδρὶ θυμωθεὶς φίλῳ
ἔς ἐν συνελθὼν ὄμματ' ὄμμασιν δίδῳ,
ἐφ' οἷσιν ἤκει, ταῦτα χεῖ μόνον σκοπεῖν
κακῶν δὲ τῶν πρὶν μηδενὸς μνείαν ἔχειν." 1.461-4

And here Euripides, using Jocasta as his mouthpiece was exhorting his fellow-citizens to lay aside their mutual hatreds and abandon internal strife. The two brothers now plead their causes. Polyneices begins by deprecating a long oration. It is an unjust cause, he says, that requires cunning eloquence.

"ἀπλοῦς δὲ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφυ,
κοῦ ποικίλων δειτ' ἀνδρὶ χ' ἐρμηνευμάτων.
ἔχει γὰρ αὐτὰ καιρὸν· ὁ δ' ἀδίκος λόγος
νόσων ἐν αὐτῷ φαρμάκων δεῖται σοφῶν." 1.469-72

Hoping to escape the curse of Oedipus, he had entered into an agreement with his brother that they should reign in turn, each, for a year. Eteocles however, had violated all his pledges and unjustly maintains possession of the throne. He simply asks for justice. Even now, if his brother will cede his right to him, he will withdraw his hostile army, and will again resign his

place after the year of office. But if justice is refused, he must resort to force. He calls the gods to witness that he is impiously excluded from his native land. He concludes with the same reflection as he began.

"οὐχὶ περιπλοκάς
λόγων ἀθεοίσας εἶπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφοὶς
καὶ τοῖσι φαύλοισι ἐνδιχ', ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ." 1.494-6

The reply of Eteocles is in a cynical vein. There are no such things as *δμοιότης* or *ἰσότης* - they are only names and there is no reality in them. Different people make different estimates of justice and honour, and this it is that causes strife among men.

"νῦν δ' οὐθ' ὁμοιον οὐδ' ἐν οὐτ' ἴσον βροτοῖς,
πλὴν ὀνόμασαι· τὸ δ' ἔργον οὐκ ἔστιν τόδε." 1.501,2

For his own part, he avows that he would do and dare anything and everything to gain that most glorious of human prerogatives, sovereignty.

"ἄστρων ἂν ἔλθοιμ' ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς
καὶ γῆς ἐνερθεν, δυνατὸς ὢν δεῖσσαι τὰς,
τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν Τυραννίδα." 1.504-6 (1)

Having acquired it he will not give it up to another - that would be mere cowardice. Polyneices ought to have proposed terms, instead of resorting to arms.

"Χεῖν δ' αὐτὸν οὐχ' ὅπλοισι τὰς διαλλαγὰς,
μῆτερ, ποιέσθαι· πᾶν γὰρ ἐξαίρει λόγος
ὃ καὶ σιδήρεος πολέμιων δεῖσειεν αὖ." 1.515-7

Nothing shall induce him to resign his power. If a man is to do wrong, let it be for something worth gaining.

"ὥς οὐ παρέσω τῷ δ' ἐμὴν τυραννίδα.
εἶπερ γὰρ ἀδίκειν χεῖ, τυραννίδος πέρι
κάλλιστον ἀδίκειν, τᾶλλα δεῦσε βεῖν χρεών." 1.523-5

His defence is thus nothing more than an appeal to possession

(1) Hotspur's speech in Henry IV, pt. I, 1.3.201 ff. is well compared to this.

of the throne and a determination to hold it by force.

The chorus' comment on this speech is severe

"οὐκ εὖ λέγειν χερὶ μὴ ᾗ τῶν ἐργῶν καλοῖς.
οὐ γὰρ καλὸν τοῦτ', ἀλλὰ τῇ δίκῃ πικρόν."
(Cf. frag. 583; Medea 580, Bacch. 266 ff., 526, 7.)

Jocasta now makes a powerful appeal to her two sons, replete with political wisdom and the ideals of true patriotism. To Eteocles she declares that Ambition, that most baneful influence over the mind of man, has proved the ruin of many homes and many cities.

"τί τῆς κακίστης δαιμόνων ἐφίεσαι
φιλοτιμίας, παῖ; μὴ σύγ' ἄδικος ἢ θεός.
πολλοὺς δ' ἐς οἴκους καὶ πόλεις εὐδαίμονας
ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἐξῆλθε ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν χρωμένων."

Let him rather hold in honour that beautiful principle of Equality by which friends and states and allies are found together, and which prevails in the system of the universe.

"κεῖνο κάλλιον, τέκνον,
ἰσότητα τιμᾶν, ἢ φίλους ἀεὶ φίλοις
πόλεις τε πόλεις συμμάχους τε συμμάχοις
συνδεῖ. τὸ γὰρ ἴσωνμόνιμον ἀνθρώποις ἐφύ,
τῷ πλεονί δ' αἰεὶ πολέμιον καθίσταται
τούλῃσσιν ἐχθρῶς θ' ἡμέρας κατάρχεται." 1.535-40

What is there so desirable in sovereignty? It is an empty delight.

"τί τὴν τυραννίδ', ἀδικίαν εὐδαίμονα, (1)
τιμᾶς ὑπερφευ καὶ μέγ' ἡγήσασθαι τόδε;
περιβλέπεσθαι τίμιον; κενὸν μὲν οὖν." 1.549-51

Were the alternative proposed, to be king or to save the city, which would he choose? To Polyneices she says that he was wrong to invade his city. Let him repent while yet there is time. She concludes with an earnest appeal to the brothers to lay

(1) Paley compares with the speech of Wolsey in Henry VIII "Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition: By that sin fell the angels. Act 3, Sc II.

aside their animosities. Perversity in strife is a hateful evil.

"μέθετον τὸ λῖαν, μέθετον· ἀμαθία δούρειν,
ἐς ταῦθ' ὅταν μολήτον, ἐχθιστον κακόν." 1.584,5.

Jocasta's speech is a wonderful vindication of equality and democracy against πλεονεξία and tyranny. The very word ἰσότης suggests the merits of the Athenian constitution in its ideal state and recalls Herodotus' famous remark "the very name of it is so beautiful!" But a sad change in spirit had taken place since then. The stock of ἰσότης had gone down considerably. And yet seemingly Euripides did not despair of a remedy for the diseased condition of political life that afflicted Athens at that time. He was still trying to recall his fellow citizens to their loftier aspirations and higher ideals.

The next scene consists in a conference between Menoicles and his uncle, Creon, in which various plans for attacking the besiegers are brought forward by Menoicles and rejected by Creon who seeks to discourage his nephew's rashness. He declares, in opposition to the proverb "τὴν χεῖρα τῶν θνητῶν πρᾶγματ' οὐκ εὐβουλία" that good counsel is all in all in attaining victory. "καὶ μὲν τὸ νικᾶν ἐστὶ πᾶν εὐβουλία" 1.721. His advice is "βουλεύου δ', ἐπύπτε εἰσαφόρ." It is finally agreed that a champion shall be selected to defend each of the seven gates against the seven Argive leaders. These must be chosen just as much for their good counsel as for their courage - it is equally indispensable in war.

"Κε. καὶ ξυστρατήγους (γ')· εἰς δ' ἀνὴρ οὐ πᾶνθ' ὁρᾷ.
Ἐτ. θάρσει προκρίνας ἢ φρενῶν εὐβουλία;
Κε. ἀμφοτέρων· ἀπολειφθὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν θάρτερον." 1.745-7

The importance of caution in warfare is emphasized during the conference.

"ὀρμώμεθ' ἤδη ξὺν δίκη νικηφόρῳ.
τῇ δ' Εὐλαβείᾳ, Χρησιμωτάτῃ θεῶν,
πρὸς εὐχόμεσθα τήνδε διασῶσαι πόλιν." 1.781-3 (1)

Now this was a quality in which the Athenians were notoriously deficient. The fatal issues of the war had over and over again revealed this defect in Athenian military policy. A brilliant recklessness characterized the strategy of Alcibiades who was now in command of the fleet, and indeed, it was due to carelessness that the fleet was destroyed at Aegospotami and Athens finally brought to her knees. Euripides was undoubtedly trying to impress upon his fellow-citizens the necessity for greater caution in their tactics.

The next choral ode opens with an address to Ares, lamenting the turmoil of war that surrounds the city, and contrasting it with the delights of the dance and the peaceful enthusiasm inspired in the votaries of Bacchus.

"ὦ πολύμοχθος Ἄρης, τί ποθ' αἵματι
καὶ θανάτῳ κατέχῃ βρομίου παράμουςας ἑορταῖς; ----
ἀλλὰ σὺν ὀπλοφόροις στρατὸν Ἀργείων ἐπιπνεύσας
αἵματι Θήβαις κῶμον ἀναυλότατον προχορεύεις ----
ἔρμασι καὶ ψαλίων τετραβάμοσι μωνυχόπων
ἱππεῖαίς ἐπὶ χεύμασι βαίνων
Ἰσμηνοῖο θαλάσσης, Ἀργείοις ἐπιπνεύσας
Σπαρτῶν γένυν
ἀσπίδο φέρομενα θιάσου ἐνόπλιον,
ἀντίπαλον κατὰ λείνα τείχεα
χαλκῷ κοσμήσας.
ἦ δεινὰ τίς ἔρις θεός, ἃ τὰδε
μήσατο πῆματα γὰρ βασιλευσιν,
λαβδακίδαις πολυμόχοις." 1.784-800

(1) Cf. Ar. Avon. 376. "ἡ γὰρ Εὐλάβεια σώζει πάντα," Thucydides tells us how prudence and caution were regarded "τὸ δ' ἐμπλήκτως δεῦν ἀνδρὸς νότρα προσετέθη, ἀσφαλεία δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλευσασθαι ἀποτροπῆς πρὸς φρίσιν εὐλογος." Thuc. III, 82. Compare also fragment 194 of the Antiope, a play produced about the same time. "ἔγὼ γὰρ οὔτε ναυτίλον φιλῶ
τολμῶντα λείαν οὔτε προστάτην χθονός."

