of Priam; Zeus brings about the ruin of Agamemnon. The Chorus of the *Agamemnon*, like Sophocles' women of Trachis,[14] can justly echo Homer's words at the beginning of the *Iliad* and say that all that has happened has been in accordance with the will of Zeus.

7

IMAGERY AND ACTION IN THE *ORESTEIA*

ANN LEBECK

Several major systems of imagery in the *Oresteia* have a specific purpose: they turn the events of the drama into a concrete illustration of the principle *pathein ton erxanta* ('the doer suffers'). The gnome itself is not stated until the end of *Agamemnon*: yet the idea of like for like is communicated on the level of imagery from the beginning of the play. Further, a variety of expressions which suggest the proverb prepare for the statement of the gnome itself. The majority of these involve repetition of *paschō* (suffer), *draō* (act), and *prattō* (do) or verbal parallelism of some kind. They recur with increasing frequency in the final half of *Agamemnon.*[1]

Introduced at the close of the first drama, the gnome and its equivalent 'blood for blood' are central to the action of *Choephori*. However, as the trilogy progresses the proverb takes on other overtones. A divine decree in *Agamemnon* (1563-64), in *Choephori* it is shown to be untenable, a vicious unending circle of injustice.[2] Orestes' last words to Clytemnestra sum up the situation with an irony born of understanding: 'You slew whom you ought not have slain, now in requital suffer what you ought not suffer' (930).

In *Eumenides*, along with Erinyes, the gnome undergoes a final metamorphosis: from doing ill and suffering harm to doing good and faring well. From the lament of the Furies in the parodos to the words of Athena at the close:

> *Chor.* Ho, ho! Out upon it! We have suffered, dear ones –
> much have I suffered, and all in vain! –
> we have suffered a grievous blow, alas, a hurt unbearable.
> (143-145)
> Such are the actions of the younger gods. . . . (163)

Excerpted from *The Oresteia: A Study in Language and Structure*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 59-73. Abridged, with some Greek, French and German passages replaced by English translation.

Ath. to do good and receive good, and in goodly honor
to have a portion in this land most dear to the gods. (868-869)

In *Agamemnon* this gnomic statement is illustrated by three systems of imagery: that of sacrifice, that of the hunt, and that of the marriage ritual.

Sacrifice

Each complex of imagery has its origin in an idea or a concrete act. His subject matter offers Aeschylus two traditions: the sacrificial feast served Thyestes and the sacrifice of Iphigenia.[3] These two events are the point of departure for the image of murder as a ritual act which appears throughout the *Oresteia*. Agamemnon dies in requital for the crime of Atreus and the crime at Aulis. The image of his own death as sacrifice makes that death parallel to the two crimes of which he is guilty. It is just requital, like for like. The connection between these three decisive events, gradually established by recurrent imagery, is made explicit at the end of *Agamemnon*. The recurrence of the sacrifice motif in *Choephori* and *Eumenides* links the action of these two plays to its initial cause, the murder of Agamemnon. In *Choephori* the 'sacrifice' of Clytemnestra is performed by Orestes to avenge Agamemnon, and in *Eumenides* the Furies demand the 'sacrifice' of Orestes in payment for the matricide.[4]

As was stated, this motif has particular significance with regard to the ritual murder of Iphigenia and Thyestes' children. However, it also connects Agamemnon's death with the other wrong for which he is held responsible, the destruction of Ilium and death of men in battle. The *ololygmos*[5] (victory cry) and sacrifice of thanksgiving with which Clytemnestra greets the news of victory over Troy (26-29, 587, 595) are echoed by the *ololygmos* raised in her victory over Troy's conqueror:

Cassandra: a raging hell-mother, breathing truceless war
against her own! And how she cried out in joy,
she who dares all things, as though at the turning-point of battle!
(1235-37)

The motif appears more and more often as the moment of Agamemnon's death approaches. The first intimations that his death approximates a sacrificial rite[6] appear in the form of irony rather than imagery. Clytemnestra invites Cassandra to come and stand at the altar and partake of the ceremony which will soon take place within:

Since without anger Zeus has made you with our house
a sharer in lustral water, with many slaves
taking your stand near the altar of Zeus, god of possessions. . . .
(1036-38)

When her efforts at persuasion fail she refuses to waste further time: inside the house the sheep stand ready at the hearth for slaughter (1055-59).[7] As Clytemnestra knows, the sacrifice to which she alludes is the murder of Agamemnon. In Cassandra's vision this motif is raised to the level of metaphor: Agamemnon's death becomes a sacrifice offered by his wife (1235-37).[8] Later she perceives that her own death is the sacrificial rite to which Clytemnestra had invited her:

Instead of my father's altar (*bōmou*), a chopping-block (*epixēnon*)
awaits me,
soon to be red with my hot blood when I am struck before the
sacrifice. (1277-78)

She is to be a victim, not a celebrant as she once was at her father's altar.[9] The chorus echo her image twenty lines further on, asking how she can approach the house with the acquiescence of a beast whom the god himself drives to the altar. She hesitates before entering and complains that the house reeks with the smell of blood (1309). The chorus answer that it is the smell of sacrifice, unaware that the sacrificial victim is their king.

When Clytemnestra describes the murder to the chorus, she draws another image from the sphere of ritual: the blood which spurts from the third blow is a drink-offering poured to Hades *nekrōn sōtēr* (lord of the dead 1385-87), a parody of the third libation offered to *Zeus sōtēr* ('Zeus the savior').[10] This image suggests another. The libation of blood falls upon Clytemnestra like a shower of spring rain and she, in turn, pours back over the corpse a funeral libation of curses, letting him drink from the cup which he himself has filled.

