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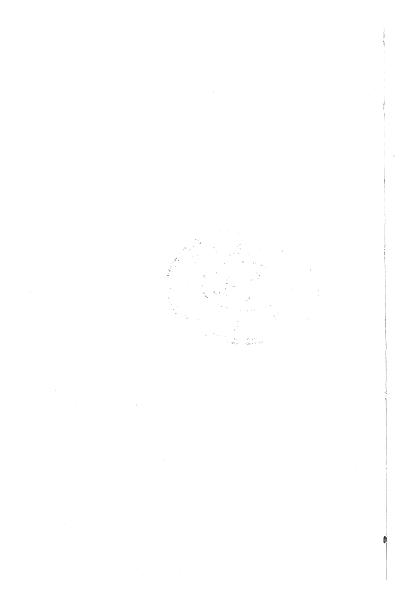
SENECA

IX

TRAGEDIES

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**OEDIPUS · AGAMEMNON · THYESTES** 

# [SENECA]

HERCULES ON OETA · OCTAVIA

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY





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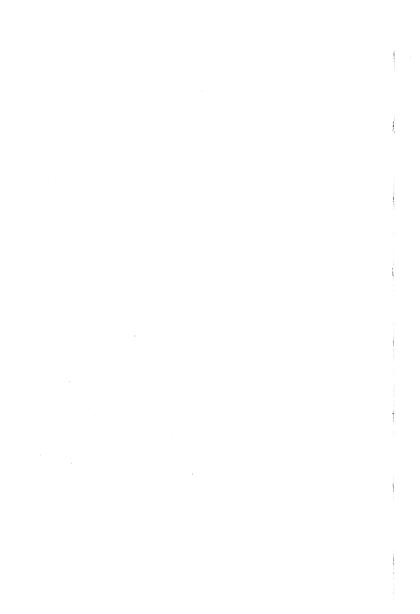
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J.G.F.

Abbreviations in bibliographies and notes are those of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1996), xxix–liv.

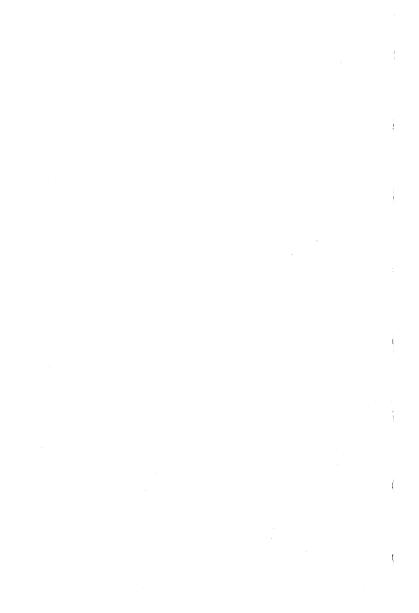
## Senecan Plays:

Ag = Agamemnon Pha = Phaedra

Med = Medea Thy = Thyestes

## Probably Not By Seneca:

 $HO = Hercules \ on \ Oeta$  Oct = Octavia



## INTRODUCTION

## Background

An oracle came once to Laius, king of Thebes, that he would die at the hands of his own son. Laius and his queen Jocasta therefore handed the infant to Phorbas, their chief shepherd, to be exposed on Mt Cithaeron with a metal rod driven through his ankles. But instead Phorbas passed him to another shepherd in the service of Polybus and Merope, king and queen of Corinth. Being childless, the royal couple raised the infant as their own son, and he was named Oedipus, Swollen-foot, for his injuries.

As a young man, Oedipus received an oracle from Delphi that he was fated to kill his father and marry his mother. He fled from Corinth, believing his parents to be Polybus and Merope. During his travels he was driven violently off the road in a remote area by an old man in a chariot, whom he killed in angry retaliation: the old man, unknown to Oedipus, was Laius. When his travels brought him to Thebes, Oedipus freed the city from the murderous Sphinx by solving the riddle she posed, and the grateful Thebans bestowed on him the vacant throne and the hand of Queen Jocasta in marriage.

Many years have passed since then, and sons and daughters have been born to Oedipus and Jocasta. But

now an all-consuming plague has descended on Thebes, as a result of this ongoing, albeit unwitting, incest. Oedipus must find a solution for this new threat to the city. To this end he has sent Creon, the brother of Jocasta, to consult Apollo's oracle at Delphi.

## Summary

## Act 1

Oedipus expresses his anxieties over his predicted fate and the present plague in Thebes. However, he vigorously rejects Jocasta's charge of spinelesseness.

Ode 1. The chorus describes the plague's deadly effect on the people of Thebes, animals and plants.

## Act 2

Creon reports the response of the Delphic Oracle, that Laius' murderer must leave Thebes. Oedipus pronounces a curse on the unknown murderer. Tiresias orders a divinatory sacrifice; his daughter Manto describes to him the omens of the sacrificial fire and the animals' entrails. Unable to name the murderer, Tiresias proposes to summon Laius' ghost.

Ode 2. An ode in honour of Bacchus as a Theban god associated with the vital forces of nature.

## Act 3

Creon reluctantly announces the results of the necromancy: Laius' ghost has accused Oedipus himself both of the murder and of incest. Oedipus imprisons Creon on suspicion of conspiracy with Tiresias.

Ode 3. The chorus believes the cause of the plague

is not Oedipus, but the gods' longstanding anger against Thebes.

Act 4

By questioning Jocasta, the old Corinthian who received Oedipus as an infant, and the shepherd Phorbas who handed the infant to the Corinthian, Oedipus realises the truth.

 $\it Ode~4$ . Praise of modest status, as opposed to the perils of high status.

Act 5

Scene 1. A messenger describes Oedipus' self-blinding. Choral interval: the power of Fate.

Scene 2. Jocasta speaks to Oedipus and commits suicide. Oedipus takes himself into exile.

## Comment

Seneca's play is recognisably based on Sophocles' Oedipus the King (whether at first hand or through intermediaries), but also diverges from it in large measure. Stern critics would see these divergences as signs of degeneration from the standards of a renowned ancestor. But it will be more fruitful to inquire what the significance of these divergences might be, granting Seneca an artist's right to shape something new out of inherited material.

Sophocles' Oedipus is initially a benign ruler amidst his people, self-confident and determined. In complete contrast, Seneca's Oedipus at the beginning of his play is isolated and already obsessed with anxiety and guilt. This is in keeping with the inward turn of Seneca's dramas and their

concern with mental states (see vol. 1 p. 5). Oedipus' unease is due in part to his possession of supreme power, and in part to his awareness of the prophecy that dooms him to kill his father and marry his mother. These two sources of fear reinforce each other: he suspects that as king he is somehow responsible for the plague, and he links that responsibility with the crimes he is fated to commit.

In Sophocles' play there is a thematic contrast between knowledge and ignorance, and a related contrast between sight and blindness. Oedipus, who earlier had sufficient insight to solve the Sphinx's riddle, sets himself to solve the new mystery of the plague, and succeeds by unremitting intelligent inquiry; but Tiresias, though blind, has an even sharper insight into the truth. In Seneca, however, Oedipus' inquiry is handled in a brief, perfunctory fashion in just a hundred lines (768-867), while Tiresias' blindness has exactly the opposite significance to what it had in Sophocles: "For one lacking sight, much of the truth lies hidden" (295). Indeed Seneca's play emphasises concealment and the "hidden." Kingship itself hides many evils behind its attractive facade (7). Creon finds the Delphic Oracle's response "entangled" and cryptic (212-216), whereas in Sophocles he thinks it clear (96, 106). Potentially revealing omens are concealed in the body and womb of the sacrificial heifer, and even when they are brought to light, their significance is hidden from the expert interpreter Tiresias. Truth must therefore be sought from an even remoter hiding place, the nether world. Even when plainly stated by the ghost of Laius (who first tries to conceal himself, 621), the truth remains hidden from Oedipus and the chorus (709) because it seems incredible. The chorus' own language of "unnatural parturition" and sons returned to the

mother's bosom (731, 746–747) has a significance hidden from it.

The deep disquiet of Seneca's Oedipus arises not only from his consciousness that much is hidden, but also from his position as king. In Senecan drama kingship is regularly a source of unease for the ruler, because he is a lightning rod for external dangers to the state, and also because he is inevitably oppressive to, and feared by, his subjects. Oedipus automatically assumes that Laius was feared in this way (243). The tree that dominates the Dircaean grove is emblematic of kingship: it both protects lesser trees and at the same time oppresses them with its heavy shade (542-544). Power cannot be shared (as Thyestes and Phoenician Women attest), so that the ruler is isolated from potential peers as well as from subjects, an isolation that fuels his paranoia. Once Oedipus comes to believe that Creon is plotting against him, he finds grounds for suspicion even in Creon's political inactivity, even indeed in his loyalty (682– 686). This is the kind of paranoia depicted in Suetonius' and Tacitus' accounts of several Roman emperors. From Seneca on, tyranny is a recurrent theme in both historical and imaginative literature at Rome. The Nero of the Octavia echoes Oedipus verbally as well as in some of his attitudes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Quidquid excelsum est cadat, Oct 471: omne quod dubium est cadat, Oed 702. It has been suggested that the Oedipus of Seneca's play was intended as a specific parallel to Nero, who killed his mother as Oedipus does in a sense (Oed 1044–1045), and allegedly committed incest with her. But the play was probably written before Nero's reign (see vol. 1 pp. 12–13). The similarity of Nero's actions to mythical precedents reflects the nature of power itself.

In an *Oedipus* play the Oedipal overtones of this view of power become apparent. As the possessor of political power both oppresses and fears those below him, so with the possessor of power in the family. Laius must either kill his son or be killed by him: it is not difficult to see this as a metaphor for any dominating father. Laius could not even share the road with an unknown young man (770). Seneca's play, then, combines political and psychological issues in a way that is based in Sophocles but goes beyond him.

The meanings attached to Oedipus' self-blinding are also very different in Sophocles and Seneca. In Sophocles Oedipus explains that he could not bear, for shame, to look upon his family, whether in the world of life or of death; but his self-blinding also fits the play's thematic association of blindness with inner sight, that is, knowledge of truth. In Seneca that thematic association disappears, as we have seen. His Oedipus fastens on blindness as an adequate self-punishment: death by the sword would be too brief, whereas blindness is a prolonged death, a death-in-life (936-949). In fact it places him in a no-man's-land between the world of the living (characterised by light and sight) and the dead (949-951): this is emotionally acceptable, since it isolates him from painful contact, and it also has connotations of ritual appropriateness, namely segregation of deathly pollution from the life-giving cosmos, rather as Laius said Oedipus should be denied connection with earth and sky (658; see Mader 1995).

Is Oedipus' self-punishment in any sense admirable? Responses to such questions necessarily vary according to the audience, particularly in the unstable world of Seneca's tragedies. The combination of intense passion with the

grotesque physicality of eyes starting from their sockets seems likely to alienate any possible admiration or even sympathy. Oedipus' vehement insistence on violent selfpunishment is no more virtuous than that of Hercules in Act 5 of *Herc*, or than the vehement insistence on punishing others which we encounter so often among Seneca's dramatis personae.

There is a further aspect also. With the truth revealed, Oedipus seizes eagerly upon an identity as "the iniquity of the age" (875), a unique monstrum or prodigy; this identity offers renown, however terrible, and certainty after long doubt. Similarly he seizes on the unique punishment of self-blinding as appropriate to that identity (942-945). "Such vision as this is right for Oedipus" (1003); and in a sense he himself becomes Oedipus, the mythic figure of terrible deeds. Here we see that heroic *mis*-identification of the self with externals, with actions (often terrible), which lies at the heart of Senecan tragedy (see vol. 1 p. 7). As Medea achieves an untrammelled but insane selfhood by cutting her relationship to Jason and the children, so Oedipus achieves a kind of absoluteness in the isolation of his no-man's-land. Even as he goes into exile, the thought of relieving Thebes of the plague (1052–1058) is preceded and followed by concern about his own condition in exile. His self-absorption continues in *Phoenician Women*, where he says that while giving up kingship of Thebes, he retains kingship over himself (105)—by which he means not the philosophical self-governance defined in Ode 2 of Thyestes, but an intransigent isolation.

A striking difference between Seneca's play and Sophocles' lies in the scenes of animal sacrifice and necromancy,

which are at the heart of Seneca's play but have no counterpart in Sophocles. These Senecan scenes do not advance the plot, but rather magnify and intensify the horror of the situation. The sacrifice does so by showing Oedipus' terrible deeds reflected in the natural world. A connection with the outside world has already been established, of course, in descriptions of the plague, and even in the play's opening line, where the Titan-sun is as full of doubt as Oedipus himself. But the sacrifice and examination of entrails brings out fully the monstrosity of what has happened, thrusting in our face the corruption of the very organs of life. This scene is based on something much more substantial than the "pathetic fallacy," which imaginatively attributes human feelings to nonhuman nature. The practice of divination through viscera, especially the liver, was well established at Rome, with a college of 60 accredited diviners (haruspices) as well as many nonofficial practitioners; individual Roman officials and emperors often had a haruspex on their staff. Seneca's scene, then, is based on a religious practice that occurred regularly in the Roman world; and the notion it implies, of a physical interconnection between human and nonhuman worlds, would not have seemed alien to a Roman audience, even if some were intellectually sceptical of its validity.

Between the scenes of sacrifice and necromancy, and in the sharpest contrast to them, stands the choral hymn to Bacchus. Bacchus is here associated with nature's vitality, with all that is lost or polluted in Thebes: heaven's light, bright colours, vigorous ivy and springtime flowers, an abundance of water, milk, and wine. He meets the violence of the pirates not with violence but with the lively energy of nature, into which they too are drawn by metamorphosis

into dolphins (449–464).<sup>2</sup> The extreme contrast between this hymn and the juxtaposed scenes, then, suggests a dualistic opposition between the force of life and that of death. In this picture death, along with its concomitants such as disease, is not depicted as part of nature's processes, but rather as an opposing force that has its own separate dark world (the underworld) in contrast to the sunlit upper world of creative nature. For cogency's sake we might call these forces Eros and Thanatos, as long as we do not set too much store by the labels.

This dualistic construction of Eros and Thanatos could be explored in many directions. One important connection is with the dualism of comedy and tragedy as dramatic genres. The story that ends the Bacchus ode (487-503) is the archetypal story of countless comic dramas: the handsome, insouciant young man (here a god) rescues the imperilled maiden, falls in love with her and marries her, overcoming the hostility of the threatening father (usually hers, but sometimes his own, as here). This is a story about life processes in human society: the younger generation establishes itself as adult, and marriage allows and encourages procreative sex. Tragic drama, including Seneca's, is often concerned with the opposite story: the marriage bond is broken in some way (Herc, Med, Pha, Ag), young people are destroyed (add Tro, Phoen, Thy), the sexual drive is directed outside marriage (Agamemnon, Clytemnestra) or misdirected within the family (Phaedra, Oedipus). If Freud was not completely mistaken, the potential for such misdirection of Eros is present in each family that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Some critics, however, find sinister overtones in this episode: see Mastronarde (1970) and Henry and Walker (1983).

has a male child; hence Oedipus' story is in a sense the archetypal tragedy, concerned most directly with the corruption of Eros into Thanatos. Comedy has its own dramatic world, in which Eros is triumphant; tragedy has its separate dramatic world, where Thanatos prevails.

Eros and Thanatos operate not only in society and the world at large but also in the inner world of the psyche, which is where this discussion began. In Senecan drama destructive impulses and desires are often portrayed as arising from the lower mind, as it were. Medea's decision to kill her children is formed in the unconscious mind, and appals her—but also dominates her—when it rises to consciousness (Med 917–925). Atreus' revenge cannot be formulated by his conscious mind but swells up within him, accompanied by a roar (real or imagined?) from the depths of the earth (Thy 260-265). Clearly there is a correspondence between the lower part of the mind and the lower part of the cosmos, the underworld, where dwell Furies, Crime, and blind self-destructive Rage (e.g. Herc 96–98, Oed 590-594). Sometimes these worlds can hardly be distinguished. Are the Furies real when seen by the distraught Medea (958-966)? Is the Ghost of Tantalus in Thyestes to be understood literally, or as an embodiment of the grandfather's influence, by example and inheritance, on the present generation? In *Oedipus* the minatory Laius arising from the underworld is certainly real within Creon's narrative, yet recognisably similar to the Laius who arises presumably from Oedipus' psyche in Phoenician Women 39-44. Similarly there is a sense in which what is "hidden" in this play corresponds to what is hidden in the mind: not necessarily the mind of this Oedipus though he does seem to have suppressed the memory of

killing an old man, and the peril of marrying a woman old enough to be his mother—but in the mind of everyman as Oedipus. The richness of meaning in Seneca's plays depends in part on the interplay in them between subjective and objective, internal and external, microcosm and macrocosm.

Two diverse topics remain to be touched upon: Fate, and stage performance. Towards the end of the play there is a startling brief burst of philosophical teaching from the chorus (980-994): we must conform ourselves to Fate, which comes from on high and proceeds by an inexorable chain of causation. This is that rarity in the tragedies, a piece of orthodox Stoic doctrine. The Stoic duty of submission to Fate presupposes that Fate is purposive and ultimately beneficent, the decree of a single divine purpose that can also be called Providence and Reason. This presupposition is quite alien to the dark worldview of Seneca's tragedies, with its base in the polytheism of myth. The fate to which Oedipus is condemned before birth is purposeless at best, while the spokesman of fate, Phoebus, seems positively malign in not dispelling the young Oedipus' ignorance of his true parentage. The Stoicizing little ode, then, looks like a foreign object lodged in the body of the play. Its presence exemplifies Seneca's practice of using choral odes as vehicles for alternative viewpoints, some of which do not cohere with the dramatic context: instances include Ode 2 of Trojan Women, which rejects the possibility of existence after death, and Ode 2 of Medea, which ends with a "modern" viewpoint on the subjugation of the sea. Stoicizing critics, however, have naturally accorded the passage greater interpretative significance for the play as a whole.

In the debate whether Seneca intended his plays to be staged (vol. 1 pp. 19-21), the animal sacrifice of Oedipus has often been taken as evidence against staging, because of its technical difficulties: after being struck twice, the bull rushes around; the carcasses are opened for extispicy, and then rise up to attack the officiants. Some critics have tried to evade these difficulties by proposing that all that actually happens onstage is Manto's description of what she sees taking place offstage. This neat solution will not work, however, since the animals must be onstage for Manto to examine the viscera in their carcasses with her own hands (lines 354 and 380). Undoubtedly Roman technicians, well versed in producing spectacular animal shows, could have staged such a scene: Pliny records having watched bulls which were trained for shows to fall and get up again, to lie down and be lifted up (Natural History 8.70.182). The question becomes, then, whether Seneca would have thought such show-like effects appropriate to tragedy. More probably he intended the scene's impact to come from his powerfully descriptive verse, not from spectacle. It follows that the scene was designed for recitation, not performance. But this conclusion need not apply to all of Seneca's dramas, particularly if Oedipus was among the first to be composed.

## Sources

Examination of the evidence,<sup>3</sup> meagre though it is, for Aeschylus' and Euripides' Oedipus plays, and for nondra-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Collected and discussed in Töcherle's edition pp. 9–15, and in T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth* pp. 492–502.

matic versions of the myth, leaves no doubt that Seneca's play derives from Sophocles' Oedipus the King. The chief differences between Seneca and Sophocles have been discussed above. Clearly Seneca saw Sophocles' play within the context of a rich and varied literary tradition. His descriptions of the plague (36-70, 133-201), for example, stand in a series of plague accounts including Thucydides Book 2, Lucretius Book 6, Vergil's Georgics 3, and Ovid's Metamorphoses 7: Seneca's account evokes particularly Vergil and Ovid. The hymn to Bacchus likewise stands in a long tradition of hymns used in tragedy to contrast with the atmosphere of the surrounding scenes: a famous example is the hymn to Bacchus in Sophocles' Antigone (1115-1154), but there were numerous examples of odes to Bacchus or other gods in later drama. As always, Ovid is a strong presence in Seneca's writing, for example in ode 3 where the treatment of Theban mythical history is heavily indebted to Metamorphoses 3. Töchterle's commentary gives a detailed account of Seneca's sources and his interaction with them.

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## DRAMATIS PERSONAE

OEDIPUS, king of Thebes
JOCASTA, queen of Thebes and wife to Oedipus
CREON, brother of Jocasta
TIRESIAS, the blind prophet of Thebes
MANTO, daughter of Tiresias
OLD MAN, messenger from Corinth
PHORBAS, shepherd of the royal flocks
MESSENGER, a palace servant
CHORUS of Thebans

## Scene

The scene is set at the royal palace of Thebes, in front of which stands an altar.

## **OEDIPUS**

Iam nocte Titan dubius expulsa redit et nube maestus squalida exoritur iubar, lumenque flamma triste luctifica gerens prospiciet avida peste solatas domos, stragemque quam nox fecit ostendet dies.

Quisquamne regno gaudet? o fallax bonum, quantum malorum fronte quam blanda tegis! ut alta ventos semper excipiunt iuga rupemque saxis vasta dirimentem freta 10 quamvis quieti verberant fluctus maris, imperia sic excelsa Fortunae obiacent. quam bene parentis sceptra Polybi fugeram! curis solutus exul, intrepidus vagans (caelum deosque testor) in regnum incidi. infanda timeo, ne mea genitor manu 15 perimatur; hoc me Delphicae laurus monent, aliudque nobis maius indicunt scelus. est maius aliquod patre mactato nefas? pro misera pietas! eloqui fatum pudet: thalamos parentis Phoebus et diros toros 20 nato minatur impia incestos face.

5

<sup>13</sup> vagans A: vacans E

## ACT 1

## **OEDIPUS**

Now darkness is driven off, and the Titan returns hesitantly, his beams made gloomy by filthy clouds. As his cheerless fire delivers a sombre light, he will look forth on homes left desolate by the greedy plague, and day will reveal the havoc that night has wrought.

Does anyone find joy in kingship? So deceptive a good, hiding so many evils behind its seductive appearance! As the high ridges always catch the winds, and as a rocky crag that cleaves the vast deep is battered by waves however calm the sea, so supreme power lies open to Fortune's blows. How good it was to have fled the sceptre of my father Polybus! But while wandering in exile without a care, free of fears, I stumbled accidentally (gods in heaven be my witness) into kingship. What I fear is unspeakable: that I may kill my father with my own hand. The Delphic laurels warn me of this, and decree another, greater crime for me. Is any iniquity greater than a father's murder? Unhappy ties of kinship! I am ashamed to utter my fate. Phoebus threatens the son with his parent's bed, a monstrous marriage, an unnatural, incestuous union. This fear

hic me paternis expulit regnis timor, hoc ego penates profugus excessi meos; parum ipse fidens mihimet in tuto tua, Natura, posui iura. cum magna horreas, quod posse fieri non putes metuas tamen. cuncta expavesco meque non credo mihi.

Iam iam aliquid in nos fata moliri parant. nam quid rear quod ista Cadmeae lues infesta genti strage tam late edita mihi parcit uni? cui reservamur malo? inter ruinas urbis et semper novis deflenda lacrimis funera ac populi struem incolumis asto—scilicet Phoebi reus. sperare poteras sceleribus tantis dari regnum salubre? fecimus caelum nocens.

Non aura gelido lenis afflatu fovet anhela flammis corda, non Zephyri leves spirant, sed ignes auget aestiferi canis

spirant, sed ignes auget aestheri cams

40 Titan, leonis terga Nemeaei premens.
deseruit amnes umor atque herbas color
aretque Dirce, tenuis Ismenos fluit
et tinguit inopi nuda vix unda vada.
obscura caelo labitur Phoebi soror,

45 tristisque mundus nubilo pallet die.
nullum serenis noctibus sidus micat,

sed gravis et ater incubat terris vapor; obtexit arces caelitum ac summas domos inferna facies. denegat fructum Ceres adulta, et altis flava cum spicis tremat, arente culmo sterilis emoritur seges.