The repetition of the opening πολύμοχθος in the concluding πολυμόχθοις emphasizes the fact that it is in virtue of the sufferings of his victims that Ares is πολύμοχθος. . The old blind prophet Theiresias now enters, guided by his daughter and accompanied by Menoeceus, Creon's young son, who had been sent to bring him to the palace. He explains that the two sons of Oedipus are destined to die, each by the other's hand. Being further questioned, he declares, after some urging, that the only hope of saving the city lies in the death of the boy Menoeceus. Creon is overwhelmed with grief, but the seer assures him that what is bitter sorrow for him will be the salvation of the state.

"Κε. ὦ πολλὰ λέξας ἐν βραχεί χερώνω κακά.

Τε. σοί γ', ἀλλὰ πατρίδι μεγάλα καὶ σωτήρια." 1.917,8.

Creon's grief now turns to anger, and he bitterly reviles soothsayers and their arts. "ὅστις δ' ἐμπύρῳ χεῖται τέχνη,

μάταιος· ἦν μὲν ἐχθρὰ στήμηνας τύχη,

πικρὸς καθέστηχ' οἷς ἂν οἰωνοσκοπῇ·

ψευδῇ δ' ὅπ' οἴκτου τοῖσι χρωμένοις λέγων

χεῖν θεσπιώδειν, ὅς δ' εἴδοικεν οὐδένα." 1.954-8

He urges his son to fly the land and promises him money to aid him. Menoeceus pretends to acquiesce, but when Creon has gone, he tells the chorus that he is resolved to slay himself to save his country.

"τοῦ μὲν δ' οὐχὶ συγγνώμην ἔχει,
προδότην γενέσθαι πατρίδος ἣ μ' ἐγείνατο.

ὥς οὐδ' ἂν εἰδῇ τ', εἴμι καὶ σώσω πόλιν

ψυχὴν τε δώσω τῇσδ' ὅπερ θανεῖν χθονός." 1.995-9

In this fine speech he sets up a very high standard of patriotism.

"εἰ γὰρ λαβὼν ἕκαστος ὅ τι δύναιτό τις

χρηστὸν διέλθοι τοῦτο καὶ κοινὸν φέροι

πατρίδι, κακῶν ἂν αἱ πόλεις ἐλασσόνων

πειρώμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν εὐτυχοῖεν ἄν." 1.1015-1019.

The chorus now praise the conduct of Menoeceus in devoting himself

te death for his country's sake, and pray that they may be blessed with offspring as noble (1.1054-1065)

At the end of the play Creon orders the aged Oedipus to leave Thebes forthwith, for as long as he remains the city will not prosper. Oedipus then announces that the oracle of Apollo which foretold that his final resting-place should be at Colonus in Attica is now to be fulfilled, and the blind old man and his daughter Antigone go forth together from the city.

The "Phoenissae" deals with the same subject as that treated by Aeschylus in his "Seven against Thebes", but it is far from being "full of Ares". Euripides, ever the humanist, shows the sufferings and misery caused by war rather than its martial glory. As a protest against war, it is in this way a plea for peace. It reflects in a very realistic way the deepening atmosphere of strife that characterized contemporary Athens. It portrays a general clash of bitter hatreds and cruel revenges and violent passions. The hopeless conflict between injured pride and insatiable ambition is revealed as the true cause of the tragic issue; the strife between the two brothers is the real curse of the city. Yet in bright contrast to all this bitterness stands the mother's love, the daughter's devotion, and above all the heroic self-sacrifice of the young prince. Thus in the presentation of the characters may be discerned the teaching of political altruism. Jocasta and Creon serve as the exponents of the poet's views on contemporary political problems, both domestic and foreign, and how they should be solved. Menoeceus typifies the ideal patriot. The lesson which the drama inculcates is that the good of the state must be considered

above private hatreds and personal feuds.

2.

Another play written during the same period, the "Orestes" had a yet more direct bearing on contemporary questions and events, and is even more definitely propagandist in tone. The date of this play, as we learn from the Scholium on l.371 was the year 408 B.C.⁽¹⁾ At that time Athens seemed to be well on the way both to recovery from her internal troubles and to success in her warfare against the Spartans. The oligarchy of the 400 had been overthrown and the democracy restored. Alcibiades was once more serving his native city instead of her enemies, and was winning brilliant success. Yet, on the other hand, Athens was thoroughly exhausted by her previous disasters in the war, above all by the Syracusan debacle, and by her domestic feuds as well. All knew now that there existed a party at Athens who would betray the city to the enemy to prevent the triumph of their political opponents (Thuc. VIII 90.92). Sparta was now receiving Persian help from Pharnabazus, and Cyrus himself was on his way from Susa to lend his support (Xen Hell.1. 4 & 5) At that time, as Mr. Wedd remarks, two urgent problems faced Athens -- should they conclude peace, or carry on the war? Was the democracy to be reformed or retained in its present unlimited form?

With respect to the first problem, the advocates of war would maintain that the Athenians should pursue their success

(1) "πρὸ γὰρ Διοκλέους, ἐφ' οὗ τὸν Ὀρέστην ἐδίδαξε, Λακεδαιμονίων πρεσβευσαντων περὶ εἰρήνης, ἀπιστήσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ προσήκοντο ἐπὶ ἀρχόντος Θεοπόμπου, ὅς ἦν πρὸ Διοκλέους."
Dindorf II, 119. (2) N. Wedd, introduction to edition of Orestes

to a decisive issue. The Peloponnesian war was a life and death struggle which must be fought to the finish, and no permanent peace was possible until one or other of the rival powers was completely victorious. The peace party could urge that their present good fortune could not last. Persian gold would eventually decide the issue, and it was now quite evident that Persia would help Sparta rather than Athens. They should accept the Spartan overtures and conclude a peace before it was too late. This is the question of the hour.

But the problem of internal policy, though apparently settled, was still in the background, and might become acute at any moment. In the past three years Athens had undergone three complete changes of government, and the whole city was seething with internal strife. The events of the last three years had shown the strength of the anti-democratic elements, and though Democracy had been restored, Democracy was, as it were, on trial. Let us see what Euripides has to say about these two problems in the "Orestes".

To begin with, the poet has transported the characters from the heroic atmosphere of Aeschylus and Sophocles and has rearranged the mythical setting to resemble the surroundings of everyday life. The world of the "Orestes" is in all essentials that of the fifth century. "Argos" is a full developed democracy with the public institutions of modern Athens. It has a popular Assembly like that of Athens; law-courts and a statutory procedure for cases of murder (48-50, 440, 756).

The democracy has its *προστάτης*, and both *δῆμος* and *προστάτης* ⁽¹⁾

(1) *πρόστατης τοῦ δήμου* was almost an official title at Athens for the leader of the popular party.

exhibit the same characteristics as at Athens. The house of Pelops are not hereditary rulers - they have in fact no political advantage, and at the time of the drama the family is unpopular.

On the first problem - the question of peace or war, the dramatist has made his opinion quite evident. The futility of war in general is forcefully brought home to the audience by the picture presented of the unhappiness of even the conquerors of Troy. Agamemnon is treacherously murdered, his son and daughter are condemned to death for matricide, Menelaus reaches Greece, after long wanderings, only at the end to lose Helen, the prize for whom he had endured so much. The closing words of Apollo "νείκας τε διαλύεσθε" (1.1679) and "ἴτε νυν καθ' ὁδόν, τὴν καλλίστην / θεῶν Εἰρηνὴν τιμῶντες." 1.1682,3 are obviously an exhortation to peace. They are the poet's parting advice to his fellow-citizens who had just recently rejected the peace proposals made by Sparta. The scholiast commenting on the lines, remarks "τοῦτό φησι διὰ τὸ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐνεστηκέναι τὰ Πελοποννησιακά· πρὸς βουλευμένοις γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίοις περὶ εἰρήνης οὐκ ἐπεισθήσαν Ἀθηναῖοι." Paley points out, too, that "the poet, by representing a compromise effected between the rival thrones of Sparta and Argos, evidently meant his countrymen to take the more conciliatory course."⁽¹⁾

On the second question, Euripides has even more to say. A realistic picture of democracy is painted and its dangers relentlessly exposed. Menelaus knows how fickle it is and how

(1) Paley, Euripides, vol.III, p.231.

susceptible to persuasive oratory. The mob, when incited to anger is as difficult to appease as a ravening fire is to quench. It requires skilful handling, like a ship in a storm. The people can be swayed both by pity and by rage, and if you wait until their anger cools you can do anything you like with them.

“ὅταν γὰρ ἡ βᾶ δῆμος εἰς ὀργὴν πεσών,
ὁμοιον ὥστε πῦρ κατασβέσσαι λάβρον.
εἰ δ' ἡσύχως τις αὐτὸν ἐντείνοντι μὲν
χαλῶν ἐπείκοι καιρὸν εὐλαβούμενος
ἴσως ἂν ἐκπνεύσειεν· ἢν δ' ἀνὴρ πνοῆς,
τύχοις ἂν αὐτοῦ ξαδίως ὅσον' θέλεις.
ἐνέστι δ' οἶκτος, ἐνὶ δὲ καὶ θυμὸς μέγας,
καταδοκοῦντι κτῆμα τιμιώτατον.”

1.696-703

One of the chief evils of democracy lies in the fact that the wisdom or folly of its policy depends on the character of the leader for the time being. As Orestes says, if the leader is bad and unprincipled, popular government is terrible.