The libation image which she uses here for blood develops an idea introduced by her earlier irony. She invited Cassandra to enter and join the rite of *chernibes* within (1036-38). The ceremony mentioned is one of purification: wetting the hands and sprinkling lustral water.[11] Just as in 1385-87 the shedding of blood becomes a libation offered to the gods, so here the sprinkling of holy water suggests the bloodshed uppermost in Clytemnestra's mind.[12]

There is as well another connotation in the irony of Clytemnestra's *chernibes*: the sprinkling of water precedes the actual ceremony of sacrifice. Just as *chernibes* precede the slaughter of a sacrificial animal,

so the bath of Agamemnon ends with his death. One of the words which Cassandra uses for the bath is *lebēs* (1129), a word frequent in the *Odyssey*[13] for the basin that holds the purifying water.

In the final lyric, following Clytemnestra's description of the murder, the chorus pick up her image of a blood libation and drink-offering of curses, the cup drained by Agamemnon (1397-98). They ask what evil drink inspired her to bring about this sacrifice and the people's curse which will follow hard upon it.

> Woman, what evil
> food nurtured by the earth or what drink
> sprung from the flowing sea have you tasted,
> that you have put on yourself this murder, and incurred the
> people's curses? (1407-10)[14]

Clytemnestra then joins their metaphor of sacrifice to the actual sacrifice of Iphigenia. They have no right to accuse her since they brought no charge against the man who sacrificed his own child (1417). When the chorus threaten that she must pay for her deed in kind (1429-30), she swears an oath that she is without fear:

> I swear by the Justice accomplished for my child,
> and by Ruin and the Erinys, to whom I sacrificed this man. . . .
> (1432-33)

This metaphor ['I sacrificed'] reflects a specific ritual: *sphazō*, as a sacrificial term, refers to the act of cutting a victim's throat. Whenever an important oath is sworn it is accompanied by a sacrificial offering; the sacrifice itself is the *horkōmosion*, the victims are *horkia*.[15] Thus in 1432-33 Agamemnon is the victim sacrificed to seal that oath which Clytemnestra swore in the name of Dike.

The Hunting Net

Just as the image of sacrifice links the murder of Agamemnon to the sacrifice of Iphigenia, so that of the net and the hunt shows the causal connection between his death and the capture of Troy.[16] These two images originate in a concrete object and the manner of its use: the robe thrown over Agamemnon by Clytemnestra before he is slain. This imagery develops slowly in the course of the drama; its significance does not become apparent until the audience are shown the real 'net'.[17] Although there can be no certainty, it seems probable that the robe is a traditional 'given' rather than an invention of Aeschylus. It is closely connected with the active part played by Clytemnestra, a role assigned

her in Pindar's 11th *Pythian* as well as in the *Oresteia*. Thus it would seem that the two poets are following the same version of the myth.[18]

The image of the net appears for the first time in the anapestic introduction to the first stasimon (355-361).[19] These anapests are addressed to Night and Zeus, who worked together in accomplishing Troy's fall. The imagery here operates on two different levels. Within the immediate context the description of Night casting her netlike cover over the towers of Troy is an image for the onset of dark. Troy was captured during the night just past (264-265, 279) which enveloped it in darkness. This is the concrete circumstance to which the image is directly related. Within the context of the drama, the net belongs to a system of imagery by which Aeschylus unites the capture of Troy and the murder of Agamemnon so that they illustrate the gnome *pathein ton erxanta*. The address to Night and Zeus can be seen from two similar standpoints. Within the immediate context *nyx philia* (the dear night) is specifically the preceding night which brought to birth the dawn of capture (264-267). But within the context of the trilogy this partnership of Zeus and Night introduces a major theme. *Nyx philia* is more than the particular night on which Troy fell; she is also Night, mother of the Erinyes, as the close of the ode suggests.[20] The phrase *megalōn kosmōn kteateira* ('[Night] possessor of great glories' 356) yields two corresponding levels of meaning. The 'adornments' or 'honors' of Night suggest, primarily, the stars. But as the chorus go on to tell of her role in the capture of Troy, the *kosmōn* which she possesses (or acquires) imply both the honor of victory won with her aid and the great power of Night as a primal force, a force with which even Zeus must reckon. Zeus and Night work equally to bring about Troy's fall. Night casts a net (357); Zeus shoots an arrow (363). Thus there is implicit here that harmonious union established at the end of the trilogy when Zeus and Night's daughters, the Erinyes, are once more reconciled.[21]

The net image of the first stasimon raises another point concerning imagery in the *Oresteia*. It is sometimes an error to regularize these images so that they are exactly congruent with the specific act or object which provided a point of departure. Dumortier, for example, maintains, 'A true and precise description of the realities to which the poet alludes in his images is thrust upon us from the very beginning.'[22] Actually, one need know next to nothing about hunting techniques in fifth century Greece in order to analyze the net images of *Agamemnon*. It is, however, important to realize (and can be grasped from a quick look at *LSJ* as well as by reading the *Cynegetica* [Xenophon's treatise on hunting]) that these images are imprecise, their employment 'catachrestic'. They paint a picture drawn from fantasy, a blend of fishing and hunting which corresponds to no hunt in this world.