50

25

30

35

 $<sup>^{23}</sup>$  hoc Bentley: non A: nunc E

drove me from my father's kingdom, it was on this account that I left my hearth for exile. Distrusting myself, I safe-guarded the laws of Nature. When you dread some great evil, you must fear even what you think impossible. I take fright at everything, and do not place my trust even in myself.

At this very moment fate is preparing some device against me. What else am I to think, when this pestilence destroys the race of Cadmus with such widespread havoc, but spares me alone? What evil am I being saved for? Amidst the city's ruins, amidst deaths constantly demanding new tears, amidst the nation's piles of bodies I stand unscathed—the man accused by Phoebus! Could you expect that a healthy kingdom would be accorded to such crimes? I have made the heavens baneful.

No gentle breeze with its cooling breath soothes our hearts that pant with heat, no light westerlies breathe, but the Titan, hard by the back of the Nemean lion, augments the fires of the scorching dog star. Rivers are devoid of moisture, grasses of colour; the Dirce is dry; Ismenos' meagre flow scarcely wets the bare channel with its scanty water. Phoebus' sister glides obscured through the heavens, and the overcast daylight discolours the gloomy sky. There are no stars glittering in clear night skies: a heavy black vapour blankets the earth. The citadels of the heavenly gods, their high homes, are concealed behind a hellish vista. The mature grain refuses its harvest: though the golden field trembles with tall ears, the crop is barren, and dies on its parched stalks.

Nec ulla pars immunis exitio vacat, sed omnis aetas pariter et sexus ruit, iuvenesque senibus iungit et natis patres funesta pestis. una fax thalamos cremat, 55 fletuque acerbo funera et questu carent. quin ipsa tanti pervicax clades mali siccavit oculos, quodque in extremis solet, periere lacrimae. portat hunc aeger parens supremum ad ignem, mater hunc amens gerit 60 properatque ut alium repetat in eundem rogum. quin luctu in ipso luctus exoritur novus, suaeque circa funus exeguiae cadunt. tum propria flammis corpora alienis cremant; diripitur ignis, nullus est miseris pudor. 65 non ossa tumuli sancta discreti tegunt: arsisse satis est-pars quota in cineres abit! dest terra tumulis, iam rogos silvae negant. non vota, non ars ulla correptos levant: cadunt medentes, morbus auxilium trahit. 70

Adfusus aris supplices tendo manus matura poscens fata, praecurram ut prior patriam ruentem, neve post omnes cadam fiamque regni funus extremum mei.

75 o saeva nimium numina, o fatum grave! negatur uni nempe in hoc populo mihi mors tam parata! sperne letali manu contacta regna, linque lacrimas, funera, tabifica caeli vitia quae tecum invehis

80 infaustus hospes, profuge iamdudum ocius—vel ad parentes.

No quarter is immune or exempt from destruction. Each age and sex perishes equally; the young are joined to the old, fathers to sons by the deadly plague. A single torch cremates married couples, and funerals are unaccompanied by bitter tears and laments. Indeed, this great disaster's unremitting carnage has dried people's eyes: as happens in extremes of misery, their very tears have died. One son is carried to the final fire by an ailing father, another is brought by a crazed mother, who then hurries to fetch yet another son to the same pyre. Even in the midst of grief new grief arises, and mourners fall around the corpse they are following. Then people cremate the bodies of their kin on flames belonging to strangers; fire is stolen—the wretched have no shame. There are no individual grave mounds covering revered bones: no, to have burnt the body is enough-yet how small a portion is turned to ash! There is no land for graves, the forests no longer yield pyres. No prayer, no skill relieves those stricken; healers fall, the disease drags down all succour.

Prostrate at the altar, stretching out hands in supplication, I demand an early fate, so as to anticipate the fatherland's collapse, not fall after everyone and become the last death in my own kingdom. The gods are too cruel, fate too harsh! Death, so readily available, is denied me alone out of the whole nation! Spurn the kingdom infected by your deadly hand, leave behind the tears, the deaths, the corruptive maladies in the sky which you bring with you as a fateful stranger. Quickly, make your belated escape—even to your parents!

## **IOCASTA**

Quid iuvat, coniunx, mala gravare questu? regium hoc ipsum reor, adversa capere, quoque sit dubius magis status et cadentis imperi moles labet, hoc stare certo pressius fortem gradu. haud est virile terga Fortunae dare.

#### OEDIPUS

Abest pavoris crimen ac probrum procul, virtusque nostra nescit ignavos metus. si tela contra stricta, si vis horrida Mayortis in me rueret, adversus feros 90 audax Gigantas obvias ferrem manus. nec Sphinga caecis verba nectentem modis fugi: cruentos vatis infandae tuli rictus et albens ossibus sparsis solum; cumque e superna rupe iam praedae imminens 95 aptaret alas, verbera et caudae movens saevi leonis more conciperet minas, carmen poposci. sonuit horrendum insuper, crepuere malae, saxaque impatiens morae revulsit unguis viscera expectans mea. 100 nodosa sortis verba et implexos dolos ac triste carmen alitis solvi ferae.

 $^{96}$  alas . . . caudae E: ales . . . cauda A  $^{97}$  conciperet E: concuteret A

85

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The riddle (as first attested by Asclepiades, who perhaps took it from a Greek tragedy now lost) ran as follows:

## JOCASTA

How does it help, my husband, to make troubles heavier by bemoaning them? The quality of a king lies, I think, in the very ability to take on adversities. The more unsure his situation, the more the balance of supreme power tilts toward falling, so much more firmly should he stand, resolute and unbudging. It is not manly to retreat before Fortune.

#### **OEDIPUS**

The charge and stigma of cowardice is foreign to me, my manhood knows no fainthearted fears. If weapons were drawn against me, if war's dread violence were sweeping down on me, I would be boldly advancing even against the savage Giants. I did not bolt from the Sphinx when she wove her words in dark measures; I braved the bloody gaping jaws of that unspeakable sibyl, and the ground white with scattered bones. And as from her high crag, already poised over her prey, she flexed her wings and developed her menace, lashing her tail like a savage lion, I asked for her riddle. Up above me she shrieked fearfully, her jaws snapped, and impatient with delay her talons tore the rocks, anticipating my flesh. But I untied the knotted oracular words, the entwined device, the grim riddle of the winged beast.<sup>1</sup>

A manifold thing lives on earth, two-footed and also four-footed.

Three-footed too; it changes its form alone of all creatures Moving on land or up in the sky or down in the sea.

But when the number of feet on which it travels is greatest, Then the speed of its limbs is slowest and feeblest of all.

The answer: a human, who crawls as an infant, walks as an adult, and uses a stick in old age.

Quid sera mortis vota nunc demens facis?
licuit perire. laudis hoc pretium tibi
sceptrum et peremptae Sphingis haec merces datur.
ille, ille dirus callidi monstri cinis
in nos rebellat, illa nunc Thebas lues
perempta perdit. una iam superest salus,
si quam salutis Phoebus ostendat viam.

## CHORUS

Occidis, Cadmi generosa proles,
urbe cum tota; viduas colonis
respicis terras, miseranda Thebe.
carpitur leto tuus ille, Bacche,
miles, extremos comes usque ad Indos,
ausus Eois equitare campis,

figere et mundo tua signa primo.
cinnami silvis Arabas beatos
vidit et versas equitis sagittas,
terga fallacis metuenda Parthi;

120 litus intravit pelagi rubentis:
promit hinc ortus aperitque lucem
Phoebus et flamma propiore nudos
inficit Indos.

Stirpis invictae genus interimus, labimur saevo rapiente fato. ducitur semper nova pompa Morti;

103-105 attributed to Oedipus by E, to Jocasta by A

125

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  After affirming his courage in the encounter with the Sphinx, Oedipus recognises its adverse consequences. Since he now finds himself praying for death (cf. line 72), it would have been better to die then; his "reward" for his courage is the kingship, a dubious

[To himself] Why now, too late, make senseless prayers for death? You had the chance to perish. This is the prize of your glory, your wage for dispatching the Sphinx—the royal sceptre. Yes, it is that cunning monster's cursed dust that is renewing war against us; that scourge I dispatched is now destroying Thebes. There is one deliverance left: the chance that Phoebus may show some path to deliverance.

#### CHORUS

You are falling, noble offspring of Cadmus, with the whole city. You behold your lands widowed of farmers, pitiful Thebes.

Death picks off that soldiery, your companions, Bacchus, to farthest India, who dared to ride on eastern plains and plant your standards in the dawning world. They saw the Arabs, rich in their groves of cinnamon, and the horsemen with arrows reversed, the dangerous backs of the cunning Parthians; they stepped on the shore of the crimson sea, where Phoebus begins his rise and unfolds the light, and colours the naked Indians with his closer flame.

In us an unconquered lineage is dying; we sink in the grasp of relentless fate. Always a new group files toward Death,

boon (cf. line 6); and it appears to him that the Sphinx, far from being defeated, is renewing its attack on Thebes.

 $^{\rm 3}$  Through his oracle at Delphi, which Creon has been sent to consult.

<sup>4</sup> A reference to the proverbial "Parthian shot," delivered while in flight or pretended flight.

130	longus ad manes properatur ordo agminis maesti, seriesque tristis haeret et turbae tumulos petenti non satis septem patuere portae;
	stat gravis strages, premiturque iuncto
	funere funus.
	Prima vis tardas tetigit bidentes.
105	laniger pingues male carpsit herbas;
135	colla tacturus steterat sacerdos:
	dum manus certum parat alta vulnus,
	aureo taurus rutilante cornu
	labitur segnis. patuit sub ictu
	ponderis vasti resoluta cervix:
140	nec cruor, ferrum maculavit atra
	turpis e plaga sanies profusa.
	segnior cursu sonipes in ipso
	concidit gyro, dominumque prono
	prodidit armo.
145	Incubant agris pecudes relictae;
	taurus armento pereunte marcet;
	deficit pastor grege deminuto,
	tabidos inter moriens iuvencos.
	non lupos cervi metuunt rapaces,
150	cessat irati fremitus leonis,
	nulla villosis feritas in ursis;
	perdidit pestem latebrosa serpens,
	aret et sicco moritur veneno.
	Non silva sua decorata coma
155	fundit opacis montibus umbras,
	non rura virent ubere glebae,
	<u> </u>

a long, sad column hastening in sequence to the shades; but the gloomy line is delayed, since the seven gates do not open wide enough for the crowd seeking graves; the heavy carnage is clogged, a funeral is crowded

by a funeral close by.

First touched by the scourge were the slow sacrificial sheep, which could scarcely graze the lush grass.

A priest took his stand to smite a victim, but while his raised hand aimed the stroke, the bull, with his horns gleaming gold-red,<sup>5</sup> sank down limply. His drooping neck was opened under the weighty blow: no blood, but a foul gore poured from the dark gash and stained the blade.

A steed slowed in his running and fell on the very track, throwing his master

over his sinking shoulder.

Livestock lie abandoned in the fields; the bull weakens as the cattle perish; the herdsman fails, his herd diminished, dying among the wasting bullocks.

Deer do not fear predatory wolves, the angry lion's roar ceases, there is no savagery in shaggy bears; the lurking snake has lost his poison, he dies parched, his venom dried up.

No forests graced by their own foliage cast shadows on the shaded hills, no fields grow green through the soil's richness,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The horns of bulls destined for sacrifice were gilded.

non plena suo vitis Iaccho bracchia curvat: omnia nostrum sensere malum. Rupere Erebi claustra profundi turba sororum face Tartarea. Phlegethonque sua motam ripa miscuit undis Styga Sidoniis. Mors atra avidos oris hiatus pandit et omnes explicat alas; quique capaci turbida cumba flumina servat durus senio navita crudo. vix assiduo bracchia conto lassata refert. fessus turbam vectare novam. quin Taenarii vincula ferri rupisse canem fama et nostris errare locis. mugisse solum, vaga per lucos <volitasse sacros> simulacra virum maiora viris,

175

160

165

170

bis Cadmeum
nive discussa tremuisse nemus,
bis turbatam sanguine Dircen,
nocte silenti
<br/>
<br/>
bis per muros> Amphionios
ululasse canes.

180

O dira novi facies leti

<sup>174</sup> lacuna identified, and supplement proposed, by Zwierlein <sup>179</sup> lacuna identified by Leo; supplement proposed by Fitch

no vines, filled with their own Iacchus, bend their branches.

All things have felt our bane.

The throng of sisters<sup>6</sup> with Tartarean torches has burst the barriers of deep Erebus. Phlegethon has shifted the Styx from its banks and mingled it with Sidonian<sup>7</sup> streams. Dark Death opens his greedy jaws agape, and unfurls his wings to the full. And the ferryman who keeps the turbid river with his roomy skiff, though tough in his vigorous old age,8 can scarcely raise his arms, wearied with constant poling, tired of ferrying each new throng. Yet more, the hound has burst his chains of Taenarian iron, some say, and roams at large in our land; the earth has groaned; through the <sacred> groves <have flitted> errant images of men, larger than men; Cadmus' woodland has trembled twice, shaking off its snow; twice the Dirce has clouded with blood; in the silent night <twice among> Amphion's <walls> came the howling of dogs.

O strange and dreadful form of death,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The Furies. 7 I.e. Theban; the adjective is transferred from Cadmus, Thebes' founder. 8 Charon.

<sup>9</sup> Cerberus.

	gravior leto!
	piger ignavos alligat artus
	languor, et aegro rubor in vultu,
	maculaeque cutem sparsere leves.
185	
109	tum vapor ipsam corporis arcem
	flammeus urit
186	multoque genas sanguine tendit,
187a	oculique rigent,
$188^{b}$	resonant aures
189	stillatque niger naris aduncae
190	cruor et venas rumpit hiantes;
	intima creber viscera quassat
	gemitus stridens,
187b,188a	et sacer ignis pascitur artus.
	iamque amplexu frigida presso
	saxa fatigant;
	quos liberior domus elato
	custode sinit,
195	petitis fontes
100	aliturque sitis latice ingesto.
	prostrata iacet turba per aras
	oratque mori:
	solum hoc faciles tribuere dei.
***	delubra petunt,
200	haud ut voto numina placent,
	sed iuvat ipsos satiare deos.

# Quisnam ille propero regiam gressu petit?

184 cutem M. Müller: caput EA 186 tendit E: tinguit\* A 187b, 188a transposed after 192 by Richter

more grievous than death! Heavy languor binds the torpid limbs, a flush appears on the sick face, and small spots spread across the skin. Then a fiery heat burns in the very zenith of the body, and distends the eyes with copious blood; the gaze is fixed, the ears ring, dark blood drips from the curving nostrils and breaks out of the gaping veins; strident groans repeatedly shake the body to its core, and a cursed fire feeds on the limbs. Now they burden cooling rocks with a tight embrace; those whose homes, emptied of guardians, allow them freedom, seek out springs, and feed their thirst as they gulp down water. Crowds lie prostrate among the altars and pray to die the one thing granted readily by the gods. They head for the shrines, not to appease the deities with vows, but from pleasure at sating the very gods.

## ACT 2

Who is this, making for the palace with hurried steps? Is

 $<sup>^{202-205}</sup>$  attributed to Chorus by A: 202–204 to Oedipus, 205 to Chorus by E

adestne clarus sanguine ac factis Creo an aeger animus falsa pro veris videt? 205 adest petitus omnibus votis Creo.

#### **OEDIPUS**

Horrore quatior, fata quo vergant timens, trepidumque gemino pectus affectu labat: ubi laeta duris mixta in ambiguo iacent, incertus animus scire cum cupiat timet. Germane nostrae coniugis, fessis opem si quam reportas, voce properata edoce.

#### CREO

Responsa dubia sorte perplexa iacent.

### **OEDIPUS**

Dubiam salutem qui dat afflictis negat.

#### CREO

Ambage flexa Delphico mos est deo arcana tegere.

#### OEDIPUS

Fare, sit dubium licet: ambigua soli noscere Oedipodae datur.

#### CREO

Caedem expiari regiam exilio deus et interemptum Laium ulcisci iubet: non ante caelo lucidus curret dies haustusque tutos aetheris puri dabit.

<sup>207</sup> affectu *Heinsius*: afflictu *E*: eventu *A* <sup>212</sup> iacent *E*: latent *A* 

220

Creon here, famed in descent and deeds, or does my sick mind see false for true? Creon is here, sought by all our prayers.

#### OEDIPUS

[Aside] I am trembling with fear, apprehensive about fate's direction. My anxious heart wavers between two feelings: when joy is mixed ambiguously with distress, the unsure mind both desires and fears to know.

Brother of my wife, if you bring some help in our trouble, declare your news quickly!

### CREON

The oracle's response is entangled, inconclusive.

## **OEDIPUS**

To give inconclusive deliverance to sufferers is to refuse it.

## CREON

It is the Delphic god's custom to conceal secrets in twisted ambiguities.

### OEDIPUS

Tell it, however inconclusive: to know the meaning of ambiguities is Oedipus' gift alone. 10

#### CREON

The god bids us to expiate the king's murder with exile to avenge the killing of Laius. Not until then will the sun ride brightly through the heavens, or give us wholesome draughts of pure air.

 $^{10}$  The first half of Oedipus' name in Greek suggests not only "swelling" (note on 813) but also "knowing"  $(o\hat{\imath}\delta\alpha)$ .

#### **OEDIPUS**

Et quis peremptor incliti regis fuit? quem memoret ede Phoebus, ut poenas luat.

### CREO

Sit, precor, dixisse tutum visu et auditu horrida; torpor insedit per artus, frigidus sanguis coit. ut sacrata templa Phoebi supplici intravi pede 225et pias numen precatus rite summisi manus, gemina Parnasi nivalis arx trucem fremitum dedit; imminens Phoebea laurus tremuit et movit domum, ac repente sancta fontis lympha Castalii stetit. 230 incipit Letoa vates spargere horrentes comas et pati commota Phoebum; contigit nondum specum, emicat vasto fragore maior humano sonus: "Mitia Cadmeis remeabunt sidera Thebis. si profugus Dircen Ismenida liquerit hospes 235 regis caede nocens, Phoebo iam notus et infans. nec tibi longa manent sceleratae gaudia caedis:

 $^{234}$  liquerit E: liqueris A

 $<sup>^{11}</sup>$  Lines 223–232 of the Latin are in a more solemn metre (trochaic tetrameter) than that of regular dialogue; lines 233–238 are in dactylic hexameter, the standard metre for oracles.

### **OEDIPUS**

And who was the murderer of that renowned king? Say whom Phoebus means, so that he can be punished.

## CREON<sup>11</sup>

- I pray it be safe to speak of things fearful to see and hear!
- Numbness settles upon my limbs, my blood congeals like ice.
- When I entered Phoebus' hallowed shrine, treading with suppliant steps,
- and reached my hands in the ritual way, in reverent prayer to the god,
- snowy Parnassus' twofold peaks gave a harsh rumbling sound.
- Phoebus' impending laurel tree trembled and shook the shrine,
- and the holy water suddenly stopped in the Castalian spring.
- Then the Letoan seer began to toss her bristling hair, frenzied, suffering Phoebus' power; she had not yet reached the cave,
- when a superhuman voice burst forth, a mighty clamorous roar:
- "Kindly stars will return to Thebes, the city of Cadmus, If only the stranger leaves Ismenian Dirce for exile, Guilty of killing a king, known from an infant to Phoebus.
- Fleetingly you will enjoy the rewards of your lawless murder:

tecum bella geres, natis quoque bella relinquens, turpis maternos iterum revolutus in ortus."

### **OEDIPUS**

Quod facere monitu caelitum iussus paro, functi cineribus regis hoc decuit dari, 240 ne sancta quisquam sceptra violaret dolo. regi tuenda maxime regum est salus; quaerit peremptum nemo quem incolumem timet.

#### CREO

Curam perempti maior excussit timor.

#### OEDIPUS

245 Pium prohibuit ullus officium metus?

#### CREO

Prohibent nefandi carminis tristes minae.

## **OEDIPUS**

Nunc expietur numinum imperio scelus. Ouisquis deorum regna placatus vides: tu, tu penes quem iura praecipitis poli, tuque, o sereni maximum mundi decus, 250 bis sena cursu signa qui vario legis, qui tarda celeri saecula evolvis rota, sororque fratri semper occurrens tuo, noctivaga Phoebe, quique ventorum potens aequor per altum caerulos currus agis, et qui carentes luce disponis domos,

> <sup>237</sup> relinquens E: relinques A 251 legis M. Müller: regis EA  $\operatorname{et} E$

246 prohibent A: spinx

<sup>12</sup> Jupiter.

<sup>13</sup> The sun.

War you will wage with yourself, leaving war to your sons in addition,

You who have foully returned once more to your source in the mother."

#### OEDIPUS

What I am preparing to do on the gods' advice should have been accorded to the dead king's ashes, so that no one should violate the sanctity of sceptered power through treachery. A king particularly must ensure the safety of kings; no subject investigates the murder of one who intimidated him when alive.

#### CREON

Concern for his murder was expelled by a greater fear.

## **OEDIPUS**

Could any fear prevent that loyal duty?

## CREON

It was prevented by the grim threat of the unspeakable riddle.

#### OEDIPUS

Now the crime must be expiated at the divine command. All you gods who look with favour on kingship: you first, in whose hands are the laws of the racing heavens; 12 and you, greatest glory of the cloudless sky, who thread the twelve signs in your varying course and roll out the slow ages with your swift wheel; 13 and you, the sister always moving contrary to your brother, night-roaming Phoebe; and you, lord of the winds, who drive your cerulean chariot across the levels of the deep; 14 and you who govern the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Neptune.

adeste! cuius Laius dextra occidit. hunc non quieta tecta, non fidi lares. non hospitalis exulem tellus ferat; thalamis pudendis doleat et prole impia; 260 hic et parentem dextera perimat sua, faciatque (num quid gravius optari potest?) quidquid ego fugi. non erit veniae locus. per regna iuro quaeque nunc hospes gero et quae reliqui, perque penetrales deos, 265 per te, pater Neptune, qui fluctu brevi utrimque nostro geminus alludis solo; et ipse nostris vocibus testis veni, fatidica vatis ora Cirrhaeae movens. ita molle senium ducat et summum diem 270 securus alto reddat in solio parens, solasque Merope noverit Polybi faces, ut nulla sontem gratia eripiet mihi.

Sed quo nefandum facinus admissum loco est? memorate: aperto marte an insidiis iacet?

#### CREO

Frondifera sanctae nemora Castaliae petens calcavit artis obsitum dumis iter, trigemina qua se spargit in campos via. secat una gratum Phocidos Baccho solum, unde altus arva deserit, caelum petens, clementer acto colle Parnasos biceps; at una bimares Sisyphi terras adit; Olenia in arva tertius trames cava convalle serpens tangit errantes aquas gelidumque dirimit amnis Eveni vadum.

 $^{285}$  EveniMadvig:ele<br/>iE:elidis\* A

halls devoid of light: <sup>15</sup> bear witness. The man whose hand killed Laius—may no peaceful home support him, no dependable hearth, no hospitable land in his exile. May he find grief in a shameful wedlock and unnatural offspring; may he even kill his parent with his own hand, and may he do (surely no heavier curse exists) all that I fled from. There will be no room for pardon. I swear by the kingship I now hold and by that I left, by the gods of my hearth, and by you, father Neptune, who play with shallow waves against my land on both its shores; <sup>16</sup> you yourself, <sup>17</sup> who guide the prophetic lips of the Cirrhaean sibyl, must also come as witness to my words. So may my father pass an agreeable old age and end his days secure on his high throne, so may Merope know union only with Polybus, as surely as no influence will wrest the guilty man from me.

[To all present] But where was the monstrous crime committed? Tell me: did he die in open battle or by a trap?

#### CREON

As he journeyed towards holy Castalia's leafy woods, he trod a path hedged in by dense brush, where three roads branch out across open country. One cuts through the land of Phocis, dear to Bacchus, where high Parnassus leaves behind the farmland and with gently climbing foothills lifts his twin peaks towards heaven. One leads to Sisyphus' land with its two seas. <sup>18</sup> Heading for the lands of Olenos, the third track, winding through a hollow valley, reaches the wandering waters and cuts across the chill shallows of

<sup>15</sup> Dis.