“δεινὸν οἱ πολλοί, κακούργους ὅταν ἔχῃσι προστάτας.” 1.772
and as Pylades rejoins, when the leader is good, the people's decision is also good.

“ἀλλ' ὅταν χρηστοὺς λάβωσι, χρηστὰ βουλευούσ' αἰεί.” 1.773
The dangers of democracy here insisted upon are further illustrated by a vivid description of a scene in the assembly - the trial of Orestes and Electra. (1.871-948) The assembly here depicted has all the faults inherent in a popular body - it is too much influenced (1)
by its own emotions and too easily swayed by specious words.

“ὅταν γὰρ ἡδύς τις λόγοις φρονῶν κακῶς
πείθῃ τὸ πλῆθος, τῇ πόλει κακὸν μέγα,
ὅσοι δὲ σὺν νῶι χρηστὰ βουλευούσ' αἰεί,
κἂν μὴ παρ' αὐτίκ' αὐθίς εἰσι χρήσιμοι
πόλει.” 1.907-10

The duty of a good citizen is to choose the right leader, judging not by the brilliance of his oratory, but by the soundness of

(1) "The play reads in the Assembly scene like a prophecy of the infamous execution of the victors of Arginusae." Earle, intr. to Medea, p.22.

his advice.

"θεῖσθαι δ' ὧδε χεῖ τὸν προστάτην
ἰδόνθ' ὁμοῖον γὰρ τὸ χεῖμα γίγνεται
τῷ τοὺς λόγους λέγοντι καὶ τιμωμένῳ."
1.911-13

Furthermore, the scholiast sees a distinct allusion in the description of the blatant demagogue as well as in 1.772, (1) to Cleophon, the "προστάτης" at that time. Since it had been largely through his influence that the Spartan overtures of peace had been rejected two years before, Euripides, who strongly recommended peace, would find in this an additional reason for warning the people against the dangers of choosing a bad leader.

"καπὶ τῷ δ' ἀνίσταται
ἀνὴρ τις ἄθυρόγλωσσος, ἰσχύων θράσει,
Ἄργεῖος οὐκ Ἄργεῖος, ἡναγκασμένος,
θορόβῳ τε πίσυνος καμαθεῖ παρεησία,
πιθανὸς ἐτ' αὐτοὺς περιβαλεῖν κακῷ τινι."

1.902-6

Line 904 would fit Cleophon particularly well, as he was a Thracian by extraction, a fact of which Aristophanes makes capital in the Frogs.

"φιλοτιμότεροι Κλεοφῶντος, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ
χείλεσιν ἀμφιλάλοισ δεινὸν ἐπιβρέμεται
Θρηκία χελιδών, ἐπὶ βδελβαρὸν ἐξομένη
πέταλον." *Ran.* 679

To his warlike propensities there is an allusion at the end of the same play. "Κλεοφῶν δέ μαχέσθω κάλλος ὁ βουλούμενος
τούτων πατέροις ἐν ἀρούραις."

(1) Schol. on 1.772: "εἰς Κλεοφῶντα ταῦτα αἰνιττεται πρὸ ἐτῶν δύο ἐμποδίσαντα ταῖς σπονδαῖς." Schol on 1.903: "τάχα οὖν εἰς Κλεοφῶντα τείνει, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ἀγχος οὗτος τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους συνθήκας οὐ προσήκατο. καὶ τὸ λέγειν δὲ Ἄργεῖος, οὐκ Ἄργεῖος, ἡναγκασμένος εἰς τοῦτον βλέπει. θέλει δὲ εἰπεῖν Ἀθηναίου οὐκ Ἀθηναίου οὐτα αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ νόθον πολίτην, παρ' ὅσον Θράξ ἦν ὁ Κλεοφῶν."

Indeed, the history of the Athenian democracy affords many an instance of the orator deciding the policy which the state officials had to carry out, so that the unofficial proved the real power in the state.

Enough has been said to show how Euripides shrank from the debased democracy; but the poet's criticism is not wholly destructive. In contrast to the multitude with their head-strong passions, and the eloquent but unscrupulous demagogue stands the sketch of the honest and intelligent labourer. This farmer, rough and hardy, but blameless in life and upright in principles is contrasted favourably with "ἀγάματ' ἀγοράς." He seldom wastes his time over the disputes of the ecclesia or the political gossip of the Agora, but though he is not accustomed to public speaking, his common sense is a good substitute for eloquence.

"ἄλλος δ' ἀναστὰς ἔλεγε πῶδ' ἐναντία,
μορφῇ μὲν οὐκ εὐωπός, ἀνδρείος δ' ἀνὴρ,
ὀλιγάκις ἄστὺ κατ' ἀγορὰς χεραίνων κύκλου,
αὐτουργός - ὅϊπερ καὶ μόνοι σώζουσι γῆν -
ξυνετός δέ, χωρεῖν δμόσε τοῖς λόγοις θέλων,
ἀκέραιος, ἀνεπίπληκτον ἡσκηκῶς βίου." 1.916-922

Euripides, as we have seen already, regarded the agricultural class as the pith and marrow of the state, and as it was also strongly antagonistic to the war party, he had a twofold purpose in exalting it.

In consideration of the above evidence therefore, we may be warranted in concluding that Euripides approved a democracy of the more moderate type, such as the government of the 5000 to which Thucydides accords such enthusiastic praise, and which secured the predominance of the agricultural interest.

How different from the atmosphere of Aeschylus' and Sophocles' plays on the same subject, is the attitude here adopted toward the matricides and the god who commanded their deed! The whole state is repelled and horrified by the crime. All doors are shut against the murderer, all speech denied him, none will perform the purifying rites for him; the full rigour of the law is exercised in his case, and he may not even escape death by exile. The matricides themselves have come to doubt the righteousness of the command and of the god who gave it. Electra habitually expresses her horror of the deed and her distrust in the god, at first rather cautiously.

"φοῖβον δ' ἄδικίαν μὲν τί δειῖ κατηγορεῖν,
πείθει δ' Ὀρέστην μητέρ' ἢ σφ' ἐγείνατο
κτεῖναι, πρὸς οὐχ ἅπαντας εὐκλείαν φέρου." 1.28-30

later in less equivocal terms

"ἄδικος ἄδικα τότ' ἄρ' ἔλακεν ἔλακεν, ἀπό-
φονον ὅτ' ἐπὶ τρίποδι Θέμιδος ἄρ' ἐδίκασε
φόνου ὁ Λοξίας ἐμᾶς ματέρος." 1.163-5 (Cf also 191-3, 194)

As for Orestes, except when insane, he shows little or no confidence in the god (cf. 1.260, 276)

"Λοξία δέ μέμφομαι,
ὅστις μ' ἐπάρας ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον,
τοῖς μὲν λόγοις ἠϋφρανε, τοῖς δ' ἔργοισιν οὐ." 1.285-7

When Menelaus charges the oracle with wickedness and injustice, he makes no attempt to defend it.

"ME ἀμαθέστερός γ' ὢν τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς δίκης. (1)
OP δουλεύομεν θεοῖς, ὅτι ποτ' εἰσὶν οἱ θεοί.
ME κἄτ' οὐκ ἀμύνει Λοξίας τοῖς σοῖς κακοῖς;
OP μέλλει τὸ θεῖον δ' εἶστί τοιοῦτον φύσει." 1.417-20

He trusts in Menelaus alone, and when he fails, all is given up for lost.

He accuses the god of inciting him to commit an impious deed and of then deserting him (1.591-599)(955-6) At the end he tells Phoebus that he had feared he had obeyed the voice of a fiend in mistake for a god's.

"καί τοι μ' ἔσῃει δερμα, μή τινος κλύων
ἄλαστόρων δόξαμι σὴν κλύειν ὅπα" 1.1668,9

Finally, viewed from the standpoint of law, the god's command is seen to be immoral. This point of view is voiced by Tyndareus, the aged father of Helen and Clytemnestra. Orestes should have appealed to law and prosecuted his mother in a court of justice. If the custom of exacting blood for blood is permitted, there will be no limit to murders, since each last murder renders another necessary. He expounds the Attic law under which a murderer could avoid the punishment of death by going into exile, and while in exile could not be killed. He declares himself ready to stand up for law and justice. At the end of the play the god is ostensibly justified, but not in a very glorious way. He settles the issue merely by virtue of his superior divine power.

The perfidious Lacedaemonians are lashed with the same whip at the Delphic oracle. Though Euripides evidently thought it advisable for Athens to make peace with the Spartans, he does not spare them. Helen is vain and selfish while Menelaus is painted in colours still more ugly. He is unwilling to help his nephew and niece because he fears it will involve him in danger. When Orestes appeals to him, he hesitates, temporizes

(1) The recurrence of the charge of injustice is noteworthy, especially since the attribute of Justice was one to which Apollo laid particular claim . . . (cf. Ion. 253, 384)

(2) Schol. on 1.371 "ὑποῦλα πάντα τὰ ἔρήματα Μενελάου, ἀφ' οὗ ὁ ποιητὴς τὸ ἄστατον τῆς Λακεδαιμονίῳ γνώμης κωμῶσει, ὥς καὶ ἐν Ἀνδρομάχῃ."

and finally declines to interfere beyond mere persuasion. He will recommend moderation to the people, but will not resort to forcible measures. But at the trial he did not even speak on their behalf. (1058,9)

Mr. Wedd also considers that the Trojans in the person of the Phrygian are identified in character and habits with the effeminate Asiatics of Euripides' own time, and that the dramatist is really satirizing the Persians on account of the active assistance they were rendering Sparta - Pharnabazus was already lending his support, and Cyrus was on his way to the coast to pursue a philo-Spartan policy. The Phrygian, in a scene that borders on the ridiculous, is shown as a coward and a liar. (1.1369,1374,1415,1447,1483,1507,1513). Hence Mr. Wedd concludes that this satirical sketch is an outburst of Anti-Persian feeling.