In 357-358 Night casts down over Troy an enveloping net, *steganon diktyon*. The chorus continue:

> so that none full grown
> nor any of the young could overleap
> slavery's mighty
> dragnet, of all-capturing destruction. (358-361)

The image of the net reappears full-blown when Clytemnestra describes the murder (1372-83).[23] There is the same 'inconsistency' here as in the introduction to the first stasimon. In 1374-76 she surrounds Agamemnon with a hunting net too high for leaping over (cf. 358-359). In 1382-83 she says of the robe:

> A covering inextricable, like a net for fish,
> I threw around him, an evil wealth of raiment. . . .

A subsidiary motif accompanies the hunting image: that of the dog tracking down its prey. Again there is a parallel between Troy and the house of Atreus. For Agamemnon the net is a robe, Clytemnestra the dog who drives her game into the net. (She calls herself a faithful watch-dog in 607 and Cassandra describes her as hateful bitch in 1228.) For Troy the net is night, the Greek huntsmen with a pack of hounds (*kynagoi*, 694); and in the omen which portends Troy's fall a hare is torn apart by winged hounds (136). The watchman awaits the fire signalling that fall *kynos dikēn* (dog-like; 3); as parallel to this Cassandra tracks the scent of bloodshed in the house of Atreus (1093) and knowledge flashes upon her like fire (1256).

In *Choephori* the robe-net is spread out on stage like the carpet in *Agamemnon* (*Cho.* 980-1000). Before the crime Electra tells how she was shut off by Clytemnestra like a savage dog (446); afterward Orestes sees the avengers of his mother as angry hounds (924 and 1054).

In *Eumenides* the Furies find that Orestes has leapt like a fawn through their net (111-112). Moreover, the previous canine metaphors were an anticipation fulfilled here when image becomes action: the Furies enter as a pack of hounds tracking their quarry by his bloody spoor.

The Robe, the Net, the Bond of Fate

At the end of *Choephori* a new metaphor is used to describe the robe with which Clytemnestra entrapped Agamemnon. Orestes calls it a bond (*desmon*, 981).[24] Then in *Eumenides*, immediately before the first stasimon, Orestes prays that Athena may come as deliverer to loose him:

> may she come – for she hears me even from afar, goddess that she is –
> that she may grant me release from this my plight! (297-298)

The Erinyes answer that neither Apollo nor Athena's strength can give protection. They nullify his prayer for a *lytērios* (releaser) with the *desmios hymnos*, their binding spell (306).

All earlier images of destiny and destruction as something that entangles man, an object hindering movement, curbing freedom, culminate in this spell with which the Furies bind Orestes. Behind the image is an idea, a concept of destiny found among many Indo-European peoples. Man's fate is a fabric spun of individual threads and allotted him at birth, his death a bond the gods bind round him.[25]

The hunting net, the yoke, the shackle, and the fetter comprise a major system of kindred imagery. Study of these images reveals a complex interrelation between the object or act for which the image stands, the image itself, and a universal symbol of mythopoeic value, that is, a symbol which gives insight into the nature of the world and man's place in it. The perfection of imagery in the *Oresteia* results in part from this: the particular act or object passes into image and image passes into universal symbol with a fluidity which blurs the moment of transition. The image itself stands halfway between the two, representing both, yet identical with neither, possessing an independent life with which its own concreteness has endowed it. Because of this tangibility, because of the insistence with which repetition thrusts it on the mind, the image becomes more real than that which suggested it.

First, the images of binding and entangling are based upon the physical mechanics by which Agamemnon's death is brought about. A whole complex of imagery is explored before the hearer becomes aware of the act and object which engendered it. The moment when he perceives the connection between the two, between the net imagery and Agamemnon's murder, is a high point in the drama. Proceeding from there one may realize that the carpet, the entangling robe, and all related images are themselves symbols of the interwoven strands of fate by which Agamemnon is held fast. The destiny which waits to net him in the bath was called up by the choice at Aulis when he fastened on necessity's yoke (218); it was confirmed when the night of capture fell on Troy and darkness took the city in a net of ruin which none escapes (360-361). And Agamemnon's own ruin becomes inevitable when he sets foot on rich woven garments (948-949) and finally falls with feet entangled in a garment's evil wealth (1382-83). Yet the image of the net, of things which trap and bind, the dramatization of this image in the carpet scene,

are more than metaphors for the means used to murder Agamemnon. They are an image for the course of his whole life, his tragedy. Then, passing beyond that single life and death, they reach the realm of myth, turning his story into a symbol of the trap which is man's destiny.

The Telos *of Marriage and the* Telos *of Death*

Another system of imagery links the destiny of Troy with that of Agamemnon and, at the same time, establishes an implicit connection between the city's fall and the sacrifice of Iphigenia. Images drawn from the rite of marriage as well as that of sacrifice surround Agamemnon's death. The two overlap, insofar as sacrifice is a part of the wedding ceremony; however, the former is more closely linked with Iphigenia, the latter with Troy. Both Troy's fall and the murder of Agamemnon appear on the level of imagery as the consummation (*telos*) of a marriage ritual.