 $<sup>^{16}</sup>$  He believes that Corinth with its Isthmus is his native land.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Apollo.

<sup>18</sup> I.e. Corinth and its Isthmus.

hic pace fretum subita praedonum manus aggressa ferro facinus occultum tulit.

In tempore ipso sorte Phoebea excitus Tiresia tremulo tardus accelerat genu 290 comesque Manto luce viduatum trahens.

#### **OEDIPUS**

Sacrate divis, proximum Phoebo caput, responsa solve; fare, quem poenae petant.

#### TIRESIA

Quod tarda fatu est lingua, quod quaerit moras, haud te quidem, magnanime, mirari addecet: 295 visu carenti magna pars veri latet. sed quo vocat me patria, quo Phoebus, sequar: fata eruantur; si foret viridis mihi calidusque sanguis, pectore exciperem deum.

> Appellite aris candidum tergo bovem curvoque numquam colla depressam iugo. Tu lucis inopem, nata, genitorem regens manifesta sacri signa fatidici refer.

#### MANTO

Opima sanctas victima ante aras stetit.

#### TIRESIA

In vota superos voce sollemni voca, 305 arasque dono turis Eoi extrue.

300 depressam Bentley: depressum EA

the river Evenus. Here, as he counted on peacetime, a band of brigands suddenly attacked him with the sword, and performed the crime unwitnessed.

But just in time, summoned by Phoebus' prophecy, Tiresias hurries here, though slowed by palsied limbs, and with him Manto, haling her father bereft of sight.

### **OEDIPUS**

You who are consecrated to the gods, and stand nearest to Apollo, resolve the oracle, say whom it targets for punishment.

#### TIRESIAS

That my tongue is slow to speak, that it seeks delay, should surely not surprise you, great-souled king. For one lacking sight, much of the truth lies hidden. But where my country and where Phoebus call me, I shall follow; we must root out what fate has decreed. If my blood were hot and vigorous, I would receive the god into my breast. 19

[To attendants] Drive to the altar a bull whose hide is white, and a heifer whose neck was never burdened with the curved yoke. You, daughter, who guide your father, light-deprived, must recount the visible signs given by the ritual of divination.

#### MANTO

A choice victim is stationed before the holy altar.

### TIRESIAS

Summon the gods to our offerings with the ritual words, and heap up the altar with a gift of eastern incense.

 $^{19}$  I.e. he would seek the truth through prophetic inspiration rather than through divination.

### MANTO

Iam tura sacris caelitum ingessi focis.

#### TIRESIA

Quid flamma? largas iamne comprendit dapes?

### MANTO

Subito refulsit lumine et subito occidit.

### TIRESIA

Utrumne clarus ignis et nitidus stetit rectusque purum verticem caelo tulit et summam in auras fusus explicuit comam? an latera circa serpit incertus viae et fluctuante turbidus fumo labat?

### MANTO

Non una facies mobilis flammae fuit: imbrifera qualis implicat varios sibi 315 Iris colores, parte quae magna poli curvata picto nuntiat nimbos sinu (quis desit illi quive sit dubites color), caerulea fulvis mixta oberravit notis. sanguinea rursus; ultima in tenebras abît. 320 sed ecce pugnax ignis in partes duas discedit, et se scindit unius sacri discors favilla. genitor, horresco intuens: libata Bacchi dona permutat cruor, ambitque densus regium fumus caput 325 ipsosque circa spissior vultus sedet et nube densa sordidam lucem abdidit.

quid sit, parens, effare.

44

### MANTO

Now I have piled the incense on the gods' sacred hearth.

## TIRESIAS

What of the flame? Is it already catching hold of the plentiful nourishment?

### MANTO

It suddenly shone out, and suddenly died down.

### TIRESIAS

Did the fire rise bright and clear? Did it lift a pure peak straight towards the sky, and extend tall plumes into the air? Or creep around the sides without direction, and falter with murky colour and billowing smoke?

#### MANTO

The flame was changeable, with more than one appearance. As Iris the shower-bringer weaves various colours into herself, when she spans a great section of sky and heralds storm clouds with her variegated bow (you would hesitate to say what colour is or is not there), so it shimmered, its bluish colour mottled with yellow, and then blood red; at the end it trailed into blackness.

But oh! The combative flame is separating into two halves, the embers of a single ritual dividing in hostility. Father, I shudder to watch! The libation of wine changes into blood; dense smoke surrounds the king's head, and settles even thicker around his very eyes, blocking the light in the murk of a dense cloud. What is it, father? Tell us.

#### TIRESIA

Quid fari queam

inter tumultus mentis attonitae vagus?

quidnam loquar? sunt dira, sed in alto mala.
solet ira certis numinum ostendi notis;
quid istud est quod esse prolatum volunt
iterumque nolunt et truces iras tegunt?
pudet deos nescioquid. Huc propere admove
et sparge salsa colla taurorum mola.
placidone vultu sacra et admotas manus
patiuntur?

### MANTO

Altum taurus attollens caput primos ad ortus positus expavit diem trepidusque vultum obliquat et radios fugit.

## TIRESIA

340 Unone terram vulnere afflicti petunt?

#### MANTO

Iuvenca ferro semet opposito induit et vulnere uno cecidit; at taurus duos perpessus ictus huc et huc dubius ruit animamque fessus vix reluctantem exprimit.

#### TIRESIA

345 Utrum citatus vulnere angusto micat an lentus altas irrigat plagas cruor?

### MANTO

Huius per ipsam qua patet pectus viam effusus amnis, huius exiguo graves

 $^{339}$  obliquat A: solis E

### TIRESIAS

What could I tell, lost in a turmoil of amazement? What am I to say? Terrible evils are here, but deeply hidden. Divine anger is usually shown by unmistakable signs. What is this that they both want and do not want disclosed, disguising their fierce anger? The gods find something shameful. Quickly, bring the cattle here and sprinkle their necks with the salted meal. Do they bear the ritual handling with calm expressions?

### MANTO

The bull raised his head high; when stationed to face the East, he flinched from the sunlight and shunned its rays, averting his gaze in fright.

## TIRESIAS

Was a single wound sufficient to fell each of them?

### MANTO

When the blade was held out, the heifer thrust herself against it and fell from a single wound. But the bull, after suffering two blows, plunges erratically here and there, and though weakened can scarcely yield up his struggling life.<sup>20</sup>

#### TIRESIAS

Does the blood spurt out quickly from a narrow wound, or well up gradually in deep gashes?

### MANTO

This one's pours in a flood through the path opened in her chest, but that one's heavy wounds are stained with just

 $^{20}$  Ideally the sacrificial animal should die easily and with apparent willingness.

maculantur ictus imbre; sed versus retro 350 per ora multus sanguis atque oculos redit.

#### TIRESIA

Infausta magnos sacra terrores cient. sed ede certas viscerum nobis notas.

#### MANTO

Genitor, quid hoc est? non levi motu, ut solent, agitata trepidant exta, sed totas manus quatiunt, novusque prosilit venis cruor. 355 cor marcet aegrum penitus ac mersum latet, liventque venae, magna pars fibris abest et felle nigro tabidum spumat iecur. ac (semper omen unico imperio grave) 360 en capita paribus bina consurgunt toris; sed utrumque caesum tenuis abscondit caput membrana, latebram rebus occultis negans. hostile valido robore insurgit latus septemque venas tendit; has omnes retro prohibens reverti limes obliquus secat. 365 mutatus ordo est, sede nil propria iacet, sed acta retro cuncta: non animae capax in parte dextra pulmo sanguineus iacet, non laeva cordi regio, non molli ambitu omenta pingues visceri obtendunt sinus. 370 natura versa est; nulla lex utero manet. scrutemur, unde tantus hic extis rigor. quod hoc nefas? conceptus innuptae bovis!

<sup>21</sup> This detail foreshadows Oedipus' self-blinding. The blood of a well-omened sacrifice would spurt out onto the altar.

<sup>22</sup> The liver was regarded as particularly informative in divina-

scanty drops. However, much blood turns back and flows over the eyes and face. $^{21}$ 

## TIRESIAS

This ill-omened sacrifice arouses great fears. But tell me the signs of the entrails, which are dependable.

### MANTO

Father, what is this? The organs are not trembling with slight movements as usual, but making my whole hand shake, and abnormal blood is spurting from the veins. The heart is diseased and wasted throughout, and deeply hidden; the veins are discoloured; a great part of the entrails is missing. The liver is rotten and oozing with black bile, and just here are two protruding heads of equal size—always a grievous omen for undivided supreme power. Each cloven head is covered by a thin membrane, which gives no concealment for secrets. The hostile side extends with sturdy strength, and has seven spreading veins; a border cutting across all of them prevents their return.<sup>22</sup> The whole order is changed, nothing lies in its proper place, everything is turned around: the lungs lie on the right side, with no room for breath and clogged with blood; the region of the heart is not on the left; the caul does not extend its fatty folds in a soft coating over the entrails. Nature is inverted, no lawfulness remains in the womb. I must examine what causes such stiffness in the innards. What is this monstrosity? A foetus in an unmated heifer! And not positioned as usual,

tion, one side bespeaking hostile influences, the other friendly. The two heads (in place of the usual one) portend the strife of Oedipus' sons over the kingship of Thebes, and the seven veins on the hostile side foreshadow the "Seven against Thebes."

nec more solito positus alieno in loco
implet parentem. membra cum gemitu movet,
rigore tremulo debiles artus micant.
—infecit atras lividus fibras cruor
temptantque turpes mobilem trunci gradum,
et inane surgit corpus ac sacros petit
380 cornu ministros; viscera effugiunt manum.
neque ista, quae te pepulit, armenti gravis
vox est nec usquam territi resonant greges:
immugit aris ignis et trepidant foci.

#### OEDIPUS

Quid ista sacri signa terrifici ferant exprome; voces aure non timida hauriam: solent suprema facere securos mala.

#### TIRESIA

His invidebis quibus opem quaeris malis.

#### OEDIPUS

Memora quod unum scire caelicolae volunt, contaminarit rege quis caeso manus.

#### TIRESIA

Nec alta caeli quae levi pinna secant nec fibra vivis rapta pectoribus potest ciere nomen. alia temptanda est via: ipse evocandus noctis aeternae plagis, emissus Erebo ut caedis auctorem indicet.
reseranda tellus, Ditis implacabile numen precandum, populus infernae Stygis huc extrahendus. ede cui mandes sacrum;

386 suprema Avantius: extrema EA: the line deleted by Peiper.

but filling its mother in an unnatural place. It groans as it moves; its weak limbs quiver, stiff and trembling. —Livid blood has stained the dark organs; the disfigured torsos make vigorous attempts to walk; one of the gaping bodies rises and attacks the priests with its horns; the entrails escape from my hands. That is not the deep call of cattle that strikes your ears, no herds are lowing anywhere in fear: it is the moaning of the fire on the altar, the shuddering of the sacrificial hearth.

### **OEDIPUS**

[To Tiresias] Interpret these signs from the ominous ritual. I shall mark your words without flinching; extreme troubles are apt to make people calm.

### TIRESIAS

You will envy these troubles for which you are seeking help.

### **OEDIPUS**

Tell us the one thing the gods want known: who polluted his hands with the murder of the king?

#### TIBESIAS

Neither birds that cut through heaven's heights on light wings,<sup>23</sup> nor organs torn from living bodies, can call up the name. Another path must be tried. He himself must be summoned from the regions of eternal night, so that once released from Erebus he can identify his murderer. We must open the earth, make prayers to Dis the implacable, and draw out here the throngs of infernal Styx. Say whom you entrust with this ritual, since it is taboo for you, who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> A reference to divination by the flight of birds (auspicium).

nam te, penes quem summa regnorum, nefas invisere umbras.

#### **OEDIPUS**

Te, Creo, hic poscit labor, 400 ad quem secundum regna respiciunt mea.

### TIRESIA

Dum nos profundae claustra laxamus Stygis, populare Bacchi laudibus carmen sonet.

#### CHORUS

Effusam redimite comam nutante corymbo, mollia Nysaeis armatus bracchia thyrsis, lucidum caeli decus, huc ades votis, quae tibi nobiles

votis, quae tibi nobiles
Thebae, Bacche, tuae
palmis supplicibus ferunt.
huc adverte favens virgineum caput,
vultu sidereo discute nubila

vultu sidereo discute nubila et tristes Erebi minas

avidumque fatum.

Te decet cingi comam floribus vernis, te caput Tyria cohibere mitra hederave mollem

bacifera religare frontem, spargere effusos sine lege crines, rursus adducto revocare nodo: qualis iratam metuens novercam

405

410

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Parts of this ode (405–415, 472–502) and the next (709–737) are polymetric, i.e. the metre varies from line to line. Such virtuosity cannot be conveyed in translation; the indentations used in

hold the highest power of the kingdom, to look upon the shades.

#### **OEDIPUS**

This task calls for you, Creon, whom my kingdom regards as next after myself.

### TIRESIAS

While we are loosing the barriers of the deep Stygian world, let a hymn sound out from the people in praise of Bacchus.

## CHORUS<sup>24</sup>

You whose flowing hair is wreathed with nodding ivy, and who bear the thyrsus of Nysa as a weapon in your soft hands,

shining glory of heaven, attend the prayers that your famous city of Thebes offers you, Bacchus, with palms lifted in supplication.

Turn here your girlish face in favour; with your star-bright countenance dispel the clouds,

the grim threats of Erebus, and greedy fate.

It suits you to circle your hair with springtime flowers, to bind your head with a Tyrian turban,

or fasten berried

ivy around your soft forehead, to toss your flowing locks in disarray, to arrange them again with a firm knot; just as, in fear of your angry stepmother,<sup>25</sup>

the text represent it only partially. Oed and Ag are the only plays of the corpus with polymetric odes.  $^{25}$  Juno.

creveras falsos imitatus artus,
420 crine flaventi simulata virgo,
lutea vestem retinente zona.
inde tam molles placuere cultus
et sinus laxi fluidumque syrma.
Vidit aurato residere curru,

Vidit aurato residere curru, veste cum longa regeres leones, omnis Eoae plaga vasta terrae, qui bibit Gangen niveumque quisquis frangit Araxen.

Te senior turpi sequitur Silenus asello, 430 turgida pampineis redimitus tempora sertis; condita lascivi deducunt orgia mystae.

> te Bassaridum comitata cohors nunc Edono pede pulsavit sola Pangaeo,

nunc Threicio vertice Pindi. 439 tibi commotae pectora matres

440 fudere comam.

425

nunc Cadmeas inter matres impia maenas comes Ogygio venit Iaccho,

nebride sacra praecincta latus thyrsumque levem vibrante manu. iam post laceros Pentheos artus Thyades oestro membra remissae velut ignotum videre nefas.

<sup>434</sup> Pangaeo Leo: -i E (A omits 430–471) <sup>439–440</sup> transposed after 435 by Fitch

you grew up assuming a false form, a pretended girl with golden hair, with a yellow girdle fastening your dress. Hence your liking for such soft garments, clothes in loose folds, a flowing robe.

Seated on your gilded chariot in a long robe, guiding your lions you were seen by the whole vast region of the East, those who drink the Ganges and break the ice on the snowy Araxes.

You are followed by old Silenus on his unseemly donkey, with garlands woven from ivy festooning his swollen temples.

Your wanton initiates conduct your secret cultic rites.

Your attendant troop of Bassarids have pounded the earth in dances, now on Edonian Pangaeum, now on the Thracian summit of Pindus. Mothers with hearts enraptured by you have loosened their hair.

Now amidst Cadmean mothers an unnatural maenad has come in the company of Ogygian Iacchus, her body girt in the sacred fawnskin, her hand brandishing the light thyrsus. En Then after the rending of Pentheus' limbs the Thyads, their bodies relieved of frenzy, looked on the atrocity as something unknown.

<sup>26</sup> The maenad is Agave, mother of Pentheus.

Ponti regna tenet nitidi matertera Bacchi, Nereidumque choris Cadmeia cingitur Ino; ius habet in fluctus magni puer advena ponti, cognatus Bacchi, numen non vile Palaemon.

Te Tyrrhena, puer, rapuit manus,
et tumidum Nereus posuit mare,
caerula cum pratis mutat freta.
hinc verno platanus folio viret
et Phoebo laurus carum nemus;
garrula per ramos avis obstrepit;

vivaces hederas remus tenet, summa ligat vitis carchesia; Idaeus prora fremuit leo, tigris puppe sedet Gangetica. tum pirata freto pavidus natat,

460 et nova demersos facies habet:
bracchia prima cadunt praedonibus
inlisumque utero pectus coit,
parvula dependet lateri manus,
et dorso fluctum curvo subit,
465 lunata scindit cauda mare:

lunata scindit cauda mare: et sequitur curvus fugientia carbasa delphin.

Divite Pactolus vexit te Lydius unda, aurea torrenti deducens flumina ripa; laxavit victos arcus Geticasque sagittas 470 lactea Massagetes qui pocula sanguine miscet;

The realm of the sea is held by the aunt of shining Bacchus,

Ino daughter of Cadmus, with Nereid choruses round her;

and a boy, newcomer, sways the waves of the mighty sea, kin to Bacchus, a godhead of no slight power, Palaemon. [To Bacchus] You were seized as a boy by a Tyrrhene

crew.

Nereus calmed the swollen seas, and changed the deep-blue waters to meadows; so there were plane trees verdant with spring foliage, and laurels whose groves are dear to Phoebus; birds vied in chattering among the branches, the oars were covered with vigorous ivy, grapevines twined at the mastheads; a lion from Ida roared at the prow, a tiger from Ganges sat in the stern. Then the frightened pirates swim in the sea, and as they sink take on new forms: first the robbers' arms fall away, their chests are squashed to join their bellies, little hands hang down at their sides, they dive in the waves with curving backs, cut through the sea with crescent tails: and the sails of the fleeing ship are chased by humpbacked dolphins.

The Lydian river Pactolus bore you on its rich waves, carrying golden currents down its swirling stream. The Massagetan, who mingles blood with cups of milk, unstrung his bow in defeat, set down his Getic arrows.

regna securigeri Bacchum sensere Lycurgi, sensere terrae Zalacum feroces et quos vicinus Boreas ferit arva mutantes, quasque Maeotis alluit gentes frigido fluctu, 475 quasque despectat vertice e summo sidus Arcadium geminumque plaustrum. ille dispersos domuit Gelonos, arma detraxit trucibus puellis: ore deiecto petiere terram 480 Thermodontiacae catervae. positisque tandem levibus sagittis Maenades factae. sacer Cithaeron sanguine undavit

485

Ophioniaque caede;
Proetides silvas petiere, et Argos
praesente Bacchum coluit noverca.
Naxos Aegaeo redimita ponto
tradidit thalamis virginem relictam,
meliore pensans damna marito.

490

pumice ex sicco fluxit Nyctelius latex; garruli gramen secuere rivi, conbibit dulces humus alta sucos

 $<sup>^{27}</sup>$  Respectively the Great and Lesser Bear, both near the northern pole.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Lines 484–485 refer to Pentheus' death. The Proetides, daughters of King Proetus of Argos, resisted Bacchus' rites, and were driven mad; the city then acknowledged his godhead. The presence of Juno, a preeminent divinity in Argos, probably indi-

The power of Bacchus was felt by the axman Lycurgus' realm;

the fierce lands of the Zalaces felt it too, and those whom Boreas smites at close range, nomadic peoples, and the tribes against whom Maeotis washes with its cold waves, and those on whom the Arcadian constellation

and those on whom the Arcadian constellation and the twin Wain<sup>27</sup> look down from the high pole.

He tamed the scattered Geloni

and wrested arms from the warrior girls:

they fell to the ground with faces bowed, those squadrons from Thermodon,

at last laid aside their light arrows,

and became maenads.

Sacred Cithaeron streamed with blood from Ophionian slaughter;

the Proetides fled to the woods, and Argos paid homage to Bacchus in his stepmother's

presence.<sup>28</sup>

Naxos ringed by the Aegean sea gave in marriage a deserted maiden,<sup>29</sup> requiting her loss with a better husband.

From its dry pumice flowed Nyctelian liquor; chattering streams cut through the grass; the earth drank deep of the sweet fluids,

cates that she approved the new worship of Bacchus, suppressing her stepmotherly jealousy: in some versions the Proetides had insulted her.

 $^{29}$  Ariadne, deserted by Theseus: she became the bride of Bacchus.

495

niveique lactis candidos fontes
et mixta odoro Lesbia cum thymo.
ducitur magno nova nupta caelo;
sollemne Phoebus
carmen infusis humero capillis
cantat et geminus Cupido
concutit taedas;

500

510

telum deposuit Iuppiter igneum oditque Baccho veniente fulmen.

Lucida dum current annosi sidera mundi,
Oceanus clausum dum fluctibus ambiet orbem,
Lunaque dimissos dum plena recolliget ignes,
dum matutinos praedicet Lucifer ortus,
altaque caeruleum dum Nerea nesciet Arctos,
candida formosi venerabimur ora Lyaei.

### **OEDIPUS**

Etsi ipse vultus flebiles praefert notas, exprome cuius capite placemus deos.

#### CREO

Fari iubes tacere quae suadet metus.

 $<sup>^{30}</sup>$  Because it had been fatal to Bacchus' mother Semele.

white springs of snowy milk and Lesbian wine blended with scented thyme.

The new bride was escorted to the vast heavens;

Phoebus, with hair

flowing down to his shoulders, sang the ceremonial hymn, while twin Cupids swung their torches.

Jove laid aside his fiery weapon, and abhorred the thunderbolt at Bacchus' coming.<sup>30</sup>

- As long as the shining stars of the age-old heavens run on,
- as long as Ocean circles the encompassed earth with its waves
- and as long as the Moon at the full recovers its fires that waned,
- as long as the Daystar heralds the dawn each early morning
- and as long as the lofty Bear knows nothing of sea-blue Nereus,
- so long we shall worship the radiant face of comely Lyaeus.

## ACT 3

### **OEDIPUS**

Though your very face signifies sorrow, tell us: whose life must we take to appease the gods?

#### CREON

You bid me say what fear urges me to keep silent.

### **OEDIPUS**

Si te ruentes non satis Thebae movent, at sceptra moveant lapsa cognatae domus.

CREO

Nescisse cupies nosse quae nimium expetis.

**OEDIPUS** 

515 Iners malorum remedium ignorantia est. itane et salutis publicae indicium obrues?

CREO

Ubi turpis est medicina, sanari piget.

**OEDIPUS** 

Audita fare, vel malo domitus gravi quid arma possint regis irati scies.

CREO

520 Odere reges dicta quae dici iubent.

OEDIPUS

Mitteris Erebo vile pro cunctis caput, arcana sacri voce ni retegis tua.

CREO

Tacere liceat. ulla libertas minor a rege petitur?

**OEDIPUS** 

Saepe vel lingua magis regi atque regno muta libertas obest.

<sup>31</sup> This dialogue from 511 is adapted in Chapman, Byron's Conspiracy III.3.55–69, beginning so:

La Brosse You bid me speak what fear bids me conceal.

Byron You have no cause for fear, and therefore speak.

### **OEDIPUS**

If the collapse of Thebes is not enough to move you, the fallen sceptre of your kinsman's house should move you.

#### CREON

You will wish you had not learned what you so demand to know.

### OEDIPUS

Ignorance is a feeble remedy for troubles.<sup>31</sup> Will you really bury information about the people's wellbeing?

#### CREON

When the cure is foul, being healed is repugnant.

#### **OEDIPUS**

Tell us what you have heard, or you will learn, broken by suffering, what an angry king's might can perform.

### CREON

Kings hate the very words they bid be spoken.

#### **OEDIPUS**

You will be sent to Erebus as a scapegoat for all, unless your words reveal the secrets from the ritual.

#### CREON

Allow me silence. Can any smaller freedom be requested from a king?

### **OEDIPUS**

Often the freedom of silence is more dangerous than speech to king and kingdom.