On the whole the "Orestes" is bitter and misanthropic. "In its contemporary references," says Earle, "It is his bitter valediction to Athens and to Greece. One is tempted to say that he burned his bridges before he went to Macedonia. Never was he so bitter as when with the same hand he drew the portrait of the Athenian ochlocracy and pandered to it with sensational scenes." But this is an extreme viewpoint. True, the play contains much biting satire, exhibiting frantic hatreds, furious revenges, and sordid selfishness. What wonder, at a time when, as Thucydides, tells us (III,82) "τὰ ἐφύστερίζοντά που πύσσει τῶν προγενομένων πολὺ ἐπέφερε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινοῦσθαι τὰς δεινοῖας τῶν τ' ἐπιχειρήσεων περὶ τεχνήσει καὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν ἀτοπίᾳ." when men "ἐπεξῆσαν τε τὰς τιμωρίας ἐτιμίζουσ" and when "ἀντιμωρήσασθαι τε τινα περὶ πλείονος ἢν ἢ αὐτὸν μὴ προπαθεῖν." , that Euripides' plays should be full of these enormous revenges? But despite the sombreness of the picture,

the play ends with a strong note of reconciliation. Far from being a "bitter valediction" the play presents a sincere appeal for peace and mutual forgiveness.

3.

The "Orestes" was probably the last play which Euripides brought out at Athens; for shortly after its production he left the city. We do not know the immediate cause of this voluntary exile; all we are told is that "διὸ καὶ φασὶν ἄχθόμενον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ σχεδὸν πάντας ἐπιχαίρειν πρὸς Ἀεχέλαον ἀπελθεῖν." (Philodemus de VitiiisX)

In any case it is natural that Euripides should have been bitterly disappointed in Athens, the city he had exalted and glorified before all Greece, the city to whom he had time and time again offered sound political advice. For Athens had not only been false to her ideals and to her "lovers"; "she had sinned for the sake of success and had then failed." (1) For the victories which seemed likely to reestablish her supremacy proved to be only temporary. The clever policy of Lysander, backed by Cyrus and Persian gold, was now turning the tables once more. The defeat of Alcibiades' lieutenant Antiochus at Notium in the spring of 407 had destroyed his popularity, and the fickle populace once more deprived him of his office. Bereft of her best general, Athens had lost with him her last chance of success. The daily life of her citizens was now overshadowed by the doom that was inevitably impending. But that was not the worst; the Athenians themselves hated Euripides. The ancient life says "ὁπὸ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἐφθονεῖτο." He was the constant butt of the comic poets, and

(1) Gilbert Murray, Euripides and his Age, p.165

the odium of his fellow citizens must have been very hard for a man so intensely patriotic to bear. He held no brief for their degenerate democracy, and ruthlessly laid bare its folly and sordidness, he disapproved of their war, and consistently advocated peace. So the poet, weary and disappointed left his native city, going first to Magnesia, and then to Macedonia, where he spent the rest of his life, the cherished guest of King Archelaus. He probably died early in 406 B.C.

After his death, his third son, Euripides the younger, produced at Athens, in the Great Dionysia of 405, three plays which had been left by the great dramatist - "Iphigenia at Aulis", "Alcmaeon", and "Bacchae", and won the first prize. Of the "Alcmaeon", which has been lost, we know very little. "The Bacchae", perhaps the most enigmatic of all Greek plays, which has baffled scholars ever since, has very little political content. Two lines in the speech of old Teiresias, counselling Pentheus to repent of his rashness,

"θεράσει δὲ δυνατός καὶ λέρειν οἶός τ' ἀνὴρ
κακὸς πολίτης γίγνεται νοῦν οὐκ ἔχων" 1.270,1

have been thought to be aimed, like Orestes 1.907 at the demagogue Cleophon. Again, the short sketch of the herdsman who was fond of loafing about the city and had there picked up a smattering of rhetoric,

"καί τις πλάνης κατ' ἄστν καὶ τρέβων λόγων
ἔλεξεν εἰς ἅπαντας." 1.717,718, is considered a satire on the

"ἀγορευτοὶ" - men who wasted their time in loitering about the Agora, already mentioned in Orestes 1.919. To me, however, it

seems hardly likely that Euripides would make any reference to politics at all, in a play like the "Bacchae" - a drama that breathes forth spiritual exaltation and ecstatic joy in the loveliness of nature, written in Macedon whither he had fled from the turmoil of party strife at Athens.

Some scholars have conjectured that the "Iphigenia at Aulis" was written before Euripides left Athens because of supposed references to the Athenian democracy. ⁽²⁾ The unbridled license of the mob seems to be reflected in the words "τὸ πολὺ γὰρ δεινὸν κακόν." 1.1357, and Fix supposes 1.1089-98 to refer to the impiety, wickedness and lawlessness prevalent at Athens during the last few years of the death-struggle, "querelis--- quas de morum corruptione vitae impietate et effrena per civitatem grassante licentia fundit poeta (v.1089-98)----quae sub chori nomine Euripides ipse in civium admonitionem loquidetur?"

The soothsayers, who had all through the Peloponnesian war, and especially at the time of the Sicilian expedition, lured the Athenians on to their doom by false hopes and deceitful promises, come in for their share of the satire. The greed and venality of the whole seer-tribe is emphasized in this dialogue between Agamemnon and Menelaus.

"Αγ. τὸ μαντικὸν πᾶν σπέρμα φιλότιμον κακόν.
Με. κούδέν γ' ἄχρηστον, οὐδέ χερίσιμον παρόν." 1.520,1,

while a severe judgment on them is put into the mouth of Achilles

"τίς δέ μάντις ἔστ' ἀνὴρ,
ὃς ὀλίγ' ἀληθῆ, πολλὰ δέ ψευδῆ λέγει
τυχών, ὅταν δέ μὴ τύχῃ, διοίχεται;" 1.958-60

(1) Schol. Arist. Ran. 67 "οὕτω καὶ αἱ διδασκαλίαι φέρουσι, τελευτήσαντος Εὐριπίδου τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ δεδιδάχεναι ὁμωνύμως ἐν ἄγρει Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν ἐν Αὐλίδι, Ἀλκμαίωνα, Βάκχας." Suidas Εὐριπίδης---- νίκας εἶλετο εἶ---- μίαν μετὰ τελευτῇ, ἐπίδειξαμένον τὸ δῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφίδου αὐτοῦ Εὐριπίδου." (2) Fix, Chron. Fab. p. VII; Murray, the Athenian Drama, vol. III, p. III.

Perhaps at the end of his career, Euripides was looking back over the history of the war, and realized with a shock what an influence they had wielded over his countrymen.

Alcibiades has been thought to haunt one passage in the play. Menelaus reflecting on the folly of ambition, remarks that some who have reached the pinnacle of power fall therefrom because of the foolish judgment of the people, others because they have proved themselves incapable of safeguarding the state.

"τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ γνώμης πολιτῶν ἀσυνέτου, τὰ δ' ἐν δίκῃ
ἀδύνατοι γερῶτες αὐτοὶ διαφυλάξασθαι πόλιν" 1.368,9

Fix is of the opinion that the poet must have had in mind the disappointment he caused at Athens by his conduct of the expedition with which he was entrusted after his return to the city in 407, and his deposition from office "sententia quidem civium imperita." He thinks that there is ^{also} an allusion to the fall of the 400, "iure mente propter suam ipsorum inertiam e dominatu deiectionum." But these conjectures, and especially the latter, are far more ingenious than probable.

On the other hand, we may discern in the same speech, an attempt at advice on the choice of a leader.

"μηδέεν' ἀνδρείας ἕκατι προστάτην θείμην χθονός,
μηδ' ὀπλων ἀρχοντα νοῦν χεῖ τὸν στρατηλάτην εἶχειν.
πόλεος ὡς ἀρχων ἀνὴρ πᾶς, ξυνεσιν ἢ ἔχων τύχην." 1.373-5

Finally, Fix calls attention to the frequent contemptuous references to the Trojans as mere barbarians, the natural inferiors of the Greeks, and deserving of being conquered by them (1.371, 1400) He suggests that in such passages an implied rebuke is intended for those who were eager to call in the aid

of Persia, and make her the arbiter of strife between Greeks (Thuc.VIII,80,81). This seems likely in view of the similar treatment in the "Orestes."

We have a number of sordid and unbalanced characters delineated for us with powerful and relentless strokes - a temporizing slave of ambition, in Agamemnon, in Achilles, an unstable combination of chivalry and fierce vanity, and as usual, the gallery is not complete without the portrait of the clever but unscrupulous schemer, Odysseus, who panders to the tastes of the mob, to gain his ends.

"ΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΣ ΔΕΙ ΠΕΦΥΚΕ ΤΟΥ Τ' ὈΧΛΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ" 1.526

But in bright contrast to all these, in Iphigenia herself, Euripides has drawn the picture of a tender young girl, at first shrinking from death with all the horror and dread of youth, then nerving herself to die freely for the national cause. Here is another instance of a motif of which Euripides was very fond - the self-sacrifice of one individual to save the state. We find it in the early plays - in the "Heraclidae" and the "Erechtheus", later, in the "Phoenissae;" and now at the very end of his career, the poet paints another such portrait- perhaps the loveliest and most life-like of all.

(No mention has been made of the "Rhesus" in this discussion, for by some authorities it is regarded as spurious, while all who defend it as genuine make it an early work of the poet, and place its date about the time when the ambitious designs of Athens were directed towards Thrace and resulted in the founding of Amphipolis, c. 440 B.C.)

IX

"Born with the birth of that young power elate,
Thou wast the prophet of her soberer years,
Thou wast the prophet of her stormy strife,
Thou lookedst on her laughter and her tears,
Thou saw'st her breed, unwitting, larger life;
And in the eternal Hellas that should be
Thou gav'st her spirit immortality."