The ominous use of auspicious words which appears in all the tragedies of Aeschylus has special significance in the *Oresteia*. It reflects the movement of the trilogy from anxious rejoicing to despair, and from despair to joy freed of anxiety.[26] In *Agamemnon* those forces which should be beautiful, benevolent, and life-giving are converted into their opposites. Words of good omen and the images to which they give rise have an ominous undertone in the first play. Artemis the kindly and the fair (140) becomes hostile; Helen, flower of love which pricks the heart (743), becomes an Erinys causing brides to weep (749); the wife becomes the instrument of death (1116). In *Eumenides* the proper balance is restored: words of good omen regain their natural significance and all that was malevolent and destructive shows once more its gracious aspect. The Erinyes are first accused by Apollo of scorning the claims of love and covenant of wedlock:

> *Apollo*: Indeed you dishonour and reduce to nothing
> the pledges of Hera the Fulfiller (*teleias*) and of Zeus,
> and the Cyprian is cast aside in dishonour by your plea,
> she from whom comes to mortals what they hold most dear.
> (213-216)

At the end they are persuaded by Athena to receive sacrifices which celebrate the marriage rite:

> As first fruits of this great land
> you shall have forever sacrifice in thanks for children
> and the accomplishment (*telous*) of marriage, and you shall
> approve my words. (834-836)

The motif of a disastrous wedding and the mode of its development in *Agamemnon* merit study in detail.

In the parodos *proteleia* appears twice: first in connection with the Trojan War (65-66), then with the sacrifice of Iphigenia (227). In each case a dissonance is involved. The customary significance of the word, its association with the marriage ceremony, clashes with the inauspicious meaning forced upon it by the context.[27] *Proteleia* are, in general, any preliminary sacrifice, specificially that which precedes the marriage rite. The latter signification is underlined by the phrase *proteleia naōn* (initiating sacrifice for ships) which, by similarity in sound, evokes the full title of the wedding ritual: *proteleia gamōn* (initiating sacrifice for marriage). And Artemis, to whom Iphigenia is offered up, is one of the divinities to whom such wedding sacrifices were made.[28] Each time the word occurs in *Agamemnon*, a reference to Helen is close beside it, strengthening the suggestion of a fatal wedding. She is mentioned in 62 and in 225-226. The third occurrence is in the lion parable (720), framed by a description of Helen.[29]

In the first stasimon Helen departs quickly, bringing a dowry of destruction to Ilium (406). Similarly, in the second stasimon, with a spear for her bridegroom, she vanishes with uncanny ease. The Wrath which sent Helen as Troy's bride and sorrow (*kēdos*) turns the wedding song to threnody (699-711). The city cries that Paris takes destruction to his bed (712-713). The image appears again in 720 and 745. As Troy's fall was the consummation of Helen's marriage, so there awaits Agamemnon at the hands of his own wife a *telos* for which the deaths at Troy and the slaying of Iphigenia and Thyestes' children were *proteleia*:

> Ah, ah, mad Helen,
> you who alone destroyed the many, the very many
> lives beneath Troy,
> now you have put on yourself the *last* (*telean*) the perfect garland,
> (1455-58)
> the ancient savage avenger
> of Atreus, the cruel banqueter,
> slew him in requital,
> sacrificing a grown man (*teleon*) after children. (1501-04)

The 'net' in whose embrace he falls is the partner to his bed and to his murder (1116-17). Like Paris (713), he too might be called *ton ainolektron* (ill-bedded). Once again the fates of Troy and Agamemnon run parallel: for both ruin is the outcome of a disastrous marriage.

The association of death with marriage is facilitated by the various meanings associated with *telos* and its cognates. The word covers an

area of meaning so vast as to be untranslatable. The philologist, faced with a term whose many meanings he cannot correlate, usually assumes derivation from several different words originally distinct. It is more cogent to assume the essential unity of such a word even if the philologist can find no logical connection between its meanings.[30] The concept of fulfillment, consummation, or completion might be the single primary significance which embraces all the rest.

Aeschylus uses *telos* in many ways, playing upon its various meanings.[31] Such word play is effected when meaning in the immediate context clashes with the thematic and more profound significance which the word acquires through constant repetition. Thus the meaning of major importance in the context of the trilogy is momentarily replaced by another sense in which the word can be understood. The one does not completely replace the other; rather the two are evoked simultaneously. The effect of this technique can be more easily appreciated in the case of *dikē*. Each time *dikē* appears in the accusative as a quasi-preposition, in the narrower sense 'plea', 'sentence', 'trial', or is suggested by phonetic similarity, it calls up the broader, more frequently repeated meaning which is a major theme of the trilogy.

In the case of *telos* the number of possible meanings is multiplied several times, making it more difficult to determine the thematic importance of the word.[32] This much is certain: the meaning of *telos* which is significant for the trilogy as a whole, that against which every secondary meaning plays, is a religious one.[33] It is difficult to be more precise. *Telos* denotes the fulfillment or consummation of one's destiny, the end of a process of becoming, the completion of a cycle.[34] Marriage is a *telos*, initiation into the mysteries is a *telos*, death is a *telos*.[35] All these associations are evoked each time the word occurs.

The second stasimon provides a good example of significant repetition over a small area. The entire lyric, which immediately precedes Agamemnon's entrance, is dominated by the idea of *telos* (700, 720, 745, 751-752), as is the prayer of Clytemnestra which follows his exit. In the second stasimon consummation of the marriage ritual shades into fulfillment and completion of Troy's destined end. The former is a metaphorical statement of the latter.