La Brosse You'll rather wish you had been ignorant

Than be instructed in a thing so ill.

Byron Ignorance is an idle salve for ill.

CREO

Ubi non licet tacere, quid cuiquam licet?

OEDIPUS

Imperia solvit qui tacet iussus loqui.

CREC

Coacta verba placidus accipias precor.

**OEDIPUS** 

Ulline poena vocis expressae fuit?

CREO

Est procul ab urbe lucus ilicibus niger
 Dircaea circa vallis inriguae loca.
 cupressus altis exerens silvis caput
 virente semper alligat trunco nemus,
 curvosque tendit quercus et putres situ
 annosa ramos: huius abrupit latus

annosa ramos: huius abrupit latus edax vetustas; illa, iam fessa cadens radice, fulta pendet aliena trabe. amara bacas laurus et tiliae leves et Paphia myrtus et per immensum mare

540 motura remos alnus et Phoebo obvia enode Zephyris pinus opponens latus. medio stat ingens arbor atque umbra gravi silvas minores urget et magno ambitu diffusa ramos una defendit nemus.

tristis sub illa, lucis et Phoebi inscius, restagnat umor frigore aeterno rigens; limosa pigrum circumit fontem palus.

## CREON

If silence is not allowed, what is anyone allowed?

#### **OEDIPUS**

One who is silent when bidden to speak undermines authority.

#### CREON

Since my words are coerced, I pray you receive them kindly.

# **OEDIPUS**

Was anyone yet punished for speech wrung from him?

#### CREON

There lies at a distance from the city a grove dark with holm oaks, on the sides of the well-watered Vale of Dirce. Cypresses thrust their heads above the high trees and encircle the wood with their evergreen trunks; ancient oaks stretch out bent branches, rotten and crumbling. One of these has its side torn away by devouring time, while a second, already tilting with weakened roots, hangs propped on another tree's trunk. The bitter-berried laurel is there, slight linden trees, the Paphian myrtle, the alder destined to drive oars<sup>32</sup> through the boundless sea, and the pine fronting the sun, setting its straight-grained bole against the westerlies. In the midst stands a massive tree that crowds lesser trees with its heavy shade, and with its great circle of spreading branches serves by itself as protector of the woodland. In gloom beneath it, untouched by Phoebus' light, lies a pool chilled by perpetual cold; a muddy swamp surrounds the sluggish spring.

 $<sup>^{32}</sup>$  I.e. alder is fashioned into ships, whose rowers drive oars . . .

Huc ut sacerdos intulit senior gradum, haud est moratus: praestitit noctem locus.

550 tum effossa tellus, et super rapti rogis iaciuntur ignes. ipse funesto integit vates amictu corpus et frondem quatit;

554 squalente cultu maestus ingreditur senex, lugubris imos palla perfundit pedes,

555 mortifera canam taxus astringit comam. nigro bidentes vellere atque atrae boves antro trahuntur. flamma praedatur dapes, vivumque trepidat igne ferali pecus.

Vocat inde manes teque qui manes regis et obsidentem claustra letalis lacus, 560 carmenque magicum volvit et rabido minax decantat ore quidquid aut placat leves aut cogit umbras; sanguinem libat focis solidasque pecudes urit et multo specum saturat cruore; libat et niveum insuper 565 lactis liquorem, fundit et Bacchum manu laeva, canitque rursus ac terram intuens graviore manes voce et attonita citat. latravit Hecates turba: ter valles cavae sonuere maestum, tota succusso solo 570 pulsata tellus. "Audior," vates ait, rata verba fudi: rumpitur caecum chaos, iterque populis Ditis ad superos datur."

549 Zwierlein suggests a lacuna after moratus or locus.
 553 transposed after 554 by Weber

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> This ritual is dramatised in the *Oedipus* of John Dryden and Nathaniel Lee (1679), e.g. (Tiresias speaking) "Is the sacrifice

When the aged priest arrived here, he made no delay: the place afforded darkness. Then a pit was dug in the earth, and over it were tossed firebrands snatched from pyres. The seer clothes his body in funereal garments, and waves a branch. The old man steps forward in the squalid clothes of mourning: a gloomy robe sweeps down over his feet, the deathly yew binds his grey hair. Dark-fleeced sheep and black cattle are dragged to the hole; flames plunder the feast, and the still-living flesh quivers in the fire of the dead.<sup>33</sup>

Next he summons the shades, and you who rule the shades, and the one who holds access to the lake of the dead;<sup>34</sup> he reels off a magic chant, and in a threatening, frenzied tone he recites whatever placates or else coerces the insubstantial ghosts. He pours a libation of blood on the altar, burns the carcasses whole, and drenches the pit in copious blood. In addition he makes a libation of snowy milk, and pours wine with his left hand, chants once more, and gazing at the earth summons the shades in a deeper, inspired voice. Howling came from the pack of Hecate; thrice the hollow chasms groaned, the ground was jolted from below and the whole earth shook. "I have been heard," said the priest, "the spells I uttered were valid: blind chaos bursts open, and the throngs of Dis are granted a path to the upper world." Every tree cringed, with its

made fit?/Draw her backward to the pit:/Draw the barren Heifer back;/Barren let her be and black./Cut the curled hair that grows/Full betwixt her horns and brows:/And turn your faces from the Sun:/Answer me. if this be done?"

<sup>34</sup> Charon.

subsedit omnis silva et erexit comas. 575 duxere rimas robora et totum nemus concussit horror; terra se retro dedit gemuitque penitus, sive temptari abditum Acheron profundum mente non aequa tulit, sive ipsa tellus, ut daret functis viam, compage rupta sonuit, aut ira furens 580 triceps catenas Cerberus movit graves.

Subito dehiscit terra et immenso sinu laxata patuit. ipse pallentes deos vidi inter umbras, ipse torpentes lacus noctemque veram: gelidus in venis stetit haesitque sanguis, saeva prosiluit cohors et stetit in armis omne vipereum genus, 588 fratrum catervae dente Dircaeo satae. tum torva Erinys sonuit et caecus Furor 590 Horrorque et una quidquid aeternae creant celantque tenebrae: Luctus avellens comam aegreque lassum sustinens Morbus caput, gravis Senectus sibimet et pendens Metus avidumque populi Pestis Ogygii malum. 589 nos liquit animus; ipsa quae ritus senis artesque norat stupuit. intrepidus parens audaxque damno convocat Ditis feri exsangue vulgus. ilico, ut nebulae leves, volitant et auras libero caelo trahunt. non tot caducas educat frondes Eryx, nec vere flores Hybla tot medio creat cum examen arto nectitur densum globo, fluctusque non tot frangit Ionium mare,

nec tanta gelidi Strymonis fugiens minas

585

595

leaves bristling; hard treetrunks split open, and the entire woodland shuddered. The ground shrank back and groaned deep within: either Acheron was displeased at the assault on its hidden depths, or Earth herself cracked apart her structure to give passage to the dead, or else Cerberus the three-headed shook his heavy chains in furious anger.

Suddenly the earth gaped and split apart into a vast cavity. With my own eyes I saw the pallid gods among the shades. I saw the stagnant lakes and authentic night. My blood stopped still, cold in my veins. Out leapt a fierce squadron and stood under arms—the whole snaky brood, the ranks of brothers sown from Dircean teeth. 35 Then came the sound of grim Erinys and blind Rage and Horror, and with them all that the everlasting darkness spawns and shrouds: Grief tearing away its hair, Disease barely supporting its weary head, Old Age burdensome to itself, edgy Fear, and the evil of Plague, hungry for the Ogygian people. Our courage left us; even she who knew the old man's rituals and arts was awestruck. But fearlessly, emboldened by his blindness, her father summoned the bloodless multitude of cruel Dis. Straightway, like swirling mists, they flitted about, breathing the air of the open sky. Not so many are the leaves that grow on Mt Eryx to fall there, not so many the flowers that Hybla produces in midspring, when the dense swarm clusters in a tight ball, not so many the breaking waves on the Ionian sea, not so large the winged flocks that flee chill Strymon's threats and migrate

<sup>35</sup> See footnote on line 730.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>589</sup> transposed after 594 by Leo <sup>602</sup> arto Richter: alto EA

permutat hiemes ales et caelum secans 605 tepente Nilo pensat Arctoas nives, quot ille populos vatis eduxit sonus. pavide latebras nemoris umbrosi petunt animae trementes. primus emergit solo, dextra ferocem cornibus taurum premens. 610 Zethus, manuque sustinet laeva chelyn qui saxa dulci traxit Amphion sono, interque natos Tantalis tandem suos tuto superba fert caput fastu grave et numerat umbras, peior hac genetrix adest 615 furibunda Agave, tota quam sequitur manus partita regem; sequitur et Bacchas lacer Pentheus tenetque saevus etiamnunc minas. Tandem vocatus saepe pudibundum extulit caput atque ab omni dissidet turba procul 620 celatque semet. instat et Stygias preces geminat sacerdos, donec in apertum efferat vultus opertos Laius—fari horreo. stetit per artus sanguine effuso horridus, paedore foedo squalidam obtentus comam, 625 et ore rabido fatur: "O Cadmi effera. cruore semper laeta cognato domus, vibrate thyrsos, enthea natos manu lacerate potius! maximum Thebis scelus maternus amor est. patria, non ira deum, 630 sed scelere raperis: non gravi flatu tibi luctificus Auster nec parum pluvio aethere satiata tellus halitu sicco nocet sed rex cruentus, pretia qui saevae necis sceptra et nefandos occupat thalamos patris, 635

from winter, crossing the skies to exchange Arctic snows for the warm Nile, as were the throngs brought forth by the seer's utterance. In panic the timid spirits seek out hiding places in the shadowed grove. First to emerge from the ground is Zethus, his right hand restraining a fierce bull by the horns, and Amphion, holding in his left hand the lyre whose sweet sound once shifted stones. Amongst her children the Tantalid, at last safe in her pride, carries her head high in insufferable arrogance and counts her ghosts. Here is a worse mother than she, frenzied Agave, followed by the whole troop that sundered the king; the Bacchae are followed by the torn Pentheus, still fiercely continuing his threats.

The one repeatedly summoned at last raises his head, sullied as it is, but stays concealed far from the main crowd. Insistently the priest redoubles his Stygian prayers, until Laius reveals his hidden face. I shudder to speak of it. He stands caked in the blood that poured over his body, with his hair covered in squalid filth, and speaks in rage: "O savage house of Cadmus, always delighting in kindred blood: shake the thyrsus, rend your sons with god-driven hands, rather than this! In Thebes the greatest crime is the love of a mother. O fatherland, you are not ravaged by the gods' anger, but by a crime. It is not the unwholesome breath of the scourging south wind that harms you, nor the dry exhalations of a land too little watered by heaven's rains, but a bloodstained king, who as the prize for his cruel murder claimed his father's sceptre and taboo mar-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> I.e. even the murder of Pentheus by his own mother and aunts was less terrible than Oedipus' deeds.

[invisa proles: sed tamen peior parens quam natus, utero rursus infausto gravis] egitque in ortus semet et matri impios fetus regessit, quique vix mos est feris, fratres sibi ipse genuit—implicitum malum, magisque monstrum Sphinge perplexum sua. Te, te cruenta sceptra qui dextra geris, te pater inultus urbe cum tota petam et mecum Erinyn pronubam thalami traham, traham sonantes verbera, incestam domum vertam et penates impio marte obteram.

"Proinde pulsum finibus regem ocius agite exulem. quodcumque funesto gradu solum relinquet, vere florifero virens reparabit herbas; spiritus puros dabit vitalis aura, veniet et silvis decor; Letum Luesque, Mors Labor Tabes Dolor, comitatus illo dignus, excedent simul. et ipse rapidis gressibus sedes volet effugere nostras, sed graves pedibus moras addam et tenebo: repet incertus viae, baculo senili triste praetemptans iter. eripite terras, auferam caelum pater."

#### **OEDIPUS**

Et ossa et artus gelidus invasit tremor: quidquid timebam facere fecisse arguor. —tori iugalis abnuit Merope nefas sociata Polybo; sospes absolvit manus

 $^{636-637}$  deleted by Zwierlein  $^{656}$  repet recc.: repetet E: reptet A

640

645

650

riage bed.<sup>37</sup> He has pushed to his very source, forced unnatural procreation back on his mother, and as scarcely happens even among wild beasts, he has sired brothers for himself—an entangled evil, a monstrosity more enigmatic than his own Sphinx. You who hold the sceptre in your bloodied hand, I shall seek you out, your unavenged father, along with the whole city; with me I shall bring the Erinys who attended your bride chamber, bring those whose whips resound;<sup>38</sup> I shall overthrow this incestuous house, and wipe out its lineage in unnatural warfare.

"So then, expel the king quickly from your borders, drive him into exile. Each piece of ground that he forsakes with his fatal steps will bloom in a springtime flowering and regain its verdure; the life-giving air will be pure to breathe, and beauty will appear in the woodlands. Carnage and Plague, Death, Distress, Decay and Pain will depart with him, a worthy retinue. He himself will want to move swiftly to escape our abodes, but I shall put cumbersome delays before his feet and hold him back. He will creep unsure of his path, testing his dismal way with an old man's stick. You must dispossess him of the earth; I his father will deprive him of the sky."

#### **OEDIPUS**

A cold shiver pierces my body to its bones. All that I feared doing I am accused of having done. But Merope is married to Polybus, disproving any defilement of the marriage bed,

 $<sup>^{37}</sup>$  636–637 (deleted) may mean "detested offspring—yet worse as a father than as a son, burdening that ill-fated womb a second time."

<sup>38</sup> The Furies.

Polybus meas: uterque defendit parens caedem stuprumque. quis locus culpae est super?

665 multo ante Thebae Laium amissum gemunt,
Boeota gressu quam meo tetigi loca.
falsusne senior an deus Thebis gravis?

—iam iam tenemus callidi socios doli:
mentitur ista praeferens fraudi deos

670 vates, tibique sceptra despondet mea.

#### CREC

Egone ut sororem regia expelli velim? si me fides sacrata cognati laris non contineret in meo certum statu, tamen ipsa me fortuna terreret nimis sollicita semper. liceat hoc tuto tibi exuere pondus nec recedentem opprimat; iam te minore tutior pones loco.

#### **OEDIPUS**

Hortaris etiam, sponte deponam ut mea tam gravia regna?

#### CREO

Suadeam hoc illis ego,
680 in utrumque quîs est liber etiamnunc status:
tibi iam necesse est ferre fortunam tuam.

#### **OEDIPUS**

Certissima est regnare cupienti via laudare modica et otium ac somnum loqui; ab inquieto saepe simulatur quies.

#### CREO

685 Parumne me tam longa defendit fides?

and Polybus is alive, declaring my hands innocent. Each parent refutes the charges, murder and incest. What room is left for guilt? Thebes mourned the loss of Laius long before I set foot on Boeotian soil. Is the old man lying, or is the god ill-disposed to Thebes? *Now* I grasp the accomplices in this clever scheme: the seer makes up these fictions, using the gods to cloak his treachery, and promises my sceptre to you.

#### CREON

Would *I* want my sister driven from the palace? If I were not kept firmly in my own position by my vowed allegiance to a kindred house, I would still be deterred by the very nature of such a fortune, always too full of anxiety. May it be granted you to put aside this burden safely, without its crushing you as you withdraw. You will set yourself more safely now in a humbler position.

# **OEDIPUS**

Are you actually prompting me to lay down such a heavy kingship of my own free will?

#### CREON

I would urge this on people who still have freedom to move in either direction. You have no choice now but to bear your fortune.

# **OEDIPUS**

The surest path for someone desiring a throne is to praise a modest life and talk of leisure and sleep. Quiet is often feigned by unquiet spirits.

#### CREON

Is my long loyalty not a sufficient defence?

**OEDIPUS** 

Aditum nocendi perfido praestat fides.

CREO

Solutus onere regio regni bonis fruor, domusque civium coetu viget; nec ulla vicibus surgit alternis dies qua non propinqui munera ad nostros lares sceptri redundent: cultus, opulentae dapes, donata multis gratia nostra salus. quid tam beatae desse fortunae rear?

**OEDIPUS** 

Quod dest: secunda non habent umquam modum.

CREO

695 Incognita igitur ut nocens causa cadam?

**OEDIPUS** 

Num ratio vobis reddita est vitae meae? num audita causa est nostra Tiresiae? tamen sontes videmur. facitis exemplum: sequor.

CREO

Quid si innocens sum?

OEDIPUS

Dubia pro certis solent

700 timere reges.

690

CREO

Qui pavet vanos metus,

veros meretur.

**OEDIPUS** 

Quisquis in culpa fuit, dimissus odit: omne quod dubium est ruat.

#### **OEDIPUS**

Loyalty provides the disloyal man with access to do harm.

#### CREON

Free of a king's burdens, I enjoy the benefits of kingship. My house thrives as citizens gather there, and as each day follows night the bounty of the nearby throne flows into my home: elegant living, rich feasts, security granted to many through my influence. What could I think missing from such a well-blessed fortune?

#### OEDIPUS

What is missing! Prosperity never accepts any limitation.

# CREON

Must I fall as guilty, then, without investigation of my case?

# **OEDIPUS**

Did you two give consideration to my life? Was my case heard by Tiresias? Yet I am held guilty. You made the precedent, I follow it.

#### CREON

What if I am innocent?

#### **OEDIPUS**

Kings regularly take unproven fears for certainties.

# CREON

He who indulges empty fears earns himself real fears.

# **OEDIPUS**

Anyone faulted feels hatred, even if let off; let all that is suspect fall!

<sup>702</sup> dubium est ruat Enk: obvium est eat E: dubium putat A

CREO

Sic odia fiunt.

**OEDIPUS** 

Odia qui nimium timet regnare nescit: regna custodit metus.

CREO

705 Qui sceptra duro saevus imperio gerit, timet timentes: metus in auctorem redit.

**OEDIPUS** 

Servate sontem saxeo inclusum specu. ipse ad penates regios referam gradum.

CHORUS

Non tu tantis causa periclis, 710 non haec Labdacidas petunt fata, sed veteres deum irae sequuntur. Castalium nemus umbram Sidonio praebuit hospiti lavitque Dirce Tyrios colonos, 715 ut primum magni natus Agenoris, fessus per orbem furta sequi Iovis, sub nostra pavidus constitit arbore praedonem venerans suum, monituque Phoebi iussus erranti comes ire vaccae, quam non flexerat 720

705 gerit Cornelissen: regit EA

vomer aut tardi iuga curva plaustri,

#### CREON

This is how hatred arises.

## **OEDIPUS**

One unduly afraid of being hated is incapable of ruling; a throne is safeguarded by fear.

#### CREON

One who wields the sceptre with tyrannical harshness fears those who fear him; terror rebounds on its author.

## **OEDIPUS**

[To attendants] Keep the guilty man shut up in a rocky cave. I shall return to the royal palace.

#### CHORUS

You are not the cause of these great hazards, not such is the fate that attacks the Labdacids: no, the ancient anger of the gods is pursuing us. The Castalian grove offered its shade to the stranger from Sidon, and Dirce bathed the settlers from Tyre,

when first the son of great Agenor, tired of tracking Jove's thefts through the world, halted afraid beneath our trees.

doing homage to his plunderer.<sup>39</sup>
By Phoebus' command

bidden to follow a straying cow

that had never been governed by the plough or the curving yoke of a lumbering cart,

<sup>39</sup> Cadmus' sister Europa had been kidnapped by Jove (hence "his plunderer"). Cadmus was "afraid" to return to his father Agenor without finding her.

deseruit fugas nomenque genti inauspicata de bove tradidit.

Tempore ex illo nova monstra semper protulit tellus. aut anguis imis vallibus editus annosa circa robora sibilat, supraque pinus, supra Chaonias celsior arbores

erexit caeruleum caput, cum maiore sui parte recumberet;

aut feta tellus impio partu effudit arma: sonuit reflexo classicum cornu lituusque adunco stridulos cantus

elisit aere

735 non ante linguas agiles et ora
vocis ignotae clamore primum
hostico experti.
agmina campos cognata tenent,
dignaque iacto semine proles,
740 uno aetatem permensa die,

post Luciferi nata meatus ante Hesperios occidit ortus. horret tantis advena monstris

 $^{727}$ circa Reeve: supra EA $\,$   $^{727{\rm bis}}$  supraque A: superatque E  $\,$   $^{734}$  lacuna identified by Leo

725

 $<sup>^{40}</sup>$  "Boeotians," supposedly from  $\beta o\hat{v}s,$  'cow' (Latin bos, used here).

he gave up roaming and passed on to his people a name<sup>40</sup> from that ill-omened animal.

Ever since that time the land has brought forth new monsters.

A serpent rose from the valley's depths hissing around the ancient tree trunks; above the pines,

high above the Chaonian trees

it raised its blue-green head, while the bulk of its body lay on the ground.<sup>41</sup>

Or else the earth, in unnatural parturition, poured forth weapons;

the battle call sounded from the winding horn, and the trumpet blared out strident notes

from its curved brass

who first tested their tongues, never quickened before,

and mouths in the battle cries of their unknown voices.

Ranks of kinsmen took the field, a progeny worthy of the flung seed; they measured their lifespan in one day, born after the Morning Star emerged, fallen before the Evening Star rose. The stranger shuddered at these portents,

<sup>41</sup> Cadmus proceeded to slay this serpent, which was sacred to Mars. He then sowed its teeth (the "flung seed" of 739); from them sprang up armed men, who fought each other as the following lines recount.

populique timet bella recentis,
donec cecidit saeva iuventus
genetrixque suo reddi gremio
modo productos vidit alumnos.
hac transierit civile nefas!
illa Herculeae norint Thebae
proelia fratrum.

Quid Cadmei fata nepotis, cum vivacis cornua cervi frontem ramis texere novis dominumque canes egere suum? praeceps silvas montesque fugit citus Actaeon, agilique magis pede per saltus ac saxa vagus metuit motas zephyris plumas et quae posuit retia vitat—donec placidi fontis in unda cornua vidit vultusque feros: ibi virgineos foverat artus nimium saevi diva pudoris.

## **OEDIPUS**

Curas revolvit animus et repetit metus.

765 obisse nostro Laium scelere autumant
superi inferique, sed animus contra innocens
sibique melius quam deis notus negat.

755

<sup>42</sup> The stranger is Cadmus; the mother is Earth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> This wish draws attention to its own fruitlessness: later Theban generations such as Hercules' will actually know that there was a second civil war, viz. that between Oedipus' sons.

dismayed at the warfare of the newborn folk, until the savage warriors fell and their mother saw returned to her bosom the sons she had just brought forth.<sup>42</sup> With this may civil war's horrors have passed! May Hercules' Thebes know only of that one battle of brothers.<sup>43</sup>

What of the fate of Cadmus' grandson when the horns of a long-lived stag covered his forehead with strange branches and his hounds hunted their master! Swift Actaeon fled headlong amidst forests and hills; through brush, over rocks, he wandered on more agile feet, fearing the feathers moving in the breeze and avoiding the nets he himself had set—until in the water of the placid pool he saw his horns and animal face. There she had bathed her virgin limbs, the goddess of chastity too fierce. 44

# ACT 4

# **OEDIPUS**

My mind turns over its cares and revisits its fears. The powers above and below declare that Laius died through a crime of mine, but on the other hand my mind, which is innocent and better known to itself than to the gods, denies

<sup>44</sup> Diana.

redit memoria tenue per vestigium, cecidisse nostri stipitis pulsu obvium 770 datumque Diti, cum prior iuvenem senex curru superbus pelleret, Thebis procul Phocaea trifidas regio qua scindit vias.

Unanima coniunx, explica errores, precor: quae spatia moriens Laius vitae tulit? primone in aevo viridis an fracto occidit?

**IOCASTA** 

Inter senem iuvenemque, sed propior seni.

**OEDIPUS** 

Frequensne turba regium cinxit latus?

**IOCASTA** 

Plures fefellit error ancipitis viae, paucos fideles curribus iunxit labor.