In our survey of the extant plays and the more important fragments we have seen what an intimate interest Euripides displayed in the affairs of public life. Every phase of contemporary politics is touched upon, and his political opinions are clearly defined and frankly and courageously expressed. We shall find our conclusions confirmed in every point by an examination of the surviving fragments of those of his lost plays which we have not already discussed.

Democracy and the rule of liberty which prevailed at Athens are exhibited in bright contrast with the tyrannies and oligarchies by which other states were oppressed.

"κακῶς δ' ὄλουντο πάντες οἱ τυραννίδι
χαίρουσιν ὀλίγη τ' ἐν πόλει μοναρχία."Auge, Frag. 275

Freedom is a priceless name, and the man who enjoys it, however poor he may be, is rich in its possession.

"τοῦ λεύθερον γὰρ ὄνομα παντὸς ἄξιον
κἂν σμίκρ' ἔχῃ τις μεγάλ' ἔχειν νομίζεω"ibid.

Free speech is another inestimable privilege.

"καλὸν γ' ἀληθὲς κἀτενὴς παρερησία."Temenidae, frag. 737

Tyranny is painted in the blackest colours. The tyrant is shown as a murderer, a robber, a perjured waster of cities.

" φήμ' ἐγὼ τυραννίδα
κτείνεῖν τε πλείστους κτημάτων τ' ἀποσπεῖν⁽¹⁾
δῆκους τε παραβαίνοντας ἐκπορθεῖν πόλεις." Bellerophon, frag. 286

His ambition is unlimited.

" ἢ γὰρ τυραννὶς πάντοθεν τοξεύεται
δεινοῖς ἔρωςιν, ἥς φυλακτέον πέρι." Frag. Incert. 850.

All must bow before him,

" δεῖ τοῖσι πολλοῖς τὸν τύραννον ἀνδάνειν." Antigone, frag. 171.
(2)

and he subservient to his every whim.

" ἀεὶ δ' ἄρ' ἐσκέιν τοῖς κρατοῦσι ταῦτα γὰρ
δούλοις ἀρίστα. καὶ φ' ὅτῳ τεταγμένος
εἴη τις ἀνδάνοντα δεσπότης ποιεῖν." Alceus, frag. 93.

His life is unenviable; he cannot enjoy the companionship of his
(3)
friends.

" ὅστις γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πλεόν ἔχειν πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ
οὐδέν φρονεῖ δίκαιον, οὐδὲ βούλεται
φίλοις τ' ἄμικτός ἐστι καὶ πάσῃ πόλει." Ixion, frag. 427

The worst evil of a tyrant's position is that it imposes upon him
the necessity of putting to death all whom he has cause to fear,
even his friends.

" τὸ δ' ἔσχατον δὴ τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν βροτοῖς
τυραννίς, οὐχ εὐροῖς ἀν' ἀθλιώτερον
φίλους τε πορθεῖν καὶ κατακτανεῖν χρεών
πλεῖστος φόβος πρόσεστι μὴ δράσῃ τί." Peliades, frag. 605.

There are apparent contradictions, by which, however, we must
not allow ourselves to be misled. We read in a fragment of the
Antiope.

" Γνώμαις γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εὖ μὲν οἰκοῦνται πόλεις
εὖ δ' οἶκος, εἴς τ' αὖ πόλεμον ἰσχύει μέγα
σοφὸν γὰρ εὖ βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας
νικᾷ, σὺν ὀχλῷ δ' ἀμαθία πλεῖστον κακόν." Antiope, frag. 200. (4)

(1) Cf. Iph. Taur. 679-81 (2) Cf. Hel. 276 (3) Cf. Ion. 626-8, Hipp. 1013-
(4) Cf. Aeg. frag. 8. 15

But these lines were part of a debate in which the speaker's purpose was to exalt the powers of the mind above mere physical strength. In the Archelaus, Euripides says that royalty is inferior only to the state of the gods; the only thing it lacks is immortality.

"τυραννίς δ' ἢ θεῶν δευτέρᾳ νομίζεται,
τὸ μὴ θανεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἔχει." Archelaus, frag. 250,
and "ὀλίγοι γὰρ ἐσθλοὶ κρείσσονες πολλῶν κακῶν." ibid., frag. 244.

But at that time Euripides, an old man over seventy years old, was living in Macedonia, the honoured guest of King Archelaus; and no one can blame the poet for paying a graceful compliment to his host and admirer. As a matter of fact, the ancient kings of Athens are all represented in Euripides' plays as excellent rulers - Erechthous, Theseus, and Demophon are more like archons than monarchs. Theseus himself it was who founded the democracy of Athens.

Euripides was undoubtedly sincere when he praised the political institutions of Athens before his vast audience - before native Athenians and foreigners both. This was no mere diplomatic flattery, no pandering to the vanity of the mob. It was his purpose to give the people confidence in themselves and their city, to strengthen civic spirit and morale. He was, however, not blind to the disadvantages of a system of government which left the most serious questions of state policy in the hands of the ignorant multitude. Far from fawning upon the masses, though he does not give us a ludicrous caricature of the Athenian Demos as Aristophanes does in the "Knights", he relentlessly lays bare all its weakness and folly, and shows it as it is - fickle, impulsive, emotional, ignorant, easily moved to the extreme either of cruelty

or of pity, all too susceptible to persuasion by specious words. In his plays—to quote words used in describing an actual picture painted by the artist Parrhasius, Euripides "pinxit demon Atheniensium argumento quoque ingenioso ostendebat namque varium, iracundum, iniustum, inconstantem eundem exorabilem clementem misericordem gloriosum, excelsum humilem, ferocem fugacemque et omnia pariter.⁽¹⁾ Euripides shrank from the coarser aspects of Athenian political life. He was repelled by the democracy as it tended to become less the rule of the people than the unbridled license of the mob.

" ἐν τοῖσι μύθοις τοῦτ' ἐγὼ κρῖνω βροτῶν
ὅστις τῶν πατέρων παισὶ μὴ φρονούσιν εὖ
ἢ καὶ πολίταις παραδίδωσ' ἔξουσίαν" Phaethon, frag.784

On the other hand, we must not suppose that Euripides was a partisan of the wealthy or nobly born. Instances might be multiplied to show how lightly he esteemed riches.

" πλουτεῖς, τὰ δ' ἄλλα μὴ δόκει ξυνιέναι.
ἐν τῷ γὰρ ὕλβῳ φαυλότης ἔνεστί τις,
πενία δὲ σοφίαν ἔλαχε διὰ τὸ συγγενές." Polyidus, frag.641.

In many cases wealth leads to sloth and cowardice.

" κακόν τι παίδευμ' ἦν ἄρ' εἰς ἀνανδρίαν
ὁ πλοῦτος ἀνθρώποισιν αἶτ' ἄγαν τρυφαί.
πενία δὲ δύστηνον μὲν, ἀλλ' ὁμῶς τρέφει
μοχθεῖν τ' ἀμείνω τέκνα καὶ δραστήρια" Alexander, frag.54.

Poor men are often wiser than rich.

" ἐγὼ δὲ πολλάκις σοφωτέρους
πένητας ἀνδράς εἰσορῶ τῶν πλουσίων." Danae, frag.327.

The society of just men is preferable to the possession of riches,

"Κρεῖσσον δὲ πλούτου καὶ πολυχρέστου χλιδῆς
ἀνδρῶν δίκαιων κ' ἀγαθῶν παρουσίαι." Theseus, frag.391⁽²⁾

(1) Pliny, Nat.Hist.XXXV,36,4 (2) Cf.also Andromeda,frag.142, Alomene,frag. 95, Danae 324,6.

which often lead to injustice,

"ἀδίκον δὲ πλοῦτος, πολλὰ δ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς ποιεῖ." Alexander, frag. 55

Nor has the poet any more admiration for nobility of birth. Though he sometimes shows pity for people of high station who are slaves of pride and rank, who dare not express what they think and are not at liberty even to weep. (Iph. in Aul. 446 et seq.) he never envies or admires them. Pride in noble lineage he considers absolutely empty. In Euripides' day great families often sought to enhance the illustriousness of their ancestry by choosing a god or a hero as the founder of their line. The poet, on the contrary, assigns to all a common mother, Earth.

"διὰ δ' ἔκρινεν ἃ τεκοῦσα γὰρ βροτοὺς,
ὁμοίαν χθὼν ἅπασιν ἐξεπαίδευσεν ὄψιν.
ἴδιον οὐδὲν ἔσχομεν· μίᾳ δὲ γούνα
τό τ' εὐγενὲς καὶ τὸ δυσγενές.
νόμῳ δὲ γάρθρου αὐτὸ κραίνει χθόνος.
τὸ φρόνιμον εὐγένεια καὶ τὸ συνετὸν
δ θεὸς δίδωσιν, οὐχ ὁ πλοῦτος." Alexander, frag. 52.

The democracy of which Euripides dreamed was one in which neither the rich nor the poor should have excessive influence.

"δήμῳ δὲ μήτε πᾶν ἀναρτήσης κράτος
μήτ' αὖ κακώσης, πλοῦτον ἔντιμον τιθεῖς
μηδ' ἄνδρα δήμῳ πιστὸν ἐκβάλης ποτέ,
μηδ' αὖ ξε καίρῳ μείζον', οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς
μή σοι τύραννος λαμπρὸς ἐξ ἀστοῦ φανῇ
κόλουε δ' ἄνδρα παρὰ δίκην τιμώμενον.
πόλει γὰρ εὐτυχοῦντες οἱ κακοὶ νόσος" Pleisthenes, frag. 626.

Though he wishes that "the herd, wild hearts and feeble wings, that every sophister can lime" had not such unlimited control, he would not have their power made of no effect by the rich, because both rich and poor have need of each other and ought to cooperate in the conduct of public affairs.