What awaits Agamemnon inside the palace is also conceived as a *telos* in every sense. It is the *telos* of a sacrifical ceremony, of marriage, of initiation into some mystery. And all these are images for the actual *telos*, that of death. The word occurs again and again in the scene between Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, climaxed by her final prayer to Zeus *teleios* (accomplisher; 973).[36] She calls the spreading of the carpet a *telos* (908); he agrees that to walk upon it is a *telos* (934). As he disappears within she prays:

> While the root lives, it brings its foliage to the house,
> giving protection from Sirius with shade; so your
> coming is the arrival of summer warmth in winter
> cold. So too when Zeus makes the unripe grape give wine,
> within the house cool chases summer heat, provided
> that the master fulfills his function (*teleiou*) in the
> house. Zeus, giver of fulfillment (*teleie*), now
> fulfill (*telei*) my prayers. Attend to that for which
> you do intend fulfillment (*telein*). (966-974)

The first comparison (968-969) is based on opposition to the original statement (966-967): from cooling shade as a protection against heat (967) to summer warmth as protection from winter cold (969). The second member of the comparison (970-71) reverses that which immediately preceded, returning to the original idea: pleasant cool in the midst of summer's heat. Lines 969-971, which range these two elements of comparison side by side, are framed by repetition of the same thought and construction: 968 matches 972. As leaves are the *telos* of the root, as wine is the *telos* of the grape, Agamemnon's death is the *telos* for which Clytemnestra prays.[37]

9. Cf. *Ag.* 385-98.
10. Cf. 198-9, 468, 537-8, 834-6, 846-8, 1017, 1030, 1060.
11. Not even 'all at one stroke, they pitifully gasped upon the shore.' (976-7): the picture is in harmony with the general design; these men are victims cast up the Sea.

The translation of *The Persians* by A. J. Podlecki (Prentice-Hall, 1970) has been used for the following lines: 249-52; 345-6; 352-4; 412-13; 433-4; 472-3; 515-16; 577-8; 807-8, 976-7. Used by permission of Professor Podlecki.

H. Lloyd-Jones: The Suppliants of Aeschylus (pp. 42-56)

1. *P. Oxy.* 2256, fr. 3 (Part XX, p. 30).
2. *Eumenides* (Göttingen, 1833), 123; cf. *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, 2^3, 88; cf. Boeckh, *Tragoediae Graecae principum rel.* (1808), 54.
3. See G. Mueller, *De Aeschyli Supplicum tempore atque indole* (Diss. Halle, 1908), 67 f.
4. Notably G. Mueller in the dissertation just quoted. Although Mueller reached a wrong conclusion, his work has great merits; his refutation of the historical arguments for a late date is particularly good.
5. By W. G. Forrest, *Class. Quart.* n.s. 10 (1960), 240, l. 3. My disagreement with Mr Forrest over the *Suppliants* does not mean that I fail to appreciate his ingenious and learned article.
6. A. Andrewes, *Probouleusis* (Oxford, 1954), 7.
7. *Il.* 22. 99 f.
8. 6. 83.
9. Aristotle, *Pol.* 1303 a 6; Plutarch, *De Mul. Virt.* 245 F. See the discussion by Forrest, loc. cit. 221 f.
10. See Forrest, loc. cit. 239, who quotes E. Cavaignac, *Rev. Phil.* 45 (1921), 102-6.
11. Authority is no substitute for argument, nor will the isolated treatment of details suffice. It is not enough to show that a particular expression is unusual; it is necessary to show that the expression in question could not have been used by Aeschylus.
12. F. R. Earp, *The Style of Aeschylus* (Cambridge, 1948). Studied in his way, according to this author, the tragedians become three old friends whose little ways we know (p. 5).
13. *Class. Quart.* 30 (1936), 116 f.
14. *Tragodoumenon Libri Tres* (Cracow, 1925), 133 f.; cf. E. B. Ceadel, *Class. Quart.* 35 (1941), 66 f.
15. See G. Mueller, loc. cit. 52 f.
16. See G. Mueller, loc. cit. 46 f.
17. At 490; the speech must be given to Danaus (cf. 500, 504).
18. *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, 87 f.; *Theatre of Dionysus in Athens*, 31 f.; *Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 241 f.
19. *Aischylos: Interpretationen* (1914), 4.
20. See Maas, *Griechische Metrik*, ch. 76 (on pp. 53-4 of my English translation); cf. *Hermes* 64 (1929), 461 f. = *Kl. Schr.* iv. 479.
21. Maas, loc. cit.; Kranz, *Stasimon* (1933), 272.
22. In his introduction to Denniston and Page, *Aeschylus, Agamemnon* (Oxford, 1957), xxx.

23. *Hermes* 64, loc. cit.
24. See *Greek Metre*, ch. 76.
25. *Griechische Tragoedien*, 1^4, 221.
26. W. B. Stanford, *Aeschylus in his Style* (Dublin, 1942), 112.
27. I have developed these reflections somewhat further in a review of John Jones's remarkable book *Aristotle and Greek Tragedy* (London, 1962) in *The Review of English Studies* 15, no. 58 (1964), 221 f. Cf. also *Gnomon* 34 (1962), 740; *Class. Quart.* n.s. 12 (1962), 187.
28. *Die Struktur des Eingangs in der Attischen Tragödie* (*Tübinger Beiträge* 10, 1930), 1; *Gnomon* 10 (1934), 413; also in the preface to the reprint of Droysen's translation of Aeschylus in Kröners Taschenausgabe (152).