**OEDIPUS** 

780 Aliquisne cecidit regio fato comes?

IOCASTA

Unum fides virtusque consortem addidit.

OEDIPUS

Teneo nocentem: convenit numerus, locus—sed tempus adde.

IOCASTA
Decima iam metitur seges.

it. Yet a memory returns along a faint track, of someone felled by a blow from my staff when he blocked my way, and sent to Dis—an old man, who first forced me arrogantly aside with his chariot when I was young—at a distance from Thebes, where the region of Phocis splits the road three ways.

[To Jocasta] Wife, you share my thoughts: straighten out my confusion, I beg you. What span of life had Laius when he died? Did he fall when flourishing in his early prime, or in broken age?

#### JOCASTA

Between old age and youth, but closer to old age.

# **OEDIPUS**

Was there a large retinue surrounding the king?

# JOCASTA

Most went astray, confused by the unclear path, but a few stayed by his chariot in loyal service.

## OEDIPUS

Did anyone fall beside the dying king?

## JOCASTA

One loyal and courageous man shared his fate.

#### OEDIPUS

I have the guilty man: the number and place match. And what of the time?

#### JOCASTA

Now is the tenth harvest.

[Old man from Corinth enters]

#### SENEX CORINTHIUS

Corinthius te populus in regnum vocat patrium: quietem Polybus aeternam obtinet.

#### OEDIPUS

Ut undique in me saeva Fortuna irruit! edissere agedum, quo cadat fato parens.

# SENEX

Animam senilem mollis exsolvit sopor.

# **OEDIPUS**

Genitor sine ulla caede defunctus iacet. 790 testor, licet iam tollere ad caelum pie puras nec ulla scelera metuentes manus. sed pars magis metuenda fatorum manet.

#### SENEX

Omnem paterna regna discutient metum.

# **OEDIPUS**

Repetam paterna regna; sed matrem horreo.

## SENEX

795 Metuis parentem, quae tuum reditum expetens sollicita pendet?

OEDIPUS Ipsa me pietas fugat.

SENEX

Viduam relinques?

OEDIPUS Tangis en ipsos metus.

# OLD MAN

The people of Corinth call you to your father's throne: Polybus has reached his eternal rest.

## **OEDIPUS**

How cruel Fortune attacks me on every side! Come now, explain how the old man met his fate.

# OLD MAN

A gentle sleep released his aged spirit.

## **OEDIPUS**

My father lies dead without a hint of bloodshed! I testify that now in good conscience I can lift my hands to heaven, hands that are pure and fear no crimes. Yet the more fearful portion of my destiny remains.

## OLD MAN

Your father's throne will dispel any fears.

## **OEDIPUS**

I would claim my father's throne, but I am in dread of my mother.

#### OLD MAN

You fear your mother, who is longing for your return in anxious suspense?

## **OEDIPUS**

My very affection keeps me away.

OLD MAN

You will leave her widowed?

## **OEDIPUS**

Ah, you touch exactly on my fear.

#### SENEX

Effare mersus quis premat mentem timor; praestare tacitam regibus soleo fidem.

OEDIPUS

800 Conubia matris Delphico monitu tremo.

SENEX

Timere vana desine et turpes metus depone. Merope vera non fuerat parens.

OEDIPUS

Quod subditivi praemium nati petit?

SENEX

Regum superbam liberi astringunt fidem.

OEDIPUS

805 Secreta thalami fare quo excipias modo.

SENEX

Hae te parenti parvulum tradunt manus.

**OEDIPUS** 

Tu me parenti tradis; at quis me tibi?

SENEX

Pastor nivoso sub Cithaeronis iugo.

OEDIPUS

In illa temet nemora quis casus tulit?

SENEX

810 Illo sequebar monte cornigeros greges.

OEDIPUS

Nunc adice certas corporis nostri notas.

SENEX

Forata ferro gesseras vestigia,

#### OLD MAN

Spell out this hidden fear that burdens your mind. I am a man who keeps loyal silence for kings.

## OEDIPUS

Warned by Delphi, I dread marriage with my mother.

# OLD MAN

Put aside these monstrous and empty fears. Merope was not your true mother.

#### OEDIPUS

What did she seek to gain by smuggling in a son?

# OLD MAN

Children secure the loyalty of haughty kings.

# **OEDIPUS**

Tell me how you know the secrets of her bedchamber.

# OLD MAN

These hands passed you as a baby to your mother.

## **OEDIPUS**

You passed me to my mother: who passed me to you?

# OLD MAN

A herdsman, under the snowy ridge of Cithaeron.

## OEDIPUS

What chance took you to those woodlands?

## OLD MAN

I was herding flocks of horned animals on that mountain.

# **OEDIPUS**

Now tell me also the unmistakable marks on my body.

# OLD MAN

Your ankles had been pierced with iron, and you took your

tumore nactus nomen ac vitio pedum.

**OEDIPUS** 

Quis fuerit ille qui meum dono dedit 815 corpus requiro.

SENEX

Regios pavit greges; minor sub illo turba pastorum fuit.

**OEDIPUS** 

Eloquere nomen.

SENEX

Prima languescit senum memoria, longo lassa sublabens situ.

**OEDIPUS** 

Potesne facie noscere ac vultu virum?

SENEX

820 Fortasse noscam: saepe iam spatio obrutam levis exoletam memoriam revocat nota.

**OEDIPUS** 

Ad sacra et aras omne compulsum pecus duces sequuntur: ite, propere accersite, famuli, penes quem summa consistit gregum.

**IOCASTA** 

825 Sive ista ratio sive fortuna occulit, latere semper patere quod latuit diu: saepe eruentis veritas patuit malo.

824 quem Zwierlein: quos EA
 825–827, 829–832, 835–836 attributed to Jocasta by Weil, to Old
 Man by EA

name from the misshapen swelling of your feet.<sup>45</sup>

#### **OEDIPUS**

I need to know who handed over my body.

#### OLD MAN

He tended the royal flocks: under him was a subordinate group of herdsmen.

#### **OEDIPUS**

Tell me his name.

## OLD MAN

Old men's first weakness is their memory, tired and ebbing away in slow decay.

## **OEDIPUS**

Could you recognise the man by the features of his face?

## OLD MAN

Perhaps so: even a memory that is faint and obscured by time can be recalled by a small token.

#### **OEDIPUS**

All the flocks were driven to the rites at the altar, and their leaders are with them: go, servants, quickly summon the man who has chief control of the herds.

## **JOCASTA**

Whether chance or rational purpose has concealed these facts, let things long hidden stay hidden forever: truth when exposed often harms the one that unearths it.

45 Oedipus supposedly means "swollen-footed" ( $Oi\delta i - \pi o v_{S}$ ).

## OEDIPUS

Malum timeri maius his aliquod potest?

## IOCASTA

Magnum esse magna mole quod petitur scias. 830 concurrit illine publica, hine regis salus, utrimque paria; contine medias manus. nihil lacessas, ipsa se fata explicent.

#### OEDIPUS

Non expedit concutere felicem statum: tuto movetur quidquid extremo in loco est.

#### IOCASTA

Nobilius aliquid genere regali appetis? ne te parentis pigeat inventi vide.

## OEDIPUS

Vel paenitendi sanguinis quaeram fidem: sic nosse certum est. —Ecce grandaevus senex, arbitria sub quo regii fuerant gregis, Phorbas. refersne nomen aut vultum senis?

#### SENEX

Adridet animo forma; nec notus satis, nec rursus iste vultus ignotus mihi.

#### **OEDIPUS**

Regnum obtinente Laio famulus greges agitasti opimos sub Cithaeronis plaga?

#### PHORBAS

Laetus Cithaeron pabulo semper novo aestiva nostro prata summittit gregi.

 $^{832}$  The text printed is E's: A has ut nil accersas\*, ipsa te fata explicant  $^{838}$  sic Leo: si E: sed A  $^{843-844}$  attributed to Oedipus by Gronovius, to Old Man by EA

## **OEDIPUS**

Can we fear any greater harm than this we see?

## **JOCASTA**

A thing is great if sought with great effort, be sure of it. The people's wellbeing on one side is pitted against the king's wellbeing on the other—a well-matched pair: keep your hands clear of it. Do not provoke matters, let destiny unfold itself.

#### **OEDIPUS**

There is no advantage in shaking up a happy state of affairs, but there is safety in changing a desperate situation.

## JOCASTA

Do you aspire to something nobler than royal birth? Take care: you may be displeased with the father you discover.

#### **OEDIPUS**

I shall look for certainty, even about shameful blood ties; these are the terms on which I am resolved to know.

See here, the old man full of years who had command of the royal herds, Phorbas. [To old Corinthian] Do you recall the old man's name or face?

# OLD MAN

His appearance tallies with my mind; that face is not really familiar, yet again not unfamiliar to me.

## **OEDIPUS**

[To Phorbas] When Laius held the throne, did you drive fattening flocks in his service on the slopes of Cithaeron?

## PHORBAS

Cithaeron is always rich in fresh pasture, and produces summer grazing for our flock.

## SENEX

Noscisne memet?

# PHORBAS Dubitat anceps memoria.

# **OEDIPUS**

Huic aliquis a te traditur quondam puer? effare. dubitas? cur genas mutat color? guid verba quaeris? veritas odit moras.

#### **PHORBAS**

Obducta longo temporum tractu moves.

## **OEDIPUS**

Fatere, ne te cogat ad verum dolor.

### **PHORBAS**

Inutile isti munus infantem dedi: non potuit ille luce, non caelo frui.

# SENEX

855 Procul sit omen! vivit et vivat precor.

# **OEDIPUS**

Superesse quare traditum infantem negas?

## **PHORBAS**

Ferrum per ambos tenue transactum pedes ligabat artus; vulneri innatus tumor puerile foeda corpus urebat lue.

#### OEDIPUS

860 Quid quaeris ultra? fata iam accedunt prope. — quis fuerit infans edoce.

## OLD MAN

Do you recognise me?

## PHORBAS

My memory is hesitant and uncertain.

## **OEDIPUS**

Was a boy once handed to this man by you? Speak! You hesitate? Why do your cheeks change colour? Why are you searching for words? Truth hates delay.

# PHORBAS

You are raising matters obscured by a long stretch of time.

## **OEDIPUS**

Acknowledge it, or pain will force you to the truth.

# **PHORBAS**

I gave him a worthless gift of a baby: it could not have enjoyed heaven's light.

# OLD MAN

May the omen come to nothing! He lives, and I pray he will live.

#### **OEDIPUS**

Why do you say the baby you handed him does not survive?

## **PHORBAS**

There was a metal rod driven through both its feet, pinning its legs together; the swelling caused by the wound was inflaming the child's body with a foul infection.

## OEDIPUS

[Aside] Why search further? Now destiny comes close. [To Phorbas] Tell me fully, who was the baby?

PHORBAS
Prohibet fides.

## **OEDIPUS**

Huc aliquis ignem! flamma iam excutiet fidem.

# **PHORBAS**

Per tam cruentas vera quaerentur vias? ignosce quaeso.

# **OEDIPUS**

Si ferus videor tibi

865 et impotens, parata vindicta in manu est:
dic vera. quisnam, quove generatus patre,
qua matre genitus?

# PHORBAS Coniuge est genitus tua.

# **OEDIPUS**

Dehisce, tellus, tuque, tenebrarum potens, in Tartara ima, rector umbrarum, rape
870 retro reversas generis ac stirpis vices!
congerite, cives, saxa in infandum caput, mactate telis: me petat ferro parens, me natus, in me coniuges arment manus fratresque, et aeger populus ereptos rogis
875 iaculetur ignes. saeculi crimen vagor, odium deorum, iuris exitium sacri, qua luce primum spiritus hausi rudes iam morte dignus. redde nunc animos pares, nunc aliquid aude sceleribus dignum tuis.
880 i, perge, propero regiam gressu pete:

gratare matri liberis auctam domum!

## **PHORBAS**

My loyalty forbids.

# **OEDIPUS**

Bring fire, one of you! Flames will soon drive out loyalty.

## **PHORBAS**

Is truth to be sought by such bloody means? Forgive me, I beg you.

#### **OEDIPUS**

If you think me cruel and ruthless, you have vengeance ready to hand: tell me the truth! Who was he? Sired by what father, born of what mother?

#### PHORBAS

He was born of your wife.

# **OEDIPUS**

Split open, Earth! And you who govern the darkness, ruler of the shades, carry off to the depths of Tartarus this inversion of the roles of stock and offspring. Citizens, hurl stones at this unspeakable body, slay me with your spears. Let father and son attack me with the sword, let husbands and brothers take arms against me, let the people in their sickness seize firebrands from the pyres to hurl at me. I am at large, the iniquity of the age, abomination of the gods, violation of holy law, already deserving death on the day I drew my first childish breaths. [To himself] Now respond with matching courage, now show some daring worthy of your crimes. Go ahead, speed your steps into the palace: congratulate your mother on enhancing our house with children!

#### CHORUS

Fata si liceat mihi fingere arbitrio meo, temperem Zephyro levi 885 vela, ne pressae gravi spiritu antennae tremant. lenis et modice fluens aura nec vergens latus ducat intrepidam ratem; tuta me media vehat 890 vita decurrens via. Cnosium regem timens astra dum demens petit, artibus fisus novis. 895 certat et veras aves vincere ac falsis nimis imperat pinnis puer, nomen eripuit freto. callidus medium senex Daedalus librans iter 900 nube sub media stetit alitem expectans suum (qualis accipitris minas fugit et sparsos metu colligit fetus avis), 905 donec in ponto manus movit implicitas puer

compede audacis viae.

902 suum Ascensius: suam EA 908 compede Bücheler: comes EA, unmetrically: the line deleted by Goebel

#### CHORUS

If I were allowed to fashion fate to my own desire,
I would trim my sails to the light westerly wind, lest the sailyards shake in a heavy gale.
A gentle, moderate breeze that does not heel the side would guide my untroubled boat. Running a middle course, my life would carry me safe.

As he madly sought the stars in flight from the Cnossian king, confident in new skills. and struggled to rise above real birds, demanding too much of his false wings, a boy robbed a sea of its name.46 Balancing a middle path shrewd old Daedalus rested midway beneath the clouds awaiting his fledgling son (as a bird will escape a threatening hawk, and then regather its young ones scattered in flight), until in the sea the boy moved his hands enmeshed in the bonds of that bold journey.

<sup>46</sup> The boy was Icarus, after whom the sea was renamed Icarian; the king of Cnossus was Minos.

quidquid excessit modum 910 pendet instabili loco.

Sed quid hoc? postes sonant, maestus et famulus manu regius quassat caput. — Ede quid portes novi.

#### NUNTIUS

- 915 Praedicta postquam fata et infandum genus deprendit ac se scelere convictum Oedipus damnavit ipse, regiam infestus petens invisa propero tecta penetravit gradu, qualis per arva Libycus insanit leo,
- 920 fulvam minaci fronte concutiens iubam.
  vultus furore torvus atque oculi truces,
  gemitus et altum murmur, et gelidus volat
  sudor per artus, spumat et volvit minas
  ac mersus alte magnus exundat dolor.
- 925 secum ipse saevus grande nescioquid parat suisque fatis simile. "Quid poenas moror?" ait "hoc scelestum pectus aut ferro petat aut fervido aliquis igne vel saxo domet. quae tigris aut quae saeva visceribus meis
- 930 incurret ales? ipse tu scelerum capax, sacer Cithaeron, vel feras in me tuis emitte silvis, mitte vel rabidos canes nunc redde Agaven. anime, quid mortem times? mors innocentem sola Fortunae eripit."

922 volat A: fluit E

#### **OEDIPUS**

All that strays from the mean is poised in an unsteady place.

What is this? A sound from the doors: see, a slave from the palace pounds his head in sorrow.
Tell us the news you bring.

### ACT 5

#### MESSENGER

After Oedipus had grasped the fate foretold for him and his unspeakable parentage, and condemned himself as one convicted of crime, he headed threateningly to the palace and pressed with hurried steps into the odious rooms, as a Libyan lion rages through the countryside with a menacing glare, shaking its tawny mane. His face was wild with fury, his eyes savage, there were groans and deep mutterings, cold sweat ran over his limbs, he spilled threats from his foaming mouth, as his great pain poured from deep within him. In his mind he fiercely planned some mighty deed to match his destiny. "Why delay punishment?" he said, "Let someone assail this guilty breast with the sword, or subdue it with stones or blazing fire. What tigress or what savage bird will attack my flesh? You who encompass crimes, accursed Cithaeron, send beasts against me from your forests, send ravening hounds—now send back Agave. 47 My spirit, why fear death? Death alone can rescue the innocent from Fortune."

 $^{\rm 47}\,\rm The$  last two phrases allude to the deaths of Actaeon and Pentheus respectively.

Haec fatus aptat impiam capulo manum 935 ensemque ducit. "Itane? tam magnis breves poenas sceleribus solvis atque uno omnia pensabis ictu? moreris: hoc patri sat est; quid deinde matri, quid male in lucem editis natis, quid ipsi, quae tuum magna luit 940 scelus ruina, flebili patriae dabis? solvendo non es! illa quae leges ratas Natura in uno vertit Oedipoda, novos commenta partus, supplicîs eadem meis novetur. iterum vivere atque iterum mori 945 liceat, renasci semper ut totiens nova supplicia pendas.—utere ingenio, miser! quod saepe fieri non potest fiat diu; mors eligatur longa. quaeratur via qua nec sepultis mixtus et vivis tamen 950 exemptus erres: morere, sed citra patrem. cunctaris, anime? subitus en vultus gravat profusus imber ac rigat fletu genaset flere satis est? hactenus fundent levem oculi liquorem: sedibus pulsi suis 955 lacrimas sequantur. hi maritales statim

> Dixit atque ira furit: ardent minaces igne truculento genae oculique vix se sedibus retinent suis; violentus audax vultus, iratus ferox iamiam eruentis. gemuit et dirum fremens

 $^{942}$  solvendo non es Grotius: solvenda non est EA  $^{961}$  iamiam Sluiter: tantum EA

960

fodiantur oculi!"

#### **OEDIPUS**

With these words he fitted his impious hand round the hilt of his sword and drew it. "Is this the way? You pay for such great crimes with so brief a penalty, compensate for them all with a single blow? You die: this is enough for your father. What then will you offer your mother, or your children, so wrongly brought into the light? What will you offer her who pays for your crimes with utter ruin-your pitiful fatherland? You are bankrupt! Nature, who alters her fixed laws in regard to Oedipus alone, by inventing unheard-of procreation, must change yet again to provide my punishment. You must be allowed to live once more and die once more, to be reborn repeatedly so you can pay a new penalty each time. Wretched man, use your cleverness! What cannot happen often must happen slowly; pick out a lingering death. Search for a way to wander without mixing with the dead, and yet removed from the living. Die, but stop short of your father. Do you hesitate, my spirit? See, a sudden flurry of tears burdens my face and wets my cheeks with weeping. And is it enough to weep? No longer shall my eyes pour out this paltry moisture: they must be driven from their seats and follow their tears. 48 Let them be dug out straightway, these eyes of a married man!"

So he spoke, raging with anger. His eyes blazed threateningly with a ravening fire, and their orbs scarcely held fast in their seats. Full of audacious violence was his gaze, of ferocious anger, as he prepared to root it out. He

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Dryden and Lee (n. above on 558) elaborate: "Yet these [viz. tears] thou think'st are ample satisfaction / For bloodiest Murder, and for burning Lust: / No, Parricide; if thou must weep, weep blood; / Weep Eyes, instead of Tears."

manus in ora torsit: at contra truces oculi steterunt et suam intenti manum ultro insequentur, vulneri occurrunt suo. 965 scrutatur avidus manibus uncis lumina. radice ab ima funditus vulsos simul evolvit orbes: haeret in vacuo manus et fixa penitus unguibus lacerat cavos alte recessus luminum et inanes sinus, 970 saevitque frustra plusque quam satis est furit: tantum est periclum lucis. attollit caput cavisque lustrans orbibus caeli plagas noctem experitur, quidquid effossis male dependet oculis rumpit, et victor deos conclamat omnes: "Parcite en patriae, precor: 975 iam iusta feci, debitas poenas tuli; inventa thalamis digna nox tandem meis." rigat ora foedus imber, et lacerum caput largum revulsis sanguinem venis vomit.

#### CHORUS

980 Fatis agimur: cedite fatis.
non sollicitae possunt curae
mutare rati stamina fusi.
quidquid patimur mortale genus,
quidquid facimus venit ex alto,
985 servatque suae decreta colus
Lachesis dura revoluta manu.
omnia secto tramite vadunt,
primusque dies dedit extremum.
non illa deo vertisse licet,
990 quae nexa suis currunt causis.
it cuique ratus

#### **OEDIPUS**

groaned, and with a terrible cry he bent his hands towards his face. For their part his eyes stood out wildly, and intently tracked the hands they knew, meeting their wounds halfway. With hooked hands he greedily probed his eyes, and from their base, from their very roots he wrenched the eveballs and let them roll out together. His hands staved embedded in the cavities, their nails tearing deeply into the hollow recesses of his eyes, those empty sockets, with fruitless aggression and excessive rage: so great was the threat of the light. He raised his head, and scanning the sky's expanse with hollow orbs he tested the darkness. He broke off the shreds hanging down where the eyes had been incompletely dug out, and in triumph called on all the gods: "Look, spare my fatherland, I pray you: I have done justice, have taken the penalty owed. At last I have found a night suited to my marriage chamber." A hideous flurry of drops wetted his face, and his mutilated head spewed copious blood from the torn veins.

#### CHOBUS

We are driven by fate, and must yield to fate. No anxious fretting can alter the threads from that commanding spindle. All that we mortal beings endure, all that we do, comes from on high; Lachesis secures the decrees of her distaff, things that are spun by her harsh hands. Everything travels on a path cut for it, and the first day decides the last. Not even a god can change events which run in a woven series of causes. Each person's commanding thread of life

prece non ulla mobilis ordo. multis ipsum metuisse nocet, multi ad fatum venere suum dum fata timent.

995

1000

1010

Sonuere fores, atque ipse suum duce non ullo molitur iter luminis orbus.

#### **OEDIPUS**

Bene habet, peractum est: iusta persolvi patri. iuvant tenebrae. quis deus tandem mihi placatus atra nube perfundit caput? quis scelera donat? conscium evasi diem. nil, parricida, dexterae debes tuae: lux te refugit. vultus Oedipodam hic decet.

#### **CHORUS**

En ecce, rapido saeva prosiluit gradu
1005 Iocasta vecors, qualis attonita et furens
Cadmea mater abstulit nato caput
sensitve raptum. dubitat afflictum alloqui,
cupit pavetque. iam malis cessit pudor,
sed haeret ore prima vox.

#### TOCASTA

Quid te vocem?

natumne? dubitas? natus es: natum pudet. invite loquere nate. quo avertis caput vacuosque vultus?

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 49}\, Iusta$  also connotes "just dues," viz. for Oedipus' offences against him.

#### **OEDIPUS**

continues unchanged by any prayer. Many are hurt by fear itself, many have come upon their fate through fear of fate.

A sound from the doors: he makes his own way with none to guide him, laboriously, bereft of the light.

#### **OEDIPUS**

Good, the task is done: I have paid my father his last rites.<sup>49</sup> I cherish my darkness. What god, kindly disposed to me at last, has poured a cloud of blackness over my head? Who pardons my crimes? I have escaped the witness of the daylight. Parricide, you owe nothing to your right hand: the light itself fled from you. Such vision as this is right for Oedipus.

#### CHORUS LEADER

Look, Jocasta rushes out with urgent steps in violent turmoil, like the frenzied Cadmean mother when she tore away her son's head, or when she recognised her theft.<sup>50</sup> She hesitates to speak to the ruined man, desires yet fears to do so. Now her distress overcomes her shame, but still the first words stick in her mouth.

#### **JOCASTA**

What shall I call you? Son? You object? You are my son: it is my son that feels shame. <sup>51</sup> Speak, my reluctant son! Why turn away your head and empty eyes?