Δοκεῖτ' ἄν οἰκεῖν γαῖαν, εἰ πένης ἅπας
 λαὸς πολιτεύοιντο πλουσίων ἄτερ;
 οὐκ ἄν γένοιτο χεῖς ἐσθλὰ καὶ κακὰ,
 ἀλλ' ἔστι τις σύγκρασις, ὥστ' ἔχειν καλῶς.
 ἃ μὴ γὰρ ἔστι τῷ πένητι πλούσιος
 δίδωσ'· ἃ δ' οἱ πλούτοδυντες οὐ κεκτῆμεθα
 τοῖσιν πένησι χρώμενοι τιμώμεθα." Aeolus frag.21.

It is in the middle class, as we have already seen (Supp.244,420) that Euripides puts his trust, and it was to them that he looked for the salvation of the state and the maintenance of a balanced equilibrium amid party strife. He especially admired the agricultural class - the sturdy farmers who cultivated their own lands and seldom visited the city and the market place. He thought that their rustic honesty would be a check on the more violent *ἄστοι* in the Ecclesia. In politics he definitely aligned himself with the moderates, showing thus the same political bias as Aristophanes, whose ideal was "always that of a frankly democratic city, but one in which the greatest influence would have been in the hands of a moderate element,----- of the small landowners - in a word, of the rural democracy."⁽¹⁾

Like Aristophanes, too, Euripides is full of hatred and contempt for the plausibility and unscrupulous ambition of the popular orators, whose baneful eloquence lures the citizens on to their ruin. He continually deplures the power of specious words to gloss over unpleasant realities and render bad policies attractive.

- (1) "ἔκ παντός ἄν τις πράγματος δισσῶν λόγων
 ἀγῶνα θεῖτ' ἄν, εἰ λέγειν εἴη σοφός." Antiope, frag.189
- (2) "Τυραννικόν τοι πόλλ' ἐπίστασθαι λέγειν." Diotys' frag.335
- (3) "ἄλλω δ' ἀρεσκείμην δέω· ὅχι ἐκ φρενῶν
 λέγοντι πείθειν τοὺς πέλ' ἀστόλμη κακῇ." Rhadamanthus, frag.659
- (4) "εἰ δ' ἦσαν ἀνθρώποισιν ὠνητοὶ λόγοι,
 οὐδεὶς ἄν αὐτὸν εὖ λέγειν ἐβούλετο·
 νῦν δ', ἐκ βαθείας γὰρ πάρεστιν αἰθερος

(1) M.Croiset, Aristophanes and the political parties at Athens, p.163.

λαβεῖν ἀμοχθί, πᾶς τις ἴδεται λέγων
τὰ τ' ὄντα καὶ μὴ. ζημίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει" Frag. Incert. 978
(5) "ὦ παῖ, γένοιτ' ἄν εὖ λελεγμένοι λόγοι
ψευδεῖς, ἐπῶν δὲ κάλλεσιν νικῶεν ἄν
τ' ἀληθεῖς." Antiope, frag. 206.

(6) "κόσμος δ' ἐσιγὴ στεφανὸς ἀνδρός οὐ κακοῦ
τὸ δ' ἐκλαλοῦν τοῦθ' ἡδονῆς μὲν ἔπτεται,
κακὸν δ' ὀμίλημ', ἀσθενὲς δὲ καὶ πόλεψ." Antiope, frag. 219.

As has been shown, he denounced such demagogues as Cleon, Hyperbolus and Cleophon with no less severity than Aristophanes, though he used different weapons. He regretted the power wielded by these leaders over the masses, and the extremes to which they led them.

"Λαμπροὶ δ' ἐν αἰχμαῖς Ἄρεος ἐν τε συλλόγοις,
μήμοι τὰ κομψὰ ποικίλοι γενοίατο,
ἀλλ' ὧν πόλει δεῖ, μέγала βουλευόντες εὔ." Aeolus, frag. 16.

These impressions of Euripides' attitude are confirmed by the testimony of Satyrus, who says

"καὶ [δὴ] καὶ τὸ μηδ' ἐνα] τῶν ἀστῶν με]τεωρίζειν ὑπέ]ρ
τῶ] μέτερον μὴ δὲ τυράννων] ποιεῖν καὶ [ἀστῶν] φαύλοισι μὴ
διδόναι πάροδον πρὸς τὰ ἐντιμα. μέγιστον γὰρ ἔλκος πόλεως
κακὸς εἴτωρ [ἐν ματωρὸς] πέρα τῆς ἀξίας π[ρὸς] αἰγόμενος." (1.)

Thus Euripides clearly shows himself an adherent of the moderate and constitutional party, opposed to the tyranny of absolute rulers on the one hand, and on the other, of the still worse tyranny of these demagogues.

"πολιτικῶν ἐπιστήμονα νοσημάτων", as Plutarch calls him, Euripides, with his keen judgment, penetrated to the cause of the diseased condition of political life at the close of the fifth century. The pages of Thucydides reveal some deep comments on the revolutionary spirit which disturbed the states of the Greek world during the latter half of the Peloponnesian war. The historian has left us a striking picture of daring

(1.) Oxyrhynchus Papyri, IX, 1176.

enterprises, mad ambitions, cruel revenges, moral perversity.

It was a time when reckless daring was at a premium." τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομισθή " Thuc.III,82.4.

The cause of all these evils was the desire to rule which greed and ambition inspire. "πάντων δ' αὐτῶν αἴτιον ἀρχὴ ἢ δία πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν· ἐκ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ φιλονικεῖν καθίσταμένων τὸ πρόθυμον." III,82.8.

Reckless daring and unbounded ambition - these are the very qualities which Euripides denounced in this fragment of the "Hippolytus Veiled".

" οὐ γὰρ κατ' εὐσέβειαν αἱ θνητῶν τύχαι, πολυμήμασιν δὲ καὶ χερῶν ὑπερβολαῖς ἀλίσκεται τε πάντα καὶ θηρεύεται." Hipp.Veiled, frag.434.

The tie of party now had the greatest claim upon a man's allegiance; personal aggrandizement was the strongest motivating power.

" καὶ μὲν καὶ τὸ θυγενές τοῦ ἐταίρικοῦ ἀλλοτριώτερον ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἐτοιμότερον εἶναι ἀπροφασίστως πολυμᾶν. οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν κειμένων νόμων ὠφελίας αἱ τοιαῦται ξύνοδοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοὺς καθεστῶτας πλεονεξία." Thuc.III, 82,6.

And indeed, in the latter half of the war, the battle which Athens had to fight was not against the Lacedaemonians or against any martialled hosts, but against the foe within her walls, the spirit of strife that had entered into the state. "ἐστὶ δὲ οὐ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών." Thuc.V,91. This fact Euripides realized all too well.

" δίκειος ἀνθρώποισι γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ πόλεμος ἐν ἀσποῖς, ἡνδίοχστα τῇ πόλει." Antigone, frag.173.

He points out the evils of internal strife.

" δεινὴ πόλις νοσοῦσ' ἀνευρίσκειν κακὰ." Aegae, frag.267.

Aside from general reflections, the poet has exposed and fearlessly denounced the men who do all the harm - restless mischievous adventurers whose audacity impresses the common people. The historian has given us a description of these party leaders and their practices.

"οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προστάυτες μετὰ ὀνόματος
ἐκάτεροι εὐπρεποῦς----τὰ μὲν κοινὰ λόγῳ θεράπ-
εύοντες ἄθλα ἐποιοῦντο, παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ ἀγώνιζόμενοι
ἀλλήλων περιγίγνεσθαι ἐτόλμησάν τε τὰ δεινότερα ἐπεξῆσαν
τε τὰς τιμωρίας ἔτι μείζους---καὶ ἡ μετὰ ψήφου ἀδίκου
καταγνώσεως ἢ χειρὶ κτώμενοι τὸ κρατεῖν ἑτοῖμοι ἦσαν τῇν
αὐτίκα φιλονικίαν ἐκπιπλάμι." Thuc. III, 82.8.

The poet appraised the situation with like intuitive acumen

"οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω γαῦρον ὥς ἀνὴρ ἔφυ.
τούς γὰρ περισσοὺς καί τι πράσσοντας πλέον
τιμῶμεν ἄνδρας τ' ἐν πόλει νομίζομεν." Philoctetes, frag. 788.

The wrong people are always elected to office, which is the cause of "sickness" in the state.

(1) "ἐν τῷδε γὰρ κάμνουσιν αἱ πολλαὶ πόλεις,
ὅταν τις ἐσθλὸς καὶ πρόθυμος ὦν ἀνὴρ
μηδὲν φέρηται τῶν κακίωνων πλέον." Hec. 306-8

(2) "πολλοὶ γεγῶτες ἄνδρες οὐκ ἔχουσ' ὅπως
δείξουσιν αὐτοὺς τῶν κακῶν ἐξουσίαν."
Temenidae, frag. 738

(3) ὅταν κακός τις ἐν πόλει πράσση καλῶς,
νοσεῖν τίθησι τὰς ἀμεινόνων φρένας,
παράδειγμ' ἔχόντων τὴν κακῶν ἐξουσίαν."
Polyidus frag. 644.

What the city needs is a number of good leaders.

"ναῦν τοι μί' ἀγκυρ' οὐχ ὁμῶς σώζειν φιλεῖ
ὥς τρεῖς ἀφέντι· προστάτης θ' ἀπλοῦς πόλει
σφαλερός, ὅπῃ δὲ κἄλλος οὐ κακὸν πέλει." Phaethon, frag. 774.