H. Lloyd-Jones: The Guilt of Agamemnon (pp. 57-72)

1. This paper formed the first of my J. H. Gray Lectures given at Cambridge in 1961; it has also been given at other places. I am grateful to those who have helped to improve it, and particularly to Professor E. R. Dodds and Mr G. E. M. de Ste Croix.
2. See D. L. Page's preface to *Aeschylus, Agamemnon*, ed. J. D. Denniston and D. L. Page (Oxford, 1957); and my article 'Zeus in Aeschylus', *Journ. Hell. Stud.* lxxvi (1956), 55 f.
3. Eduard Fraenkel, *Aeschylus, Agamemnon* (Oxford, 1950), iii, 625.
4. *Rheinisches Museum* ciii (1960), 76 f.
5. B. Daube, *Zu den Rechtsproblemen in Aischylos' Agamemnon* (Zürich, 1939), 147 f.
6. 'Morals and Politics in the Oresteia', *Proc. Cambr. Phil. Soc.* 186, n.s. 6 (1960), 19 f.; on this point see pp. 27-8.
7. *Proc. Brit. Acad.* xxviii, 22.
8. *Aeschylus, Agamemnon*, ii, 441.
9. *Der Agamemnon des Aeschylus* (Zürich and Stuttgart, 1957), 23.
10. *Aeschylus, Agamemnon*, ii. 371 f.; cf. *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, loc. cit. 22-3.
11. See Denniston and Page, op. cit. 120.
12. In *Theōria* (*Festschrift für W. H. Schuchhardt*) (Baden-Baden, 1960), 69 f.
13. *Trans. Amer. Philol. Ass.* lxviii (1937), 197 f.
14. *Agam.* 1485-6; Sophocles, *Trach.* 1278.

Ann Lebeck: Imagery and Action in the Oresteia (pp. 73-83)

1. Lines 532-3, 1286-8, 1318-19, 1429-30, 1527, 1562-4 (first formulation as a proverb), 1658.

Throughout her essay, Professor Lebeck refers to Eduard Fraenkel's 3-volume edition of the *Agamemnon* (Oxford 1950), abbreviated as 'Faenkel'.

2. Lines 122-3, 309-14, 400-4, 556-8, 803-5, 888, 930, 1007-17.
3. On the relation of feast and sacrifice which increases the similarity between the two, see ch. 2, n. 15.
4. However, at the close of *Eumenides*, motifs of ritual and sacrifice regain their customary propitious significance. See Froma I. Zeitlin, 'The Motif of the Corrupted Sacrifice in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*', *Trans. Amer. Philol. Ass.* 96 (1965): 498-508.

5. This term refers specifically to the ritual cry which women raise when the sacrificial victim is struck. See Wegner, 'Ololyge', *RE*, XVII² (1937), 2493–94; cf. J. A. Haldane, 'Musical Themes and Imagery in Aeschylus', *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 85 (1965): 37–38.

6. The sacrifice metaphor has already been developed at some length in the lion parable where, however, it is not yet brought into alignment with Agamemnon's murder.

7. Zeitlin in *Trans. Amer. Philol. Ass.* 96: 467–8, points out the ominous implication in the recurrence of *histēmi* (to stand), first referring to Cassandra (1038), then to the victims (1057).

8. Almost all commentators take *thuousan* in 1235 as 'raging' without comment on the possible sense 'sacrificing' which, in the vicinity of *epōloluxato*, it must surely suggest. A. W. Verrall, *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus* (London, 1889), 141, notes that it is probably intended to convey both meanings.

9. In the juxtaposition of *bomou* and *epixēnon*, one finds again the union of sacrifice and cruel feast which characterizes the banquet of Thyestes. Regarding the latter word Fraenkel observes that Cassandra is to be 'not sacrificed, but slaughtered and hacked to pieces like a beast, the flesh of which is cut up small for the kitchen on the chopping-block' (593).

10. Cf. *Cho.* 577–8. On Zeus *sōtēr* (the savior), also called Zeus *teleios* (the accomplisher), see Ulrich Fischer, *Der Telosgedanke in den Dramen des Aischylos, Spudasmata*, VI (Hildesheim, 1965), 128–30.

11. L. Zichen, 'Opfer', *RE*, XVIII¹ (1939), 601.

12. A similar fusion of blood and lustral water occurs in 1092, if one accepts Fraenkel's explanation of the MS reading *pedorrantērion*. He suggests, iii, 495–6, that this neologism is based on the word *perirrantērion*, a vessel used for lustral water.

13. For example, i. 137.

14. On the difficulties of interpretation presented by these lines, see Fraenkel, iii, 663–665.

15. See Gustave Glotz, *Etudes sur l'antiquité grecque* (Paris, 1906), 110.

16. Otto Hiltbrunner, *Wiederholungs – und Motivtechnik bei Aischylos* (Bern, 1950), 61.

17. Jean Dumortier, *Les Images dans la poésie d'Eschyle* (Paris, 1935), 76, comments 'Aeschylus begins by using mere allusions, barely sketched similies, mere outlines. The entire picture does not appear in its full clarity until the very end of the drama.'

18. Lesky in *Hermes*, 66: 194–5. Fraenkel, iii, 808–9, points out that in *Agamemnon* the actual murder weapon, Aegisthus' sword, receives little emphasis compared with the robe, weapon of Clytemnestra.

19. The image of Troy's capture as a hunt is introduced by the omen which portends its fall. The sight of eagles preying on a hare leads Calchas to prophesy, 'in time does this expedition capture Priam's city' (126). *Agreō*, an Aeolic form of *haireō* occurring in tragedy only here (LSJ s.v.), does not literally mean 'to hunt down'; its resemblance to *agreuō*, however, might suggest this meaning to the hearer. The prototype of the omen created by Aeschylus is that in *Iliad* 2. 303 f. There as well the capture of Troy is revealed by an animal seized as prey.