 $^{50}\,\mathrm{Again}$  a reference to Agave, who recognised her son's head when she emerged from her delirium.

<sup>51</sup> I.e. you would not feel shame if you were not my son; your shame proves the relationship (so Gronovius).

#### OEDIPUS

Quis frui et tenebris vetat? quis reddit oculos? matris, en matris sonus! perdidimus operam. congredi fas amplius haud est nefandos. dividat vastum mare dirimatque tellus abdita, et quisquis sub hoc in alia versus sidera ac solem avium dependet orbis alterum ex nobis ferat.

#### IOCASTA

Fati ista culpa est: nemo fit fato nocens.

#### **OEDIPUS**

1020 Iam parce verbis, mater, et parce auribus: per has reliquias corporis trunci precor, per inauspicatum sanguinis pignus mei, per omne nostri nominis fas ac nefas.

#### IOCASTA

Quid, anime, torpes? socia cur scelerum dare
poenas recusas? omne confusum perît,
incesta, per te iuris humani decus:
morere et nefastum spiritum ferro exige.
non si ipse mundum concitans divum sator
corusca saeva tela iaculetur manu,
umquam rependam sceleribus poenas pares
mater nefanda. mors placet: mortis via
quaeratur.

Agedum, commoda matri manum, si parricida es: restat hoc operi ultimum.
—rapiatur ensis. hoc iacet ferro meus

1012 et CSP: omitted by ET

#### **OEDIPUS**

#### **OEDIPUS**

Who prevents me from enjoying even the darkness? Who gives me eyes again? It is my mother's voice, my mother's. I have wasted my efforts. It is not right for us to come together any more in such corruption. The vast sea should separate us, a remote land sunder us, and that strange world that lies opposite this one, facing other stars and a distant sun, should bear one of us two.

#### JOCASTA

This fault is fate's; no one becomes guilty by fate.

#### **OEDIPUS**

Spare your words now, mother, spare my ears: I beg you by what remains of my mutilated body, by the inauspicious bond of my blood,<sup>52</sup> by all that is holy and unholy in our names.

#### **JOCASTA**

Why so sluggish, my spirit? Why refuse to pay the penalty as accomplice of his crimes? Every decency of human law has been confounded and destroyed by your incest. Die, drive out your accursed life with the sword. Even if he who spurs the heavens, the sire of the gods, should hurl his glittering bolts without mercy, I could never pay a penalty to match my crimes as an unspeakable mother. Death is my resolve: the way of death must be found.

[To Oedipus] Come now, lend your hand's service to your mother, if you are a parricide: this task remains to complete your work. [To herself] Let me seize his sword. It

<sup>52</sup> This phrase could refer to his blood ties with his mother and/or to their children; the ambivalence matches the confounding of relationships in this family. The "names" of the next line are those of mother and son, wife and husband.

1035 coniunx—quid illum nomine haud vero vocas? socer est. utrumne pectori infigam meo telum an patenti conditum iugulo imprimam? eligere nescis vulnus: hunc, dextra, hunc pete uterum capacem, qui virum et natos tulit.

#### CHORUS

1040 Iacet perempta. vulneri immoritur manus ferrumque secum nimius eiecit cruor.

#### **OEDIPUS**

Fatidice te, te praesidem veri deum compello: solum debui fatis patrem; bis parricida plusque quam timui nocens matrem peremi: scelere confecta est meo. o Phoebe mendax, fata superavi impia.

Pavitante gressu sequere fallentes vias; suspensa plantis efferens vestigia caecam tremente dextera noctem rege. —ingredere praeceps, lubricos ponens gradus, i profuge vade—siste, ne in matrem incidas.

Quicumque fessi pectore et morbo graves semianima trahitis corpora, en fugio, exeo: relevate colla, mitior caeli status

1055 post terga sequitur. quisquis exilem iacens animam retentat, vividos haustus levis concipiat. ite, ferte depositis opem: mortifera mecum vitia terrarum extraho.

Violenta Fata et horridus Morbi tremor.

1060 Maciesque et atra Pestis et rabidus Dolor, mecum ite, mecum. ducibus his uti libet.

1052 pectore Fitch: corpore EA

1053 corpora A: pectora E

1045

#### **OEDIPUS**

was this blade that killed my husband. Why call him by an untruthful name? He was my father-in-law. Shall I fasten the weapon in my breast, or drive it deep into my bare throat? You have no skill in choosing a wound! Strike this, my hand, this capacious womb, which bore husband and children.

#### CHORUS LEADER

She lies slain. Her hand dies as it wounds, and the gushing blood forces the sword out with it.

#### **OEDIPUS**

Fate-speaking god, guardian of truth, I reproach you. The only life I owed fate was my father's. I am twice a parricide, more guilty than I feared, in having killed my mother: she was destroyed by my crime. Phoebus, you lied! I have surpassed my sacrilegious fate.

[To himself] With shaking steps follow deceptive paths. As you drag yourself away with each hesitant footfall, guide your blind night with trembling hands. No, advance headlong, your steps slipping, go, flee into exile—but stop, lest you fall upon your mother.

All you who are weak at heart and heavy with sickness, dragging frames only half alive, see, I am leaving for exile: lift up your heads, a kindlier condition of the skies will come in behind me. You who feebly retain the breath of life on your sickbeds may freely take in life-giving draughts of air. Go, bring help to those abandoned to die: I am drawing with me the deadly maladies of the land. Savage Fates, the shuddering tremor of Disease, Wasting and black Plague and ravening Pain, come with me, come with me: I rejoice to have such guides as these.



### INTRODUCTION

### Background

In the terrible vendetta between the brothers Atreus and Thyestes over the throne of Argos, Atreus had murdered Thyestes' sons and feasted their unwitting father on their flesh. Thereafter Thyestes was directed by Phoebus to lie with his own daughter Pelopia; the child of this incestuous union, Aegisthus, was fated to take revenge on Atreus' son Agamemnon. During Agamemnon's absence as leader of the Greek expedition to Troy, Aegisthus has become the lover of Agamemnon's wife, Clytemnestra, who has her own reasons for desiring the death of her husband. The Trojan war is now ended, and Agamemnon's arrival home is imminent.

### Summary

### Act 1

The ghost of Thyestes appears in Argos and foresees the death of Agamemnon.

Ode 1. Royal power is vulnerable to Fortune, whether through the moral corruption fomented by power, or through the inherent instability of all great things.

#### Act 2

Clytemnestra steels herself for action by dwelling on her

grievances against Agamemnon—his sacrifice of their daughter Iphigenia, his infidelities, and the danger represented by his Trojan mistress Cassandra. When Aegisthus appears, Clytemnestra feels revulsion for her guilty path and longs to recover innocence; finally, however, she resigns herself to colluding with Aegisthus.

Ode 2. The women of Argos sing a thanksgiving ode to Phoebus, Juno, Pallas, Phoebe, and Jupiter for Agamemnon's victory.

#### Act 3

The herald Eurybates reports Agamemnon's imminent arrival, but also the destruction of much of the Greek fleet by a sea storm during the voyage home from Troy.

Ode 3. A secondary chorus of Trojan women reflects on the human instinct to cling to life even amidst disaster. The women recollect the episode of the Wooden Horse which led to Troy's fall.

### Act 4

The Trojan seer Cassandra also mourns for Troy, but then has a vision of coming events as retribution. Agamemnon arrives, and cannot understand Cassandra's comparison of Argos to Troy.

Ode 4. The triumphs of another son of Argos, Hercules.

### Act 5

By clairvoyance Cassandra watches the murder of Agamemnon happening in the palace. His children, Electra and Orestes, leave the palace, and Electra entrusts her brother to a faithful friend, Strophius. Defying Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, Electra is led away to prison, while

Cassandra is taken to execution, rejoicing that Troy's fall has been recompensed.

#### Comment

Like a series of waves breaking on shore, a sequence of falls from success to disaster moves through this play. First we hear from the herald how the Greek fleet, sailing triumphantly from Troy, was devastated by a sea storm at night. The fact that the Argive chorus has just confidently invoked the gods' favour (Ode 2) heightens the contrast between joy and sorrow. The second instance comes in the Trojan chorus' recollection of the thanksgiving in Troy over the apparent departure of the Greeks, followed that very night by the sack of the city. The third instance follows Agamemnon's triumphal arrival home and the celebratory fourth ode, when the banquet in the king's honour turns into a bloodbath.

The play's tragic pattern, then, is multiple: it involves not only Agamemnon but many people, and not only Greeks but also Trojans. And perspectives on it are multiple: the first tragedy is seen though the memories of a Greek participant, the second through the memories of Trojan participants, the third through the vision of an outsider, Cassandra.

<sup>1</sup> The secondary chorus of Trojan women arrives together with Cassandra (586–588). Secondary choruses are not uncommon in ancient tragedy; the technique of using such a chorus in association with a single character (often a young woman) is found in Euripides. Seneca's use of that technique here to develop a viewpoint quite different from that of the main chorus is taken up by the authors of both *HO* and *Oct*.

The play is characterised, in fact, by multiple vision. So we view the palace of Argos first through the dark and alien vision of a figure from the underworld, who can see both the guilty feasts of the past (11) and the future feast that will end in death (44–47).<sup>2</sup> And later we look at events through the clairvoyant vision of Cassandra, who can see into the underworld and invite the Trojan dead to watch (758), so that the killing of Agamemnon becomes a spectacle (875) akin to a gladiatorial fight (901). She sees a double image of Argos, as itself but also as Troy (728–729), just as Agamemnon is also Priam (794, cf. 879–880)—images that convey both a similarity in the fall of greatness, and a sense of recompense as the vanquishers are vanquished in turn.

The play's multiple viewpoints offer multiple ways of understanding events. For Thyestes, the coming murder represents revenge on Atreus' descendant; for Clytemnestra, revenge on Agamemnon himself; for Aegisthus, the crisis of his life, a desperate throw of the dice; for Cassandra, a recompense for Troy's doom, which at the same time seals her own fate. None of these ways of understanding appears authoritative, in the sense of excluding others. This situation corresponds to the fact that none of the dramatis personae is central or dominant in the play—least of all Agamemnon himself, who is onstage for only 26 lines.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ghosts are by no means uncommon in ancient tragedy. However, "dramatists of the Renaissance generally knew the ghost-prologue only in Senecan form, and so took the prologues of Agamemnon and Thyestes as models for scores of later plays" (Tarrant's edition p. 158).

Authority is decentered both in the events of the play and in ways of understanding them.

The first choral ode offers a more general way of understanding the fall of greatness—or rather, characteristically, two ways: Fortune's destructive blows may be due to moral causes or to natural causes (viz. the fact that everything great offers a target to destructive natural forces). This analysis gives the play special cogency for a Roman audience, since each of these two causes of decay-moral degeneration or the vulnerability of greatness-was frequently applied to Rome herself by historians and other writers. The second explanation, especially since it mentions winds as instances of destructive forces (90-93), seems borne out in Act 3 by the devastation of the thousand-strong armada, a devastation attributed here not to divine anger (with the exception of Ajax), but to the power of wind and wave. The first cause, particularly as specified in 79-81 ("Right and shame / and the hallowed loyalties of marriage / abandon palaces") is exemplified in Act 2. Here we find Seneca's characteristic subtlety in depiction of moral and psychological factors, which is worth close examination.

Initially Clytemnestra describes herself as torn between a hopeless desire to revert to the role of chaste wife, and a wish to commit herself fully to the path of violence (108–124). She lists the emotional forces impelling her on the latter path: angry resentment (dolor), fear (of retribution), jealousy (of the mistresses), and sexual passion (for Aegisthus); again pudor or the impulse to chastity is fighting hopelessly on the other side (133–138). Next the queen tries to justify her murderous plans by listing her grievances against Agamemnon, including his sacrifice of their

daughter Iphigenia and his subsequent infidelities up to the present.<sup>3</sup> In this account it would be a distortion to identify any one event, or any one emotion, as primary.

When Aegisthus enters and urges Clytemnestra to remain true to their conspiracy, the queen suddenly reverts to the first impulse she mentioned earlier: desire for a chaste marital relationship with Agamemnon (239-243). The abruptness of this change of heart allows for various readings, but comparison with Seneca's character portrayal in other plays suggests lines of interpretation. As Phaedra, after a debate on similar issues (pudor vs guilt), yields to her Nurse's opposition (Pha 250-254), so Clytemnestra has been swayed by her Nurse and especially by her most recent and forceful speech (203-225). Why, then, does Seneca set the change after Aegisthus' arrival? Here the instances of Megara and Andromache are instructive: the behaviour of each changes drastically in reaction to the arrival of a new figure (respectively Lycus at Herc 332 and Ulysses at Tro 524). So Clytemnestra's doubts about her guilty path, strengthened by the Nurse, have burgeoned in reaction to the arrival of her lover, whose presence rekindles the guilt of her infidelity (266) and her shame over his unworthiness (291-301).

This portrait of Clytemnestra is much more complex than any other portrait of her known to us from antiquity,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> During this speech it becomes increasingly clear that Clytemnestra's view is distorted by prejudice. The idea that Cassandra will become the children's stepmother—or indeed that the queen's concern is for her children rather than herself (195–199)—is as unreal as her notion of killing Agamemnon and herself with one blow in a murder-suicide (199–202).

and characteristic of Seneca's interest in the working of the passions. It is indicative of the decentered nature of this play that the moral-psychological viewpoint is not developed further (except arguably in the final scene), as other perspectives supervene. Even in Act 2 the moral viewpoint is not absolute: Aegisthus provides a different perspective on Clytemnestra's moral calculus by contending that it is irrelevant to the realities of power. He insists that she cannot hope for a reconciliation with her husband based on mutual forgiveness, nor for fair treatment from him, nor for loyalty from her servants, because such things do not exist in palaces; for Aegisthus power engenders other rules, another way of understanding.

The issue of Aegisthus' birth offers yet another perspective, an historical one. He was conceived (as the ghost of his father recalls in Act 1, and Aegisthus himself in Act 2) specifically in order to take revenge on Atreus' descendant: this is the meaning of his life. Events are understood, then, not only through moral issues and issues of power, but also in the light of historical issues that were not resolved in the past and now return to shape the present.

From the moment of the Trojan womens' arrival, the return of history is seen in a different and increasingly strong perspective. Troy's fall returns vividly in their memory in Ode 3, and in turn is seen in the light of more ancient sorrows (670–690). Thereafter Troy's history returns in something more than memory, as Cassandra finds herself cast once again as prophet, seeing Argos as a second Troy and the coming death as both repetition of and recompense for Troy's sufferings. Agamemnon, who in *Trojan Women* sees clearly that the fall of greatness could affect Greeks as much as Trojans, is here blind to Cassandra's

parallels with Troy (791–795)—so blind that he dresses for a feast in Priam's gorgeous robes.

Does past move into future in the play's penultimate scene, in which Electra entrusts Orestes for safekeeping to the faithful Strophius? This scene has long been a puzzle, exacerbated by Seneca's tendency to extreme abbreviation of plot action. The scene points forward to Orestes' eventual return, presaged by the emblems of victory in which Strophius dresses him. But nothing in the play suggests a moral or social order, or a divine plan, such as would give grounds for understanding Orestes' return as a new beginning. All that can be said with confidence is that Strophius' fides or loyalty contrasts with the lack of fides endemic in the palace at Argos.

We are on surer ground in the play's final scene, which features the "defiance of tyrants" (here the new tyrants, Clytemnestra and Aegisthus) so familiar in ancient tragedy. The defiant young women, Electra and Cassandra, both rely on an understanding that under some circumstances death is preferable to life. That perception has occurred in various forms throughout the play. At the very beginning Thyestes, who knows both worlds, prefers that of the dead to that of the living. Even Aegisthus understands death's attraction (233, 996). For the chorus of Trojan women, death represents freedom: potential freedom from their own servitude, perhaps, but more generally

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The difficulty of judging the scene is illustrated by Shelton's remark (1983, p. 183 n. 61): "Electra may be seen as an exemplum of sisterly love, or as a daughter burning to avenge her father." The last line of the play associates the punishment of the murderers with madness (furor) not justice.

freedom from the storms of life, both literal and metaphorical (589–603). Cassandra too sees death as freedom and safety (796–797). It is the one understanding widely shared in the play. Indeed it is shared in other plays also, notably in *Trojan Women* (see vol. 1 pages 23 and 167–168). From one viewpoint it seems a tragic understanding, perhaps the darkest of all *Agamemnon's* dark visions. Yet Seneca as philosopher held and taught it as a source of strength, in an era when death could come at any time to slave or senator.

### Sources<sup>5</sup>

Aeschylus' celebrated *Agamemnon* is no more than a distant ancestor of the Senecan play. Seneca's Acts 1 and 2, and scenes 2 and 3 of Act 5, have no precedent in Aeschylus' drama, and the same is true of the content of Seneca's choral odes (with the partial exception of Ode 2). Only the use of Cassandra to describe Agamemnon's murder in the palace by second sight is reminiscent of Aeschylus, and even here the similarity is general rather than specific.

Seneca's narration of the Greek fleet's destruction, unlike Aeschylus', contains three distinct episodes: (1) an intense storm, (2) the death of Ajax, (3) Nauplius' treachery. The first known accounts to contain all three episodes come from the Hellenistic period. It is noteworthy that Seneca keeps (1) and (2) separate, whereas some accounts conflate them into a single event (e.g. Verg. Aen. 1.39–45). Several details found in (1), such as the dolphins' appear-

 $<sup>^5\,\</sup>mathrm{A}$  detailed analysis is given in Tarrant's edition of the play, pp. 8–23.

ance and the conflict of opposing winds, existed before Seneca, since they appear in Pacuvius' *Teucer*, a popular Roman play of the second century B.C.

A confrontation between Electra and her mother after the murder, not in Aeschylus, is attested for two republican Roman plays, Livius Andronicus' *Aegisthus* and Accius' *Clytemestra*; in Livius Electra also took sanctuary, as she does in Seneca. We need not assume, however, that Seneca drew his scene solely or chiefly from these plays. As elsewhere we should picture him drawing freely and eclectically on a rich literary tradition, dramatic and nondramatic

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### DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Ghost of THYESTES, brother of Atreus and uncle of Agamemnon

CLYTEMNESTRA, queen of Argos, wife of Agamemnon

NURSE of Clytemnestra

AEGISTHUS, son of Thyestes, lover of Clytemnestra

EURYBATES, herald of Agamemnon

CASSANDRA, daughter of Priam and Hecuba, prophet, slave-mistress of Agamemnon

AGAMEMNON, son of Atreus, king of Argos, leader of the Greek expedition against Troy

ELECTRA, daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra

ORESTES (persona muta), brother of Electra

STROPHIUS of Phocis, friend of Agamemnon

PYLADES (persona muta), son of Strophius

CHORUS of Argive women

Secondary CHORUS of captive Trojan women, accompanying Cassandra

### Scene

The play takes place at the royal palace in the city of Argos (which is also called Mycenae). The action begins shortly before dawn.

#### THYESTIS UMBRA

Opaca linquens Ditis inferni loca adsum profundo Tartari emissus specu, incertus utras oderim sedes magis: fugio Thyestes inferos, superos fugo. en horret animus et pavor membra excutit: video paternos, immo fraternos lares. hoc est vetustum Pelopiae limen domus; hinc auspicari regium capiti decus mos est Pelasgis, hoc sedent alti toro quibus superba sceptra gestantur manu, locus hic habendae curiae—hic epulis locus.

Libet reverti. nonne vel tristes lacus accolere satius, nonne custodem Stygis trigemina nigris colla iactantem iubis, ubi ille celeri corpus evinctus rotae in se refertur, ubi per adversum irritus redeunte totiens luditur saxo labor, ubi tondet ales avida fecundum iecur, et inter undas fervida exustus siti

13 accolere Bothe: incolere EA

10

### ACT 1

#### **GHOST OF THYESTES**

I leave the dark world of infernal Dis and come released from Tartarus' deep cavern, uncertain which abode I hate more: I Thyestes shun those below, and am shunned by those above. Ah, my spirit shudders, my limbs tremble: I see my father's—no, my brother's dwelling. This is the ancient threshold of the House of Pelops; here it is the custom for Pelasgians to inaugurate the glory of a royal crown; high on this throne sit those whose proud hand wields the sceptre; this is the place for Senate meetings—this is the place for feasts.<sup>1</sup>

I want to go back. Is it not better to dwell even near those dismal lakes, near the guardian of Styx<sup>2</sup> tossing his triple necks with their black manes? Where the one whose body is bound to a swift wheel circles back on himself;<sup>3</sup> where uphill toil is vain and mocked as the stone repeatedly descends; where the greedy bird crops the ever growing liver; and one parched mid-river with burning

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The sight of the dining hall recalls that Thyestes was feasted there on the flesh of his own sons by his brother Atreus.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Cerberus.  $^3$  Ixion; the following references are to Sisyphus, Tityos, and Tantalus respectively.

aquas fugaces ore decepto appetit 20 poenas daturus caelitum dapibus graves?

Sed ille nostrae pars quota est culpae senex! reputemus omnes quos ob infandas manus quaesitor urna Cnosius versat reos: vincam Thyestes sceleribus cunctos meis. a fratre vincar, liberis plenus tribus in me sepultis? viscera exedi mea.

Nec hactenus Fortuna maculavit patrem, sed maius aliud ausa commisso scelus natae nefandos petere concubitus iubet. non pavidus hausi dicta, sed cepi nefas. ergo ut per omnes liberos irem parens, coacta fatis nata fert uterum gravem me patre dignum. versa natura est retro: avo parentem (pro nefas!), patri virum, natis nepotes miscui-nocti diem.

Sed sera tandem respicit fessos malis post fata demum sortis incertae fides. rex ille regum, ductor Agamemnon ducum, cuius secutae mille vexillum rates 40 Iliaca velis maria texerunt suis. post decima Phoebi lustra devicto Ilio adest—daturus coniugi iugulum suae. iam iam natabit sanguine alterno domus. 45 enses secures tela, divisum gravi ictu bipennis regium video caput;

iam scelera prope sunt, iam dolus caedes cruor: parantur epulae! causa natalis tui,

25

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Minos, judge of the dead. <sup>5</sup> The Delphic Oracle directed him to father an avenger (Aegisthus) on his own daughter

thirst seeks the fleeting water with his often cheated lips, doomed to pay dearly for his feast with the gods.

But that old man is as nothing to my guilt! Let us reckon up all those felons sentenced by the Cnossian judge<sup>4</sup> for unspeakable deeds: I Thyestes shall outdo them all by my crimes. Could I be outdone by my brother, when filled with three children buried within me? I have devoured my own flesh and blood!

But Fortune did not stop there in defiling the father: she ventured on another crime greater than that already committed, and bade me seek wicked intercourse with my daughter.<sup>5</sup> I did not take fright at marking her words, but undertook the outrage. And so, in order that I should go as parent through all my children, my daughter bore under fate's duress a heavy womb worthy of me as father. Nature has been inverted: I have confused parent with grandparent (oh outrage!), husband with father, grandchildren with children—day with night.

But at last, though late and after my death, the oracle's uncertain promise is finally paying heed to those wearied by disasters. That famous king of kings, leader of leaders, Agamemnon, behind whose banner a thousand ships hid the seas of Ilium with their sails, has conquered Ilium after ten cycles of Phoebus, and is here—doomed to offer his throat to his own wife. Soon now the house will swim in blood answering blood. I see swords, axes, spears, I see a king's head split by the heavy blow of a double-bladed axe. Now crimes are near, now treachery, slaughter, gore: a feast is being prepared! The reason for your birth has

Pelopia. The promise of revenge is uncertain (38) because unfulfilled, and because oracles equivocate.

Aegisthe, venit. quid pudor vultus gravat?

quid dextra dubio trepida consilio labat?
quid ipse temet consulis torques rogas,
an deceat hoc te? respice ad matrem: decet.

Sed cur repente noctis aestivae vices hiberna longa spatia producunt mora, aut quid cadentes detinet stellas polo? Phoebum moramur. redde iam mundo diem.