In our survey of Euripides' career as a dramatist we have found ample proof of the fact that he was no advocate of the war party. The lengthy denunciation of war and its follies put into the mouth of the Theban herald in the "Suppliants" (479-93)

is not refuted by Theseus as would assuredly have been the case had it been the poet's purpose to expose the arguments of the peace party. On the war question he is at one with Aristophanes. Both lived in the anxious and critical years of the Peloponnesian War, and both sincerely desired its speedy termination. The aspect of war which impressed Euripides most was not its glory, but its inhumanity; he noticed the cruel fatality by which the grim War god seemed to choose as his first victims the flower of the country's youth.

" φιλεῖ τοι πόλεμος οὐ πάντων τυχεῖν,
 ἐσθλῶν δὲ χαίρει πτώμασιν νεανιῶν,
 κακοῦς δὲ μισεῖ. τῇ πόλει μὲν οὐ νόσος
 τόδ' ἐστὶ, τοῖς δὲ κατθανοῦσιν ἐκλεεῖς" Temenidae, frag. 728

One of its most insidious evils is the treachery it engenders.

" νεῖκη γὰρ ἀνδρῶν βόνια καὶ μάχας χρεῶν
 δόλοισι κλέπτειν. τῆς δ' ἀληθείας δόος
 φαύλη τίς ἐστι. ψεύδεσιν δ' ἄεθς φίλος." Bellerophon, frag. 289.

As the greater part of Euripides' extant plays are contemporary with the Peloponnesian War, there is no occasion for surprise that questions of war and peace should be so fully discussed in his plays. Euripides was devoid of all enthusiasm for war and longed earnestly for peace. But he loved peace, not from a selfish desire for repose and freedom from care, but because war was by nature horrible to him and his generous heart ^{was} filled with pity for the sufferings it brings humanity.

A fratricidal struggle like the Peloponnesian war was particularly repulsive to him "χαλεποὶ πόλεμοι γὰρ ἀδελφῶν" frag. Incert. 975.

One must not however suppose that Euripides desires to depreciate military courage and deeds of valour. He has verses of scathing contempt for the youth who hates to play the man in war.

"νεανίας γὰρ ὅστις ὦν Ἄρεστυγῇ,
κόμη μόνον καὶ σάρες, ἔργα δ' οὐδ' αὖ μοῦ.
δραῖς τὸν εὐτράπεζον ὥς ἡδύς βίος
ὅτ' ὀλβος ἔξωθεν τις ἐστι πραγμάτων.
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔνεστι στέφανος οὐδ' εὐανδρεία,
εἰ μή τι καὶ τολμῶσι κινδύνου μέτα." Frag. Incert. 1052

He approves enthusiastically of that noble energy of character, that fearless spirit of enterprise which begets glorious courage, and by which Athens had attained to greatness, while the surrounding states from their excess of caution remain in obscurity.

"οἱ γὰρ πόνοι τίκτουσι τὴν εὐανδρίαν,
ἥ δ' εὐλάβεια σκότον ἔχει καθ' Ἑλλάδα,
τὸ διαβιώναι μόνον αἰὲθ' ὀφραμένη." ibid.

He exhorts the youth to apply themselves to the practice of arms, and not to spend all their time in the frivolities of fine dress nor even in the athletic training schools.

"ἀνδρες χεὶρ σοφούς τε καὶ γαθούς
φύλλοις στέφεισθαι χῶστις ἢ γέται πόλει
κάλλιστα, σώφρων καὶ δίκαιος ὦν ἀνὴρ,
ὅστις τε μύθοις ἔργ' ἀπαλλάσσει κακά,
μάχας τ' ἀφαιρῶν, καὶ στάσεις τοιαῦτα γὰρ
πόλει τε πάσῃ πᾶσι θ' Ἑλλησιν καλά." Autolycus Satyricus,
frag. 282

The Satyrus life of Euripides confirms our conclusions on this point. "πάλιν γοῦν ὁ μὲν Εὐριπίδης εὖ μάλα πρὸς ἀλκὴν καὶ εὐψυχίαν παρακαλεῖ τοὺς νέους, υποβάλλων αὐτοῖς δρᾶς Λακωνικὰς καὶ θυμοποιῶν τὸ πλῆθ[ος] οὕτως. 'κτῆσασθ' ἐν ὑστέροισιν εὐ[κ]λείαν χρέουσις ἀπασαν ἀντλή[σαν]τες ἡμέρα[ν πόν]ου ψυχᾶς" (1)

Though he disapproved on principle of war in general, and of

(1) Oxyrhynchus Papyri IX, 1176

the Peloponnesian War in particular, as year after year it became more and more a struggle to the death that sapped the life-blood of Greece, we must not suppose that he thought the Spartans right or wished the Athenians to be defeated. On the contrary, we have seen Euripides presenting plays that were in effect valuable political propaganda against Athens' enemies, and writing ardent patriotic dramas in support of her cause. Euripides' attitude in this respect seems to me to resemble rather strikingly that adopted by Tennyson, when he wrote

"Oh yet, if Nature's evil star
Drive men in manhood, as in youth,
To follow flying steps of Truth
Across the brazen bridge of war -
If New and Old, disastrous feud,
Must ever shock like armed foes,
And this be true, till Time shall close,
That Principles are rained in blood;
Not yet the wise of heart would cease
To hold his hope thro' shame and guilt,
But with his hand against the hilt,
Would pace the troubled land like Peace;---
Certain, if knowledge bring the sword,
That knowledge takes the sword away----
And if some dreadful need should rise
Would strike, and firmly, and one stroke."

As long as the Peloponnesian War seemed to Euripides to be a struggle between two principles, with Athens as the champion of freedom and democracy, he was ever her enthusiastic supporter; but when these principles became, to quote Thucydides (III, 82, 8) mere "catch phrases" used by party leaders to attract adherents, and Athens' policy became more and more wantonly aggressive, he did not hesitate to tell her what he thought of her. Refusing to adhere blindly to any one party, he was a supporter of policies rather than of parties.

Nor has Euripides any idea of quenching patriotic feeling - on the contrary, he displays that quality in a very high degree. He wrote perhaps more plays on Attic themes than either Aeschylus or Sophocles - among the extant plays, "Hippolytus", "Ion", "Heraclidae", "Suppliants", "Heraclides", as well as the lost plays "Aegeus", "Theseus" and "Erechtheus". Love of country is constantly expressed.

- (1) "τί γὰρ πατρώας ἀνδρὶ φίλτερον χθονός;" *Aegeus*, frag. 6
 (2) "εἶκος δὲ πάντῃ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ μηχανῇ πατρίδος ἐρωῦντες ἐκπονέειν σωτηρίαν." *Temenidae*, frag. 729
 (3) "πολλοὶ γὰρ, χερσὶ καὶ πλούτου κρείσσων ἢ πάτερ σὺ φρονι ναιέειν. τὸ δὲ σύντροφον ἔδωκε θυητοῖς." *Frag. Incert.* 1046
 (4) "μὴ κάμνε πατρίδα σὴν λαβεῖν πειρώμενος" *Frag. Incert.* 1045

He exalted Athens before all the nations of the Greek world. Even the neighbouring island of Salamis is extolled.

"Ἑλλάδα κοσμῶν πατρίδα τὴν εὐάμπελον." *Meleager*, frag. 530, l. 3

In the "Hecuba", the chorus of captive Trojan women, when speaking of the various parts of Greece to which they may be sent as slaves, celebrate the glories of Athens above all.

"ἢ Παλλάδος ἐν πόλει
 τὰς καλλιδίφρους τ' Ἀθηνῶν
 ναῖας ἐν κροκέῳ πέπλῳ
 ζεύξομαι ἄρα πύλους ἐν
 δαιδαλέαισι ποικίλλουσ'
 ἀνθοκρόκοισι πῆναις, ἢ
 Τιτάνων γενεῶν
 τὰν Ζεὺς ἀμφιπύρῳ κοιμίζει
 φλογμῷ κρονίδας;" *Hec.* 465-73

"τίς γὰρ εἴρηκε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος ἐγκώμιον τοιοῦτον οἶον
 Εὐριπίδης;" said Plutarch, referring to the noble speech of

Praxithea in the *Erechtheus*.

Let us not call this a "vulgar patriotism", a "spirit of chauvinism" or a "cheap highroad to popularity" as many of

(1) Cf. *Phoen.* 358-60, *Iph. Taur.* 452, 3; 647-9, 1137 seq.
 (2) Cf. *Tro.* 210, 220 (3) *de exilio* c. 13.

Euripides' detractors have done. Euripides cannot be accused of flattering his fellow citizens when he presented before their eyes such tremendous reproaches as the "Trojan Women" or the "Orestes".

Furthermore, he shows himself a true patriot by boldly exposing some of the social and political abuses of the day. He condemns the maintenance of asylums.

"δεῦρ', ὡς εἴοικε, τοῖς κακοῖσι φευκτέον" Heracl. 1.259.

The wicked should be dragged to punishment from the very altar. (1)

"Ἐγὼ γὰρ, ὅστις μὴ δίκαιος ᾖν ἀνὴρ
βωμὸν προσίζει, τὸν νόμον χείρειν ἑῶν,
πρὸς τὴν δίκην ἄγοιμ' ἂν οὐ τέρας θεοῦς,
κακὸν γὰρ ἄνδρα χεὶρ κακῶς πράσσειν δει." Frag. 871 (Wagner)

As we have seen before, he condemns suicide, thus showing an attitude that was indeed remarkable in antiquity. (2)

"Ὅστις δὲ λύπας φησὶ πημαίνειν βροτούς,
δεῖν δ' ἀγχιονῶν τε καὶ πετρῶν εἶπτεν ἄπο,
οὐκ ἐν σοφοῖσιν ἐστίν, εὐχέσθω δ' ὁμῶς
ἄπειρος εἶναι τῆς νόσου ταύτης ἀεὶ." Frag. 895 (Wagner)

He shows a dislike for heralds, representing them always as the haughty and overbearing ministers of tyrants. Possibly he regarded their arrogant manner as one of the causes of foolish wars. (3)

"ἀεὶ ποτ' ἐστὶ σπέρμα κηρύκων λάλῳ." Frag. Incert. 1030

He criticizes the fashionable tendency to imitate foreign manners and customs.