20. See *Eum.* 322, 416, 745, 791–2, 821–2, 844–5, 879, 1033.

21. *Pace* Friedrich Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aeschylus* (Ithaca, New York, 1949), 179 n. 4: 'No relation should be constructed between the joint invocation of *Zeus basileus* (Zeus the king) and *Nux philia* at *Ag.* 355 and the situation of the *Eumenides*.' It is impossible not to do so since Night and the Erinyes are both prominent in this lyric.

22. *Les Images*, 71.

23. It appears prior to this in 867–868, 1048, and 1115–16. Following Clytemnestra's speech it becomes the spun fabric of a spider (1492), the woven robes of the Erinyes (1580), and the toils of Dike (1611).

24. Compare *pedais* in 493 and *pedas* in 982.

25. This subject is treated in detail by Richard Broxton Onians, *Origins of European Thought* (2nd ed.; Cambridge, Eng., 1954). See particularly ch. 28 of part 3. Here the following examples will suffice. In Homer: *pedaō* used of death or constraint, for example, *Il.* 4.517 or 22.5. Cf. *Od.* 3.269; 4.380, 18.155; 23.353. And among other peoples there are the Norns of Norse Saga, Fate goddesses who spin and bind (Onians, 353–6). In Hindu mythology there is the death god Yama whose name means, among other things, rein, curb, or bridle, the act of checking or curbing, suppression, restraint. See Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1956), s.v. In the *Mahābhārata* Yama is described 'holding a noose, with which he binds the spirit after drawing it from the body' (ibid., and Onians, 358–62).

26. On this 'rhythm' of the trilogy see Lesky in *Hermes* 66, 196–7, and Karl Reinhardt, *Aischylos als Regisseur und Theologe* (Bern, 1949), 79–80.

27. Fraenkel, ii, 41. Similar inauspicious use of a word connected with the marriage ritual occurs in the Cassandra scene. The nightingale mourns a life *amphithalē kakois* (flourishing on both sides with sorrow 1114). As Fraenkel, iii 522, notes, 'this word, which clearly belongs to cult-language, points regularly to blessing and prosperity.' During the bridal feast, a child who must be *amphithalēs* (with both parents living) went round with bread in a winnowing basket crying *ephugon kakon heuron ameinon* ('I have fled evil, gained prosperity'). This formula also played a part in the rite of initiation into the mysteries (Demosthenes, *De Cor.* 259 [313]). The two ceremonies, that of marriage and that of mystical initiation, are similar in other respects as well. Another reference to a specific rite appears in 1178–79: Cassandra likens her prophecy of ruin as yet obscure to a bride not yet unveiled in the ceremony of *anakalypteria*. On the marriage ceremony, see Heckenbach, 'Hochzeit', *RE*, VIII² (1913), 2132.

28. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, i, 493–4. It is precisely because she is sacrificed to Artemis that Iphigenia can be called *proteleia naōn* with a play on *proteleia gamōn*. One need not have recourse to the version of the story found in Euripides' *I.A.* where Iphigenia is enticed to come under pretext of marriage with Achilles.

29. Despite the testimony of ancient scholia and lexicographers, Fischer, *Telosgedanke*, 60–3, holds that the three occurrences of *proteleia* in *Agamemnon* have no connection with the marriage ceremony. As proof of this he cites a fifth-century Attic inscription where the word is used of initiation rather than marriage. Having begun with this *argumentum ex silentio*, he then proceeds in circular fashion, adducing the passages in *Agamemnon* as proof of what he wants to prove about them. 'Originally the concept of *proteleia* means an introductory rite, in other words, some kind of introductory activity. The later dominant meaning of 'pre-wedding sacrifice' . . . is not found in Aeschylus at all', (p. 63). Yet in *Iphigenia at Aulis*, some fifty years after the trilogy, the word unequivocally refers to wedding sacrifices (*I.A.* 718). Moreover, when the three passages of *Agamemnon* are considered as part of a larger pattern of imagery, one is almost forced to conclude that *proteleia* has the same connotation here as it does in later antiquity: preliminary sacrifice, specifically that which precedes the marriage ceremony.

30. Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, 426.

31. *telos* recurs in the *Oresteia* almost as frequently as *dike* and its cognates. See William B. Stanford, *Ambiguity in Greek Literature* (Oxford, 1939), 157: 'The whole play is full of references to differently conceived *telē*, all of which are eventually reconciled in Aeschylus' final solution of the tragic situation.' The significance of this repetition is also discussed by Philip Wheelwright, *The Burning Fountain* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1954), 259–60.

32. Fischer, *Telosgedanke*, 9, distinguishes three specific levels of meaning. First, the simplest sense: any human action which implies a fixed goal. Next a *telos* fixed by fate, imposed on man; in this connection the word is often associated with the Erinyes and the hereditary curse which they embody. Third is the *telos* of divine power and perfection which finds fulfillment in the will of Zeus.

33. The association of this word with the mysteries and the implications of this fact for the *Oresteia* should not be overlooked despite the disfavor incurred by the views of George Thomson – see 'Mystical Allusions in the *Oresteia*', *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 55 (1935), 20–34; see also his commentary. One may not agree with all of Thomson's conclusions, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to overlook the elements in the trilogy which led him to form those conclusions. What Thomson overemphatically calls 'allusions to the mysteries' might be better termed imagery and themes drawn from the sphere of mystery religion; for example, imagery of light and darkness, the theme of salvation and *apallagē ponōn* (deliverance from strife), and significant repetition of the type discussed here, especially that in the second stasimon and the carpet scene. (Compare Plato's *Phaedrus* where similar imagery and repetition is employed, its connection with the mysteries unequivocal.)