#### CHORUS

O regnorum magnis fallax Fortuna bonis, in praecipiti dubioque locas excelsa nimis. numquam placidam sceptra quietem certumve sui tenuere diem: alia ex aliis cura fatigat vexatque animos nova tempestas. non sic Libycis Syrtibus aequor furit alternos volvere fluctus. non Euxini turget ab imis commota vadis unda nivali vicina polo, ubi caeruleis immunis aquis lucida versat plaustra Bootes, ut praecipites regum casus Fortuna rotat.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> These images are paradoxically applied to virtue's vicissitudes in Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*: "Not so the Sea raves on the Libyan sands, / Tumbling her billows in each other's neck; / Not so the surges of the euxine Sea / (Near to the frosty Pole, where free

come, Aegisthus. Why is your face heavy with shame? Why does your hand tremble and falter, unsure of its purpose? Why do you consult yourself, torment yourself, ask yourself whether this befits you? Look to your mother: it befits you.

But why is the course of a summer's night suddenly prolonged to the lengthy span of winter? What detains the setting stars in the heavens? I am delaying Phoebus. Now restore daylight to the world.

#### **CHORUS**

O Fortune, beguiler by means of the great blessings of thrones, you set the exalted in a sheer, unstable place. Never do sceptres attain calm peace or a day that is certain of itself. They are wearied by care upon care, their spirits tossed by some new storm. Not so does the sea in the Libyan Syrtes roll in rage wave upon wave; not so in the Euxine do the waters swell from the lowest depths —those waters close to the snowy pole where Bootes turns his shining Wain, never touching the azure waves as Fortune whirls the fates of kings in headlong movement.6

Bootes / From those dark-deep waves turns his radiant Team) / Swell being enrag'd, even from their inmost drop, / As Fortune swings about the restless state / Of virtue, now thrown into all men's hate."

metui cupiunt metuique timent; non nox illis alma recessus praebet tutos, non curarum somnus domitor pectora solvit.

Quas non arces scelus alternum

dedit in praeceps? impia quas non arma fatigant? iura pudorque et coniugii sacrata fides fugiunt aulas; sequitur tristis sanguinolenta Bellona manu quaeque superbos urit Erinys, nimias semper comitata domos,

quas in planum quaelibet hora tulit ex alto.

sidunt ipso pondere magna ceditque oneri fortuna suo. vela secundis inflata Notis ventos nimium timuere suos: nubibus ipsis inserta caput turris pluvio vapulat Austro, densasque nemus spargens umbras annosa videt robora frangi; feriunt celsos fulmina colles.

Licet arma vacent cessentque doli,

corpora morbis maiora patent, et cum in pastus armenta vagos vilia currant, placet in vulnus maxima cervix.

quidquid in altum Fortuna tulit,

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95

They desire to be feared and dread to be feared; no safe respite is afforded them by gracious night, no ease comes to their hearts from sleep, tamer of cares.

What citadels have answering crimes not plunged in ruin, or kindred wars not weakened? Right and shame and the hallowed loyalties of marriage abandon palaces; in place of these comes grim Bellona with bloodstained hand and the Erinys that dogs the proud, always attending immoderate homes—homes that any hour can bring from on high to the ground.

Though weapons sleep and treacheries cease, greatness sinks by its very weight, good fortune is a burden that crushes itself. Sails that are filled with favouring southerlies fear the winds that are all too helpful; with its head thrust up to the very clouds a tower is thrashed by rainy Auster, and a grove that casts a heavy shade sees its ancient tree trunks shattered; the lofty hills are struck by lightning, larger physiques are prone to disease, and while the common cattle run out to roam and graze, the loftiest neck is chosen for the axe. Whatever Fortune raises on high,

ruitura levat.

105

Modicis rebus longius aevum est. felix mediae quisquis turbae sorte quietus aura stringit litora tuta timidusque mari credere cumbam remo terras propiore legit.

remo terras propiore iegit.

### CLYTEMESTRA

Quid, segnis anime, tuta consilia expetis? quid fluctuaris? clausa iam melior via est.

- 110 licuit pudicos coniugis quondam toros et sceptra casta vidua tutari fide; periere mores ius decus pietas fides et qui redire cum perît nescit pudor. da frena et omnem prona nequitiam incita:
- 115 per scelera semper sceleribus tutum est iter. tecum ipsa nunc evolve femineos dolos, quod ulla coniunx perfida atque impos sui amore caeco, quod novercales manus ausae, quod ardens impia virgo face
- 120 Phasiaca fugiens regna Thessalica trabe:
  ferrum, venena ... vel Mycenaeas domos
  coniuncta socio profuge furtiva rate.
  —quid timida loqueris furta et exilium et fugas?
  soror ista fecit: te decet maius nefas.

#### NUTRIX

125 Regina Danaum et inclitum Ledae genus, quid tacita versas quidve consilii impotens

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cf. "Black deed only through black deed safely flies" (Marston, *The Malcontent* 5.2). <sup>8</sup> Medea. <sup>9</sup> Helen.

she lifts to cast down.

Modest estate is longer-lived. Lucky the man content with the lot of average folk, who hugs the shore where the breeze is safe, fears to trust his boat to the sea, and rows a course close in to land.

#### ACT 2

#### CLYTEMNESTRA

Oh sluggish spirit! Why look for safe strategies? Why vacillate? The better path is already closed. Once you had the option of safeguarding your husband's bed and his empty throne through chastity and loyalty. But integrity, right, honour, loyalty, faith are lost, and shame, which once lost cannot return. So loosen the reins, crouch forward, spur on each form of wickedness. For crimes the safest path is always through crimes. Unfurl now in your mind the tricks of womankind, all that any faithless wife, crazed with blind passion, all that stepmothers' hands have dared commit, or the girl blazing with disloyal lust<sup>8</sup> as she fled her Phasian kingdom on a Thessalian ship: the steel, poison . . . Or else take stealthy flight from Mycenae by boat with your partner. But why talk nervously of stealth and exile and escape? Your sister<sup>9</sup> did such things; you are suited to some greater outrage.

#### NUBSE

Queen of the Danaans, glorious child of Leda: why ponder in silence, and keep fierce impulses unchecked in your

tumido feroces impetus animo geris? licet ipsa sileas, totus in vultu est dolor. proin quidquid est, da tempus ac spatium tibi: quod ratio non quit, saepe sanavit mora.

#### CLYTEMESTRA

Maiora cruciant quam ut moras possim pati. flammae medullas et cor exurunt meum; mixtus dolori subdidit stimulos timor; invidia pulsat pectus, hinc animum iugo premit cupido turpis et vinci vetat; et inter istas mentis obsessae faces fessus quidem et devictus et pessumdatus pudor rebellat. fluctibus variis agor, ut, cum hinc profundum ventus, hinc aestus rapit, incerta dubitat unda cui cedat malo. proinde omisi regimen e manibus meis: quocumque me ira, quo dolor, quo spes feret, hoc ire pergam; fluctibus dedimus ratem. ubi animus errat, optimum est casum sequi.

#### NUTRIX

145 Caeca est temeritas quae petit casum ducem.

#### CLYTEMESTRA

Cui ultima est fortuna, quid dubiam timet?

#### NUTRIX

Tuta est latetque culpa, si pateris, tua.

## CLYTEMESTRA

Perlucet omne regiae vitium domus.

#### NUTRIX

Piget prioris et novum crimen struis?

130

135

fevered mind? Despite your silence, all your pain is in your face. So whatever it is, give yourself time and space: delay often cures what reason cannot.

#### CLYTEMNESTRA

My torments are too great for me to endure delays. Flames burn my heart and bones; mixed with my pain, fear goads me on; jealousy pounds in my breast, and again rank lust oppresses my spirit and will not be controlled. And amid these fires besetting my mind, though weary and defeated and ruined, shame fights back. I am driven by conflicting waves, as when wind and tide pull the sea each way, and the waters hesitate, uncertain which scourge to yield to. So I have dropped the rudder from my hands. Wherever anger, pain, hope carry me, there I shall proceed; I have given up the boat to the waves. When one's spirit is astray, it is best to follow chance.

## NURSE

It is blind recklessness to look to chance as leader.

#### CLYTEMNESTRA

If one's fortune is desperate, why fear fortune's uncertainties?

## NURSE

Your fault is safe and well hidden, if you let it be so.

# CLYTEMNESTRA

Every defect of a royal house is on full view.

#### NURSE

You detest your former crime and plan a new one?

CLYTEMESTRA

150 Res est profecto stulta nequitiae modus.

NUTRIX

Quod metuit auget qui scelus scelere obruit.

CLYTEMESTRA

Et ferrum et ignis saepe medicinae loco est.

NUTRIX

Extrema primo nemo temptavit loco.

CLYTEMESTRA

Rapienda rebus in malis praeceps via est.

NUTRIX

155 At te reflectat coniugî nomen sacrum.

CLYTEMESTRA

Decem per annos vidua respiciam virum?

NUTRIX

Meminisse debes subolis ex illo tuae.

CLYTEMESTRA

Equidem et iugales filiae memini faces et generum Achillem: praestitit matri fidem!

NUTRIX

160 Redemit illa classis immotae moras et maria pigro fixa languore impulit.

 $<sup>^{10}\,\</sup>mathrm{These}$  sententiae are echoed in Hughes, Misfortunes of Arthur, "In desperate times the headlong way is best," and in Shakespeare, Hamlet 4.3.9–11, "Diseases desperate grown / By desperate appliances are relieved, / Or not at all."

## CLYTEMNESTRA

A foolish thing indeed is moderation in crime.

#### NURSE

To cover up crime with crime is to add to what one fears.

## CLYTEMNESTRA

Both fire and steel often serve in place of a cure.

#### NURSE

No one tries extreme measures at the outset.

## CLYTEMNESTRA

In troubles one must seize the head-on path.<sup>10</sup>

## NURSE

But you should be turned back by the holy name of marriage.

## **CLYTEMNESTRA**

Single for ten years, shall I give thought to my husband?

## NURSE

You should remember your offspring by him.

## CLYTEMNESTRA

My memory is also of my daughter's marriage torches and my son-in-law Achilles: he kept true faith with the mother!

## NURSE

She remedied the delays of the becalmed fleet, and mobilised seas fixed in sluggish idleness.

11 "He" is Agamemnon, and "kept true faith" is said sarcastically. The daughter in question is Iphigenia.

# CLYTEMESTRA

Pudet doletque: Tyndaris, caeli genus, lustrale classi Doricae peperi caput! revolvit animus virginis thalamos meae quos ille dignos Pelopia fecit domo, cum stetit ad aras ore sacrifico pater quam nuptiales! horruit Calchas suae responsa vocis et recedentes focos. o scelera semper sceleribus vincens domus! cruore ventos emimus, bellum nece! sed vela pariter mille fecerunt rates? non est soluta prospero classis deo: eiecit Aulis impias portu rates.

Sic auspicatus bella non melius gerit. amore captae captus, immotus prece, 175 Sminthea tenuit spolia Phoebei senis, ardore sacrae virginis iam tum furens. non illum Achilles flexit indomitus minis. non ille solus fata qui mundi videt (in nos fidelis augur, in captas levis), 180 non populus aeger et relucentes rogi. inter ruentis Graeciae stragem ultimam sine hoste victus marcet ac veneri vacat reparatque amores; neve desertus foret a paelice umquam barbara caelebs torus, 185 ablatam Achilli diligit Lyrnesida,

 $^{162}$  doletque E: pigetque A

163 peperi E: peperit A

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The "Sminthean spoil" was Chryseis, Agamemnon's war prize, daughter of Chryses the priest of Apollo Smintheus. The more recent "holy virgin" is Cassandra.

#### CLYTEMNESTRA

Oh shame, oh anguish! I, a Tyndarid, child of heaven, bore a lustral sacrifice for the Dorian fleet! My mind relives my daughter's wedding, celebrated by that man in a manner worthy of the House of Pelops, when he stood as father making sacrificial prayers at the altar—such a bridal altar! Calchas shuddered at his own oracular response, at the cowering altar fires. O house that always outdoes crimes with crimes! We bought the winds with blood, the war with murder! But at least a thousand ships set sail together? No, the fleet was not released with divine favour: Aulis cast the unnatural ships out of its harbour.

He started the war with these auspices, and conducted it no better. Captured by love for a captive, and unmoved by prayer, he kept the Sminthean spoil of Phoebus' old priest, mad even then with passion for a holy virgin. La Achilles, though undaunted by threats, could not change his mind, nor could the one who alone sees divine destiny (a trustworthy augur in regard to us, inconsequential in regard to captives!), La nor the people's sickness and their blazing pyres. Amidst the final devastation of falling Greece he was conquered, though not by an enemy, enfeebled, with leisure for love, and replaced one mistress with another: lest his bachelor bed should ever be empty of a barbarian mistress, he stole the Lyrnesian from Achilles

<sup>13</sup> I.e. Agamemnon believed Calchas' soothsaying concerning the need to sacrifice Iphigenia, but not concerning the need to return Chryseis to her father, Apollo's priest. The sickness mentioned next was visited on the Greek army by Apollo, angered by Agamemnon's flouting of him.

nec rapere puduit e sinu avulsam viri en Paridis hostem! nunc novum vulnus gerens amore Phrygiae vatis incensus furit, et post tropaea Troica ac versum Ilium captae maritus remeat et Priami gener.

Accingere, anime: bella non levia apparas. scelus occupandum est. pigra quem expectas diem? Pelopia Phrygiae sceptra dum teneant nurus? an te morantur virgines viduae domi patrique Orestes similis? horum te mala ventura moveant, turbo quîs rerum imminet! quid, misera, cessas? en adest natis tuis furens noverca! per tuum, si aliter nequit, latus exigatur ensis et perimat duos; misce cruorem, perde pereundo virum:

## NUTRIX

Regina, frena temet et siste impetus
et quanta temptes cogita. victor venit

205 Asiae ferocis, ultor Europae; trahit
captiva Pergama et diu victos Phrygas.
hunc fraude nunc conaris et furto aggredi,
quem non Achilles ense violavit fero,
quamvis procacem torvus armasset manum,
210 non melior Aiax morte decreta furens,
non sola Danais Hector et bello mora,
non tela Paridis certa, non Memnon niger,
non Xanthus armis corpora immixta aggerens

mors misera non est commori cum quo velis.

 $^{213}\,\mathrm{immixta}$ aggerens  $Gronovius\colon\mathrm{immixta}$ gerens  $E\colon\mathrm{immixte}$ gerens A

190

195

and loved her, with no shame about tearing her from her man's embrace—look at this enemy of Paris! Now, wounded afresh, he is on fire with mad love for the Phrygian prophet. After routing the Trojans and overthrowing Ilium, he returns as a captive's husband and Priam's son-in-law!

Arm yourself, my spirit: this is no light war you are planning. In crime, one must strike first. What day are you idly waiting for? One when young Phrygian wives hold the sceptre of Pelops? Or are you held back by the thought of unmarried girls at home and Orestes' likeness to his father? The thought of their future troubles should spur you on: a whirlwind is threatening them! Why hesitate, poor woman? See, a mad stepmother is at hand for your children! The sword must be driven through your own side, if it cannot be otherwise, and slaughter two; mingle your blood, destroy your man by self-destruction: to die with someone you want to die with is no wretched death.

## NURSE

O queen, rein yourself in, control your impulses, think what you are attempting. He comes as victor over fierce Asia, avenger of Europe; he drags Pergamum prisoner, and the Phrygians whose conquest took so long: and now you attempt to attack him by treachery and stealth? Achilles did not wound him with his savage sword, though the surly fellow armed his presumptuous hand; nor did the better Ajax, 15 raging in his determination to die; not Hector, who alone held up the Danaans and the war, not Paris' unerring arrows, not black Memnon, not Xanthus piling up

<sup>14</sup> Cassandra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> I.e. Ajax son of Telamon.

fluctusque Simois caede purpureos agens,
non nivea proles Cycnus aequorei dei,
non bellicoso Thressa cum Rheso phalanx,
non picta pharetras et securigera manu
peltata Amazon? hunc domi reducem paras
mactare et aras caede maculare impia?

220 ultrix inultum Graecia hoc facinus feret?
equos et arma classibusque horrens fretum
propone et alto sanguine exundans solum,
et tota captae fata Dardaniae domus
regesta Danais! comprime adfectus truces
mentemque tibimet ipsa pacifica tuam.

## AEGISTHUS

Quod tempus animo semper ac mente horrui adest profecto, rebus extremum meis. quid terga vertis, anime? quid primo impetu deponis arma? crede perniciem tibi et dira saevos fata moliri deos: oppone cunctis vile suppliciis caput, ferrumque et ignes pectore adverso excipe, Aegisthe: non est poena sic nato mori.

Tu nos pericli socia, tu, Leda sata, comitare tantum: sanguinem reddet tibi ignavus iste ductor ac fortis pater. sed quid trementes circuit pallor genas iacensque vultu languido obtutus stupet?

#### CLYTEMESTRA

Amor iugalis vincit ac flectit retro; 240 referimur illuc, unde non decuit prius

 $^{240}$  referimur M.  $M\"{u}ller$ : referemus E: remeemus A

230

bodies jumbled with weapons and Simois running red with blood, <sup>16</sup> not Cycnus the snow-white child of the sea god, not the Thracian squadron with warlike Rhesus, not the Amazon with painted quiver, crescent shield, and axe in hand. Is this the man you plan to sacrifice on his return home, staining the altar with unhallowed blood? Will Greece the avenger leave this deed unavenged? Picture horses, weapons, the sea bristling with warships, the soil flooded deep with blood, and the whole fate of Dardanus' captive house recoiling on the Danaans! Then check your fierce passions, and reconcile your mind to yourself.

## AEGISTHUS

[To himself as he enters] The time I have always feared in mind and spirit is plainly upon me—the crisis in my affairs. Why turn aside, my spirit? Why lay down arms at the first onslaught? Be sure the cruel gods are engineering destruction and a dire fate for you. So set your worthless life to confront all sufferings, breast fire and steel without flinching, Aegisthus: for one of such birth, death is no hardship.

[To Clytemnestra] Partner of my danger, seed of Leda: if you will only keep me company, then that cowardly leader and brave father will pay you in blood. But why are your cheeks pale and trembling, your eyes downcast and listless and dazed-looking?

# CLYTEMNESTRA

Married love overcomes me and turns me back. I am reverting to the place I should never have left. At least now I

 $^{16}$  Iliad book 21 portrays these rivers as dangerous in flood, especially when choked with bodies.

abire. sed nunc casta repetatur fides, nam sera numquam est ad bonos mores via: quem paenitet peccasse paene est innocens.

## AEGISTHUS

Quo raperis amens? credis aut speras tibi Agamemnonis fidele conjugium? ut nihil 245 subesset animo quod graves faceret metus, tamen superba et impotens flatu nimis fortuna magno spiritus tumidos daret. gravis ille sociis stante adhuc Troia fuit: quid rere ad animum suapte natura trucem 250 Troiam addidisse? rex Mycenarum fuit, veniet tyrannus; prospera animos efferunt. effusa circa paelicum quanto venit turba apparatu! sola sed turba eminet 255 tenetque regem famula veridici dei. feresne thalami victa consortem tui? at illa nolet. ultimum est nuptae malum palam maritam possidens paelex domum. nec regna socium ferre nec taedae sciunt.

### CLYTEMESTRA

Aegisthe, quid me rursus in praeceps agis iramque flammis iam residentem incitas? permisit aliquid victor in captam sibi: nec coniugem hoc respicere nec dominam decet. lex alia solio est, alia privato in toro.
quid, quod severas ferre me leges viro non patitur animus turpis admissi memor? det ille veniam facile cui venia est opus.

## **AEGISTHUS**

Ita est? pacisci mutuam veniam licet?

should recover loyalty and chastity, for the path to goodness is never too late. One who repents of wrongdoing is virtually innocent.

## AEGISTHUS

What crazy impulse is this? Do you believe or hope you can have a faithful marriage with Agamemnon? Even if there were no secrets in your mind to cause grave fears, yet his good fortune, haughty and overblown, would give rise to swollen arrogance. He was overbearing to associates while Troy still stood: what do you think Troy's fall has added to a spirit that is naturally harsh? He was king of Mycenae, he will return as tyrant; success swells men's minds. Around him spreads a crowd of mistresses, approaching with such pomp! But one stands out from the crowd and clasps the king—the handmaid of the prophetic god. Will you endure being bested and sharing your marriage bed? She will not! The worst disaster for a wife is to have a mistress openly in control of the marital household. Neither thrones nor marriages can endure a partner.

## CLYTEMNESTRA

Aegisthus, why drive me towards the abyss once more, and inflame my anger as it dies down? The conqueror has allowed himself some freedom with a captive: one should not take notice of this either as wife or lady of the house. There is one law for a throne, another with regard to a private man's bed. Then too my spirit does not allow me to judge my husband severely, through awareness of my own dishonour. Forgiveness should be granted readily by one who needs forgiveness.

## **AEGISTHUS**

Really? Is there a chance of negotiating mutual forgive-

ignota tibi sunt iura regnorum aut nova? 270 nobis maligni iudices, aequi sibi, id esse regni maximum pignus putant, si quidquid aliis non licet solis licet.

## CLYTEMESTRA

Ignovit Helenae: iuncta Menelao redit quae Europam et Asiam paribus afflixit malis.

## **AEGISTHUS**

Hunc nulla Atriden venere furtiva abstulit nec cepit animum coniugi obstrictum suae. iam crimen ille quaerit et causas parat. nil esse crede turpe commissum tibi: quid honesta prodest vita, flagitio vacans?
ubi dominus odit, fit nocens, non quaeritur. Spartenne repetes spreta et Eurotan tuum patriasque sedes profuga? non dant exitum repudia regum; spe metus falsa levas.

## CLYTEMESTRA

Delicta novit nemo nisi fidus mea.

#### AEGISTHUS

285 Non intrat umquam regium limen fides.

# CLYTEMESTRA

Opibus merebor, ut fidem pretio obligem.

#### AEGISTHUS

Pretio parata vincitur pretio fides.

#### CLYTEMESTRA

Surgit residuus pristinae mentis pudor;

275 hunc Damsté: sed EA

ness? Are the rules of kingship unknown or strange to you? They are biased judges to us, but fair to themselves; they think it the greatest assurance of their kingship, that they alone are permitted what others are not permitted.

## CLYTEMNESTRA

He forgave Helen: she returns alongside Menelaus, though she inflicted equal damage on Europe and on Asia.

#### AEGISTHUS

But no mistress stole *that* Atreid with clandestine love or captured his heart, which was devoted to his wife. This one is already searching for an accusation and collecting pretexts. Suppose you had committed no dishonour: what use would it be to have lived honorably, free of scandal? A person hated by a master is guilty by fiat, not by trial. Once set aside, will you return to your Sparta and Eurotas and the refuge of your father's house? Divorce from a king allows no escape; you are allaying your fears with false hopes.

## CLYTEMNESTRA

Only those loyal to me know of my misconduct.

#### AEGISTHUS

Loyalty never crosses a king's threshold.

#### CLYTEMNESTRA

I shall use my wealth to secure loyalty with money.

#### AEGISTHUS

Loyalty obtained with money is subverted with money.

## CLYTEMNESTRA

There is a vestige of my former sense of shame springing

quid obstrepis? quid voce blandiloqua mala 290 consilia dictas? scilicet nubam tibi, regum relicto rege, generosa exuli?

AEGISTHUS

Et cur Atrida videor inferior tibi, natus Thyestae?

CLYTEMESTRA
Si parum est, adde et nepos.

AEGISTHUS

Auctore Phoebo gignor: haud generis pudet.

### CLYTEMESTRA

295 Phoebum nefandae stirpis auctorem vocas, quem nocte subita frena revocantem sua caelo expulistis? quid deos probro addimus? subripere doctus fraude geniales toros, quem venere tantum scimus illicita virum,
 300 facesse propere ac dedecus nostrae domus asporta ab oculis; haec vacat regi ac viro.