"εἰ δ' ᾗσθα μὴ κάκιστος, οὐ ποτ' ἂν πάτραν
τὴν σὴν ἀτίξων τήνδ' ἂν ἡυλογεῖς πόλιν.
ὥς ἐν γ' ἐμοὶ κείνοιτ' ἂν οὐ καλῶς φρονεῖν
ὅστις πατρώας γῆς ἀτιμάξων ὄρους
ἄλλην ἐπαινεῖ καὶ τρόποισιν ἡδέεται." Dictys, frag. 347.

(1) Cf. Ion 314-17 (2) Cf. Or. 415. (3) Cf. or 895, Heracl. 292, Supp. 381, Tro. 424

Here again he shows himself of the same opinion as Aristophanes, who satirizes the prevalent rage of "Laconizing", or imitating Spartan dress and habits.

"ἐλακωνομάδου δ' πάντες ἄνθρωποι τότε,
ἐκόμων, ἐπείνων, ἐρρύπων, ἐσωκράτων
ἐσκυταλισκοφύρου." Arist. Aves 1281-3

He inculcated obedience to the laws as the great safeguard of a state (Supp.313) In short, to quote Prof. Decharme, "Greek tragedy was still in the hands of Euripides what it was in the time of Aeschylus - a school of patriotism."⁽¹⁾

Though Euripides was an earnest patriot, we find distinct traces of cosmopolitanism in his writing. How advanced is his attitude towards the contempt, which the Greeks universally felt for other races than their own! "Nowhere is Euripides more sarcastic than when, in his Medea, (1.536) he makes Jason pose as a benefactor of the woman whom he has basely betrayed, on the ground that he has brought her out of an obscure barbarian home, and enabled her to enjoy the privilege of-living in Greece."⁽²⁾ And the irony is just as deep when in the "Hecuba" Agamemnon, the enlightened Greek says to Polymestor the Thracian barbarian

"τάχ' οὐν παρ' ἑμὶν ἔσθιον ξενόκτενεῖν.
ἡμῖν δὲ γ' αἰσχρὸν τοῖσιν Ἕλλησιν τόδε." Hec. 1247, 8.

This from the man who was willing to sacrifice an innocent princess to glut the mob's superstition and lust for vengeance!

Euripides' idea of patriotism was not limited to the narrow nationalism of most of his contemporaries. He rises to the lofty conception of one great fatherland for all mankind - the whole earth. At a later time Diogenes of Sinope said "I am a citizen of the world.", Euripides says:

(1) Euripides and the Spirit of his Dramas, p.142.
(2) Bury, History of Greece, p.389.

" ἄπας μὲν ἀήρ ἀϊετῶ περ ἄσιμος,
ἄπαντα δὲ χθονὶ ἀνδρὶ γυναιίῳ πάτρις." Frag. Incert. 1047

Thus we see that Euripides anticipated the Stoic ideal of the universal brotherhood of man; as he had also the idea that wisdom knows no boundaries, when he said that the wise man was a friend of his, though he lived at the other end of the world.

" Τὸν⁽¹⁾ σοφὸν ἄνδρα, κἂν ἐκὰς ναίῃ χθονός;
κἂν μή ποτ' ὅσοις εἰσίδω κείνῳ φίλον." Frag. Incert. 902.

At that time it was a very dim and visionary ideal indeed!

Enough has been said to show that, whatever may have been the reason for Aristophanes' hostility toward Euripides, it was certainly not because they were political enemies. Both distrusted extreme democracy; both despised the demagogues and popular orators who led the people astray to serve their own ends. Both regarded the middle class, and especially the honest farmers of Attica as the mainstay of the state. Both agreed that neither noble birth nor great wealth were qualities essential to good citizenship. Euripides loved Athens with no less devotion than his brother poet and paid her compliments, sometimes even to the disadvantage of a play. Both disapproved of the Peloponnesian War, and eagerly longed for the return of peace. It is interesting to notice that Aristophanes reproduced the first verse of the splendid eulogy of Peace in the Ctesiphontes, in his comedy, "The Husbandmen."⁽²⁾

So, reflecting on the similarity of their political opinions, and wondering at the persistent hostility of the comic poet toward one who held views so like his own, Browning makes Aristophanes⁽³⁾ say:

(1) Nauck reads ἐσθλόν. (2) Com. 2 p. 987 (3) Aristophanes' Apology.

"I - patriot loving peace and hating war, -
 Choosing the rule of few, but wise and good,
 Rather than mob dictatorship, fools and knaves
 However multiplied their mastery, -
 Despising most of all the demagogue, ----
 Why, all my soul's supremacy of power
 Did I pour out in volley just on him
 Who, his whole life long, championed every cause
 I called my heart's cause, loving as I loved,
 Hating my hates, spurned falsehood, championed truth."

Later on, in the same poem, Browning suggests that while neither had any great immediate success in persuading the people to adopt the policies they advocated, Euripides may exert more influence over future generations.

"Now, the antagonist Euripides -
 Has he succeeded better? Who shall say?
 He spoke quite o'er the heads of Cleon's crowd
 To a dim future, and if there he fail,
 Why you are fellows in adversity ."

The question naturally suggests itself: Why did Euripides, who was so deeply interested in the political questions of the day, never take an active part in the affairs of public life? In this he affords a striking contrast to his two ^{great} compeers. Yet neither Aeschylus nor Sophocles display so intimate a connection with contemporary political thought. And so our poet has been accused of not being a good citizen because he did not hold any important office or take a prominent part in the direction of public affairs. We may discern Euripides' own justification, ⁽¹⁾ of his aloofness in several passages. His Ion speaks of honest citizens who are thoroughly competent to succeed in politics, but of their own choice refrain, shrinking from the intrigues, rival ambitions, jealousies and disappointments which accompany a political career. (Ion. 595 et seq.)

(1) It is interesting to notice that Socrates brings up the same point in connection with himself (Plato, Apology 31 c), and to compare his defence of his ἀπαρμόδιον with that of Euripides.

The envy of the mediocre always pursues those who have risen to prominence by reason of their superior gifts.

"φθονοῦσιν αὐτοὶ χείρονες πεφυκότες.
εἰς τὰ πῶμα δ' ὁ φθόνος πηδᾶν φιλεῖ." Bellerophon, frag. 294

He feared the danger and discredit arising from evil associations.

"ὄλβιος ὅστις -----
μήτε πολιτῶν ἐπὶ πημοσύνην
μήτ' εἰς ἀδίκους πράξεις δρυῶν ----
τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις οὐδέ ποτ' ἀσχεῶν
ἔργων μελέδημα προσίξει." Frag. Incert. 910.

For these reasons he preferred to abstain from participation in public affairs, even at the risk of allowing his Muse to be accused of indolence and uselessness, like Amphion in "Antiope" (frag. 184; 187, 3.) He has made his Medea speak of those who, through following quiet paths have incurred the reproach of apathy (ἐαθυμίαν) (Medea 218) He was fully aware of the prejudice that prevailed against one who held aloof from civic affairs (Cf. Thuc. I, 70; Thuc. II, 40). His choice was a life of retirement and seclusion, but he certainly cannot be charged with indifference to the public weal. As archon or as the leader of a party he might have rendered some service to the state. But perhaps he rendered his city greater service by the sound and honest political advice he offered in plays which deal directly with existing political conditions. He did not address his fellow citizens in the market-place or in the assembly, but in a vast auditorium and before an immense audience he brought forward some of the urgent questions of the hour, criticized what he considered the prevailing evils of the day, and offered political counsel that was the result of the earnest pondering of a philosopher's

keen mind. This was Euripides' way of serving the state, this his performance of the citizen's duty: and who shall say his choice was not a wise one?

Bibliography

- Texts** Murray, Gilbert: Euripidis Fabulae (Oxford)
Jones, H. Stuart: Thucydidis Historiae (Oxford)
Nauck, A: Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (Leipzig)
Wagner: Fragmenta Euripidis (Paris)
Dindorf, W: Scholia Graeca in Euripidis Tragoedias (Oxford)
Grenfell, B.P., and Hunt, A.S.: The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, vol. IX.
Paley, F.E.: Euripides, 3 vols. (Cambridge)
Weil, Henri: Sept Tragedies d'Euripide (Paris)
Fix, Theobald: Euripidis Fabulae (Paris)
- References to other standard editions used will be found in the footnotes.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff: Analecta Euripidea
Decharme, Paul: Euripides and the Spirit of his Dramas,
translated by James Loeb (Macmillan)
Murray, Gilbert: Euripides and his Age (London)
The Athenian Drama, vol. III (London)
Verrall, A.W.: Four Plays of Euripides (Cambridge)
The Student's Greek Tragedy (Sonnenschein)
Haigh, A.E.: The Attic Theatre (3rd edition, revised by A.W. Pickard-
Cambridge, Oxford.)
The Tragic Drama of the Greeks (Oxford)
Mahaffy, J.P. - A History of Classical Greek Literature.
Longman, Green & Co.
Muller, C.O. - History of the Literature of Ancient Greece.
(translated by George Cornwall Lewis, London)
Schlegel, A.W. - Lectures on dramatic Art and Literature,
translated by J. Black (London)

Croiset, Maurice: Aristophanes and the Political Parties at Athens,

translated by James Loeb, Macmillan, 1909.

Drinkwater, John: Patriotism in Literature (London)

Zimmern, A.E. : The Greek Commonwealth (Oxford)

The Cambridge Ancient History, vol. V (Cambridge)