Such a suggestion as the foregoing is sometimes dismissed with, 'But we know from Aristotle that Aeschylus was not an initiate.' That is to mistake the issue. Initiate or not, Aeschylus seems to have been on the same wavelength as the initiated, to have been absorbed in the poetic celebration of a mystery not unlike their own. Or so, at least, it appeared to his contemporaries, as *The Frogs* of Aristophanes and that selfsame passage in the *Nichomachean Ethics* show.

34. *pelomai* and *tellō*, to turn, to come into being, to become, and *telson*, the turning point in ploughing, are related words. See Hofmann, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Griechischen*, s.v.

35. In addition to the meanings already mentioned the word has another connotation of importance to the *Oresteia*. There is the *telos*, or fulfillment, of Dike which comes *teleōs*, at last. Compare Hesiod, *Erga*, 217–18, and Solon's elegy to the Muses (Diehl fr. 1; Bergk fr. 13), 17–32. Daube, *Zu den Rechtsproblemen*, 116–18, observes, 'the distinguishing characteristic of the gods, their ability in the end to bring their will to fulfillment, is repeated through *telos* and formulated through related expressions.'

36. Clytemnestra prays to Zeus *teleios* the god who gives decision in battle as well as the fulfiller of prayers. In persuading Agamemnon to walk upon the carpet she has already waged one battle, attained one victory, achieved one *telos*. She now prays for favorable outcome in the second battle and fulfillment of the second *telos*, Agamemnon's murder. See Fischer, *Telosgedanke*, 127–8.

37. Several associative connections link this passage to 1385–92. One prior to, one after, Agamemnon's death, both allude to that death in a similar manner, the second openly, the first in veiled terms. Lines 966–74 refer to Zeus *teleios*; 1385–92 play upon the third libation offered Zeus *sōtēr*. Zeus *teleios* is identical with Zeus *sōtēr*: both epithets designate the god who receives the third libation (see Fischer, 127–9). In the first passage Zeus makes the grape yield wine, a

dramatic irony which suggests bloodshed. In the second Clytemnestra sheds Agamemnon's blood like a libation of wine to Zeus *sōtēr*. The first uses motifs of root and foliage along with seasonal change from heat to cold. The second describes blood as a shower of rain which refreshes the plant as it gives birth to seed. Thus the same complex of ideas and imagery appears in both passages. As Fischer, 131, puts it, the second is the 'Enthüllung' (revelation) of the first.

R. P. Winnington-Ingram: Clytemnestra and the Vote of Athena (pp. 84–103)

1. Cf. W. B. Stanford, in *Class. Quart.* 31 (1937), 92 f. *Agam.* 11.

2. E.g. Jaeger, *Paideia* i, 327. 'In Aeschylean drama man is not yet a problem in himself, he is merely the instrument of Fate. It is Fate itself that is the problem.' Broadly true, this may need some qualification in the case of Clytemnestra. The more austere, however, is the view taken of Aeschylean characterisation, the more is it incumbent on the critic to give proper weight to this characteristic of Clytemnestra (largely irrelevant to the traditional story) in considering the general themes of the trilogy.

3. Thomson's arguments (*Oresteia* II, ad 59) for her presence at 83 are convincing.

4. *kratei* is a natural word for a house-slave to use, but obtains a broader significance as the play develops (see Daube, *Zu den Rechtsproblemen in Aischylos' Agamemnon*, 39 ff.); it is closely associated with *nikan*, etc.

5. Headlam, *Cambridge Praelections, 1906*, 110. This does not mean that the ode is intended to express a sequence of emotions in the Chorus. But their train of thought is such that they end in a greatly changed mood. (I say this to avoid a possible misunderstanding.)

6. Thus it is the male Chorus, not Clytemnestra, whose beliefs and disbeliefs are conditioned by their hopes and fears. (This characteristic of the Chorus is put to brilliant use at 1346 ff. in order to ease the difficulties of the dramatic situation: note esp. 1366 f., which gives them their excuse for not entering the palace.)

7. 600, 602, 603, 604, 606 ff., 612

8. The intervening *stasimon* bears on Clytemnestra through the theme of Helen, though their relationship is not yet fully brought out, and on Iphigeneia through the theme of heredity.

9. See Thomson on 877 (his 868).

10. See Thomson on 889–94 (his 880–5).

11. 258–60.

12. Cornford (*Thucydides Mythistoricus*, 160) speaks of 'the proud and masterful princess, at the death-grip now with the principle of Agamemnon's lordship', and presents the issue in terms of a historical transition from matriarchy to patriarchy. Snell (*Philologus*, Suppl. xx. i. 122 f.): 'The murder of Agamemnon is also an act for liberation on the part of Clytemnestra.'

13. See p. 91.

14. 'An open act of pride which will symbolise the sin he is about to expiate' (Thomson, *Oresteia* i, 25).

15. E.g. Daube, 127 n. 11. But if the behaviour of Agamemnon is not psychologically interpreted here, the critic is liable to misinterpret the scene at Aulis also, since the two scenes are parallel and in both the same Agamemnon acts out of the same weakness (see Méautis, *Eschyle et la trilogie*, 178 f.).

16. The tone of Agamemnon's speech (914 ff.)? He is at once worried and

OXFORD READINGS IN GREEK TRAGEDY

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