#### AEGISTHUS

Exilia mihi sunt haud nova; assuevi malis. si tu imperas, regina, non tantum domo Argisve cedo: nil moror iussu tuo aperire ferro pectus aerumnis grave.

300 nostrae E: clarae\* A

up again; why do you cry out against it? Why do you keep repeating evil plans in this alluring voice? I suppose I am to be married to you, a noblewoman to an exile, in place of the king of kings?

## **AEGISTHUS**

And why do you think me inferior to Atreus' son, as son of Thyestes?

## CLYTEMNESTRA

If that is not enough, add "grandson" too!

## **AEGISTHUS**

I was born at Phoebus' instigation, and am not ashamed of my birth.

## CLYTEMNESTRA

You call Phoebus instigator of your evil begetting, though you people drove him from the heavens when he withdrew his chariot in sudden night? Why do we involve the gods in ignominy? You are skilled at stealing married women's love by treachery; it is only by illicit sex that we know you are a man! Begone at once, remove from my sight this disgrace to our house; it is open without hindrance to my king and husband.

#### AEGISTHUS

Exile is nothing new to me; I am used to suffering. If you command it, my queen, I shall not just leave this house and Argos: I am ready at your bidding to use the sword to open this breast, so heavy with troubles.

 $^{17}\,\mathrm{``You}$  people" refers to Aegisthus' family: as his father Thyestes unwittingly devoured his sons' flesh, the sun turned back in horror.

#### CLYTEMESTRA

Siquidem hoc cruenta Tyndaris fieri sinam! quae iuncta peccat debet et culpae fidem. secede mecum potius, ut rerum statum dubium ac minacem iuncta consilia explicent.

## CHORUS

Canite, o pubes inclita, Phoebum! 310 tibi festa caput turba coronat, tibi virgineas laurum quatiens de more comas innuba fudit stirps Inachia. Tu quoque nostros, Parrhasis hospes, 315 comitare choros, quaeque Erasini gelidos fontes, quaeque Eurotan, quaeque virenti tacitum ripa bibis Ismenon, quam fatorum praescia Manto, 320 sata Tiresia, Latonigenas monuit sacris celebrare deos.

> Arcus, victor, pace relata, Phoebe, relaxa, umeroque graves levibus telis pone pharetras, resonetque manu pulsa citata

 $<sup>^{315}</sup>$  Parrhasis hospes Fitch: the bais hospes E: the bana manus A

### CLYTEMNESTRA

If indeed I could let this happen as a bloodstained Tyndarid! But she who sins with another owes loyalty even to her offence. Rather withdraw with me, so that our joint counsels can resolve this critical and threatening situation.

### CHORUS

Sing, illustrious folk, of Phoebus!

[To Phoebus] For you the festive crowd wears wreaths, for you unmarried Inachian girls let down their maiden hair in ritual, waving the laurel.

You too, Parrhasian guests, must join our dances, 18 and you who drink Erasinus' chilly waters, or the Eurotas or the Ismenos that flows in silence between green banks: for Manto, who has foreknowledge of fate, Tiresias' seed, advised you to honour and worship the gods born of Latona.

With peace restored, unstring your bow, victorious Phoebus; take off your shoulder the quiver burdened with its light arrows, and let your deft hand play the lyre

<sup>18</sup> In this invitation to women visitors, "Parrhasian" designates those from Arcadia; the river Erasinus, those from the southern Argolid; the Eurotas, those from Sparta; the Ismenos, those from Thebes.

vocale chelvs. nil acre velim magnumque modis intonet altis, sed quale soles 330 leviore lyra flectere carmen simplex, lusus cum docta tuos Musa recenset. licet et chorda graviore sones, quale canebas cum Titanas fulmine victos videre dei, 335 vel cum montes montibus altis super impositi struxere gradus trucibus monstris, stetit imposita Pelion Ossa, pinifer ambos pressit Olympus. Ades, o magni, soror et coniunx, 340 consors sceptri, regia Iuno: tua te colimus turba Mycenae. tu sollicitum supplexque tui numinis Argos

tua te colimus turba Mycenae.
tu sollicitum
supplexque tui numinis Argos
sola tueris,
345
tu bella manu pacemque regis;
tu nunc laurus Agamemnonias
accipe victrix.
tibi multifora tibia buxo
sollemne canit,
tibi fila movent docta puellae
carmine molli,
tibi votivam
matres Graiae lampada iactant.

with melodious sounds. I would have no harsh heroic thundering in lofty measures, but the kind of song you modulate to a quieter lyre, unadorned, when the cultured Muse runs through your playful verses. You could sound out too with deeper chords, as once you sang when the gods saw Titans overpowered by the lightning bolt, or when mountains, piled on top of lofty mountains, built a stairway for brutal monsters, when Pelion stood with Ossa piled on it, and pine-clad Olympus burdened them both.

Be with us, consort of the mighty sceptre as wife and sister, royal Juno:
Mycenae, your nation, worships you.
When Argos is troubled
and prays to your godhead in supplication
you alone protect her.
You rule in might over war and peace.
Now receive Agamemnon's laurel
wreaths as victor.
For you the pipe of much-pierced boxwood
plays the anthem;
for you girls pluck the intricate strings
in gentle melody;
for you the votive
torch is tossed by matrons of Greece.

ad tua coniunx candida tauri delubra cadet, nescia aratri,

355 nullo collum signata iugo.

> Tuque, o magni nata Tonantis, inclita Pallas, quae Dardanias cuspide turres saepe petisti: te permixto matrona minor maiorque choro colit et reserat veniente dea templa sacerdos; tibi nexilibus turba coronis redimita venit, tibi grandaevi lassique senes compote voto

reddunt grates libantque manu vina trementi.

Et te Triviam nota memores voce precamur. tu maternam sistere Delon, Lucina, iubes, huc atque illuc prius errantem Cyclada ventis; nunc iam stabilis fixa terras radice tenet, respuit auras religatque rates assueta sequi.

tu Tantalidos funera matris victrix numeras:

360

365

370

In your temple will fall the white wife of the bull, who knows nothing of the plough, whose neck was never scarred by the yoke.

And you, daughter of the mighty Thunderer, glorious Pallas, who often attacked the Dardan towers with your sharp spear: you are worshipped by married women, young and old in a mingled chorus, and the priestess opens the temple at your approach. To you there comes a throng enwreathed in woven garlands; to you men weary with length of years, their prayers now granted, give thanks, and pour libations of wine with trembling hands.

You too, Trivia, we remember in the well-known voice of prayer. You bade your mother's isle of Delos stand firm, Lucina, though once it drifted as a Circling Isle to and fro in the winds. Stationary now it grips the earth with fastened roots, rebuffs the breezes and anchors ships that it used to follow. You numbered the dead of the Tantalid mother victoriously:

stat nunc Sipyli vertice summo flebile saxum, et adhuc lacrimas marmora fundunt antiqua novas. colit impense femina virque numen geminum.

385

390

380

Tuque ante omnes, pater ac rector fulmine pollens, cuius nutu simul extremi tremuere poli, generis nostri, Iuppiter, auctor, cape dona libens abavusque tuam non degenerem respice prolem.

Sed ecce, vasto concitus miles gradu manifesta properat signa laetitiae ferens (namque hasta summo lauream ferro gerit), fidusque regi semper Eurybates adest.

## EURYBATES

Delubra et aras caelitum et patrios lares post longa fessus spatia, vix credens mihi, supplex adoro. vota superis solvite: 395 telluris altum remeat Argolicae decus tandem ad penates victor Agamemnon suos.

now she stands on Sipylus' highest peak a weeping rock, and still there are tears poured forth anew from the ancient marble. Both men and women lavish worship on your twin godhead.

And you above all, father and ruler with the lightning's power, at whose nod the poles at the ends of the earth tremble together, Jupiter, source of our nation: graciously receive our gifts and give heed to the fourth generation descended from you<sup>19</sup> and not unworthy.

# ACT 3

But see, in tremendous haste a soldier is hurrying this way, with evident signs of joy (for his spear bears the laurel on its iron point): it is Eurybates, ever faithful to our king.

## EURYBATES

To the shrines and altars of the heavenly ones, and to our fathers' housegods—though weary after this long span, and scarcely believing the truth—I give thanks and homage. [To citizens] Fulfil your vows to the gods above: the towering glory of the Argive land, Agamemnon, is returning at last victoriously to his hearth and home.

 $^{19}\,\mathrm{Agamemnon}$  is fourth in descent from Jupiter, after Tantalus, Pelops, and Atreus.

## CLYTEMESTRA

Felix ad aures nuntius venit meas. ubinam petitus per decem coniunx mihi annos moratur? pelagus an terras premit?

# **EURYBATES**

400 Incolumis, auctus gloria, laude inclitus reducem expetito litori impressit pedem.

## CLYTEMESTRA

Sacris colamus prosperum tandem diem et si propitios attamen lentos deos. Tu pande vivat coniugis frater mei, et pande teneat quas soror sedes mea.

#### EURYBATES

Meliora votis posco et obtestor deos: nam certa fari sors maris dubii vetat. ut sparsa tumidum classis excepit mare, ratis videre socia non potuit ratem.

410 quin ipse Atrides aequore immenso vagus graviora pelago damna quam bello tulit, remeatque victo similis, exiguas trahens lacerasque victor classe de tanta rates.

# CLYTEMESTRA

Effare casus quis rates hausit meas, 415 aut quae maris fortuna dispulerit duces.

#### EURYBATES

Acerba fatu poscis, infaustum iubes miscere laeto nuntium. refugit loqui

 $^{414}$  effare casus quis rates hausit meas E: quis fare nostras hauserit casus rates A

### CLYTEMNESTRA

Happy the news that has reached my ears. Where then is he delaying, this husband I have sought for ten years? Is his presence felt on sea or on land?

## EURYBATES

Unharmed, enhanced in glory, filled with renown, he has set his returning feet on the long-desired shore.

## CLYTEMNESTRA

We must honour with sacrifices this day of success at last, and the gods' favour, however tardy. Tell me, does my husband's brother live? And tell me, where is my sister dwelling?

#### EURYBATES

In my prayers I beg and beseech the gods for better things, for the sea's hazards preclude my speaking with certainty. Once the scattered fleet endured swollen seas, one ship of the group could not see another ship. Even Atreus' son himself, while wandering on the vast expanse, took heavier losses from the sea than from war; he returns, though a conqueror, like one conquered, with a few battered ships in his wake out of that great fleet.

## CLYTEMNESTRA

Tell us what chance engulfed my ships, what misfortune at sea scattered the leaders.

## EURYBATES

You request what is bitter in the telling; you bid me mix illomened news with joyful. My mind balks at speech, sick-

mens aegra tantis atque inhorrescit malis.

## CLYTEMESTRA

Exprome: clades scire qui refugit suas 420 gravat timorem; dubia plus torquent mala.

#### EURYBATES

Ut Pergamum omne Dorica cecidit face, divisa praeda est, maria properantes petunt. iamque ense fessum miles exonerat latus, neglecta summas scuta per puppes iacent; ad militares remus aptatur manus omnisque nimium longa properanti mora est. signum recursus regia ut fulsit rate et clara laetum remigem monuit tuba, aurata primas prora designat vias

aperitque cursus, mille quos puppes secent.

Hinc aura primo lenis impellit rates

allapsa velis; unda vix actu levi tranquilla Zephyri mollis afflatu tremit, splendetque classe pelagus et pariter latet. iuvat videre nuda Troiae litora, iuvat relicti sola Sigei loca. properat iuventus omnis adductos simul lentare remos, adiuvat ventos manu et valida nisu bracchia alterno movet. sulcata vibrant aequora et latera increpant dirimuntque canae caerulum spumae mare.

Ut aura plenos fortior tendit sinus, posuere tonsas, credita est vento ratis, fususque transtris miles aut terras procul, quantum recedunt vela, fugientes notat, aut bella narrat: Hectoris fortis minas

425

430

435

440

ened and shuddering at such disasters.

### CLYTEMNESTRA

Speak out: anyone who shrinks from learning about his calamities increases his fear; disasters torment us more when unconfirmed.

## EURYBATES

Once all of Pergamum fell to Dorian fire, they shared out the spoils and made in haste for the sea. Now warriors unbuckled swords from their weary sides, and their shields lay disregarded across the ships' decks. Oars were fitted to the soldiers' hands; in their haste any delay seemed too long. When the signal for return shone forth from the king's ship, and the trumpet's clear notes alerted the joyful rowers, the gilded prow marked out the start of the voyage and opened the pathway to be cut by a thousand vessels.

Then a breeze, gentle at first, slipped into the sails and pushed the ships on; the calm waters, with scarcely any current, were ruffled by the soft Zephyr's breath, and the sea was both emblazoned and concealed by the fleet. What a pleasure to see the empty shores of Troy, to see the lonely terrain of deserted Sigeum! The whole army was eager to flex the oars as they pulled together, assisting the winds and moving their stalwart arms with rhythmical power. The furrowed waters glistened, the ships' sides hissed, and white foam sundered the dark blue sea.

Once a stronger breeze filled the bellying sails, they downed their oars and trusted the ships to the wind. Stretched out on the thwarts, the soldiers either pointed out the lands receding in the distance, insofar as gaps opened between the sails, or told stories of the war—the

currusque et empto redditum corpus rogo, sparsum cruore regis Herceum Iovem. tum qui iacente reciprocus ludit salo tumidumque pando transilit dorso mare Tyrrhenus omni piscis exultat freto agitatque gyros et comes lateri adnatat, anteire naves laetus et rursus sequi; nunc prima tangens rostra lascivit chorus, millesimam nunc ambit et lustrat ratem.

Iam litus omne tegitur et campi latent et dubia parent montis Idaei iuga; et iam, quod unum pervicax acies videt, Iliacus atra fumus apparet nota. iam lassa Titan colla relevabat iugo

iam lassa Titan colla relevabat iugo, in alta iam lux prona, iam praeceps dies. exigua nubes sordido crescens globo nitidum cadentis inquinat Phoebi iubar; suspecta varius occidens fecit freta.

465 nox prima caelum sparserat stellis, iacent deserta vento vela. tum murmur grave, maiora minitans, collibus summis cadit tractuque longo litus ac petrae gemunt; agitata ventis unda venturis tumet:

470 cum subito luna conditur, stellae latent.

472 nec una nox est: densa tenebras obruit
caligo et omni luce subducta fretum
caelumque miscet. undique incumbunt simul
475 rapiuntque pelagus infimo eversum solo
adversus Euro Zephyrus et Boreae Notus.

<sup>457</sup> parent *EA*: pereunt *Poggio* <sup>461</sup> alta *Damsté*: astra *EA* 

threat posed by brave Hector, the chariot, the return of his body for cremation at a price, the bespattering of Hercean Jove with the king's blood. <sup>20</sup> Then came the Tyrrhene fish, that weave playfully in and out of the saltwater when it is calm, or jump across swells with arching backs: they leapt out all across the sea, chased in circles, swam up alongside us, gaily preceded the ships or again followed behind. Now they tagged the first ship's beak in a frolicking troupe, now they circled round and round the thousandth ship.

Now all the shoreline was obscured, the lowlands shrouded, and the peaks of Mt Ida only dimly seen; and now the one thing visible even to a steadfast gaze was the smoke from Ilium, showing as a black trace. Now the Titan was freeing his steeds' weary necks from the yoke, now the sunlight was sinking towards the deep, now the day was hastening downward. A small cloud, swelling up into a dark mass, sullied Phoebus' bright rays as he set; this mixture of colours in the sunset raised misgivings about the sea. Early night had scattered stars over the sky, the sails lay forsaken by the wind. Then a deep murmur, carrying threats of worse, fell from the high hills, and a long-drawnout moan came from the shore and cliffs. Waves swelled. roused by approaching winds. Suddenly the moon was hidden, the stars invisible. Night was redoubled: a dense gloom smothered the darkness, stole every trace of light and confounded sea and sky. Winds fell upon the sea from all quarters at once, and churned it up violently from its very bed, Zephyrus against Eurus and Notus against

<sup>20</sup> The chariot was that of Achilles, which dragged Hector's body around Troy; the blood was that of Priam, butchered at Jove's altar.

sua quisque mittunt tela et infesti fretum emoliuntur, turbo convolvit mare: Strymonius altas Aquilo contorquet nives Libycusque harenas Auster ac Syrtes agit, 480 [nec manet in Austro; fit gravis nimbis Notus] imbre auget undas; Eurus orientem movet Nabataea quatiens regna et Eoos sinus; quid rabidus ora Corus Oceano exerens? mundum revelli sedibus totum suis 485 ipsosque rupto crederes caelo deos decidere et atrum rebus induci chaos. vento resistit aestus, et ventus retro aestum revolvit. non capit sese mare: in astra pontus tollitur, caelum ferit, 471 undasque miscent imber et fluctus suas. 490

Nec hoc levamen denique aerumnis datur, videre saltem et nosse quo pereant malo: premunt tenebrae lumina et dirae Stygis inferna nox est. excidunt ignes tamen et nube dirum fulmen elisa micat; miserisque lucis tanta dulcedo, ut male hoc lumen optent. ipsa se classis premit et prora prorae nocuit et lateri latus. illam dehiscens pontus in praeceps rapit hauritque et alto redditam revomit mari; haec onere sidit, illa convulsum latus summittit undis, fluctus hanc decimus tegit;

481 deleted by Richter 471 transposed after 489 by Tarrant ferit Zwierlein: perit EA
495f. dulcedo, ut male . . . optent Fitch: dulcedo est, male . . . optant Bothe: dulcedo est malae . . . optant EA

495

Boreas. At war, each hurling his own weapons, they heaved up the waters in a whirling tornado. Strymonian Aquilo swirled deep snows; Libyan Auster buffeted the sandy Syrtes, <sup>21</sup> with rain swelling the waves; Eurus struck the East, shaking Nabatean kingdoms and the gulfs of the Dawn—not to mention frenzied Corus, raising his head from Ocean. You would have thought the entire earth was being torn from its place, the very gods falling from the shattered heavens, and black chaos intruding into the world. The wind was resisted by the tide, and again the wind rolled the tide back. The sea overflowed, rose towards the stars, dashed against the heavens; rain and waves combined their billowing waters.

The sufferers were not even granted the relief of at least seeing and knowing the disaster that destroyed them. Darkness weighed on their eyes, the infernal night of terrible Styx. Yet fires did fall, as terrible lightning flashed from shattered clouds; light had such sweetness for those wretches that perversely they longed for this kind of brightness. The fleet did damage to itself, prow crashing on prow and side on side. One ship was pulled down headlong by the yawning sea, swallowed and then spewed up again from the depths; this one foundered under its burden, that one dipped its shattered side under the flood, this one was smothered by a tenth wave. <sup>22</sup> Another, battered

<sup>21</sup> Line 481 (deleted): "and it did not stay in the south [i.e. as Auster stirring up sand]: it became Notus heavy with rainclouds."

 $<sup>^{22}\,\</sup>mathrm{A}$  reference to the notion that every tenth wave is exceptionally large.

haec lacera et omni decore populato levis fluitat, nec illi vela nec tonsae manent nec rectus altas malus antemnas ferens, sed trunca toto puppis Ionio natat.

Nil ratio et usus audet: ars cessit malis. tenet horror artus, omnis officio stupet navita relicto, remus effugit manus. in vota miseros ultimus cogit timor, eademque superos Troes et Danai rogant. quid fata possunt! invidet Pyrrhus patri, Aiaci Ulixes, Hectori Atrides minor, Agamemno Priamo: quisquis ad Troiam iacet felix vocatur, cadere qui meruit gradu, quem fama servat, victa quem tellus tegit. "Nil nobile ausos pontus atque undae ferent? ignava fortes fata consument viros? perdenda mors est? quisquis es, nondum malis satiate tantis, caelitum, tandem tuum numen serena: cladibus nostris daret vel Troia lacrimas, odia si durant tua placetque mitti Doricum exitio genus, quid hos simul perire nobiscum iuvat, quibus perimus? sistite infestum mare: vehit ista Danaos classis, et Troas vehit!" nec plura possunt: occupat vocem mare.

Ecce alia clades! fulmine irati Iovis armata Pallas quidquid haud hasta minax, haud aegide et furore Gorgoneo potest, hoc igne patrio temptat, et caelo novae spirant procellae. solus invictus malis

529f. haut . . . haut M. Müller: aut . . . aut EA

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and despoiled of all its finery, drifts lightly to and fro; with neither sails nor oars remaining, nor the upright mast with its lofty sailyards, it floats as a mutilated hulk all over the Ionian Sea.

Neither reason nor experience gave courage; skill surrendered to the disaster. Gripped and stupified by terror, the sailors all abandoned their duties, and let the oars slip from their hands. Extreme fear drove the wretches to prayer, with Trojans and Danaans making the same request of the gods. The strange outcomes of fate! Pyrrhus envies his father, Ulysses Ajax; Atreus' younger son envies Hector, Agamemnon Priam. All who lie at Troy are called fortunate, those who fell worthily at their post and are safeguarded by fame, sheltered by the conquered land. "Have we dared no noble deeds, that the sea waves are to carry us off? Shall an ignoble fate destroy brave men? Must our deaths be wasted? Whichever god you may be that are still unsated by our great sufferings, at last let your godhead be unclouded: even Troy would shed tears for our disasters! But if your hatred endures, and you want the Dorian race destroyed, why do you desire these people, on whose account we are dying, to die with us? Calm the hostile seas: this fleet carries Danaans, but it carries Trojans too!" They could speak no more: the sea cut off their words.

See, another disaster! Pallas arms herself with the thunderbolt of angry Jove. What her enmity cannot achieve with spear or aegis and Gorgon's rage, she attempts with her father's fire. New storms gust across the sky. Ajax alone was still struggling, unconquered by

530 et Gronovius: aut EA

531 hoc Tarrant: aut EA

luctatur Aiax. vela cogentem hunc sua tento rudente flamma perstrinxit cadens. libratur aliud fulmen: hoc toto impetu 535 certum reducta Pallas excussit manu, imitata patrem. transit Aiacem et ratem ratisque partem secum et Aiacem tulit. nil ille motus, ardua ut cautes, salo ambustus exstat, dirimit insanum mare 540 fluctusque rumpit pectore, et navem manu complexus ignes traxit et caeco mari conlucet Aiax; omne resplendet fretum. tandem occupata rupe furibundum intonat: "Superasse me nunc pelagus atque ignes iuvat, 545 vicisse caelum Palladem fulmen mare. non me fugavit bellici terror dei, [et Hectorem una solus et Martem tuli] Phoebea nec me tela pepulerunt gradu; cum Phrygibus istos vicimus: tene horream 550 aliena inerti tela jaculantem manu? quid si ipse mittat?" plura cum auderet furens, tridente rupem subruit pulsam pater Neptunus imis exerens undis caput solvitque montem; quem cadens secum tulit, 555 terraque et igne victus et pelago iacet. Nos alia maior naufragos pestis vocat. est humilis unda, scrupeis mendax vadis, ubi saxa rapidis clausa verticibus tegit fallax Caphereus; aestuat scopulis fretum 560

fervetque semper fluctus alterna vice.

 $^{545}$ me nunc Düring: nunc se A: nunc E: saevum Delz, Hudson-Williams  $^{548}$  deleted by Leo

disaster.<sup>23</sup> As he strained on the ropes to shorten sail, he was grazed by the falling fire. Another bolt was aimed: drawing back her hand, Pallas launched it on target with all her might, imitating her father. It passed through Ajax and his ship, and carried away part of the ship and Ajax himself. Unshaken, though scorched, like a lofty crag he stood out from the saltwater, sundered the maddened sea, broke the waves with his chest. As he grasped his ship tightly he caught fire from it, and in that blind sea Ajax was a source of light; the whole strait was illuminated. Finally, taking his stand on a rock, he thundered in fury: "I glory in having overcome flood and fire, in having conquered heaven, Pallas, lightning, sea. I was not driven off by fear of the war god,<sup>24</sup> nor forced to retreat by Phoebus' arrows; I defeated those foes along with the Phrygians. Should I quail before your feeble-handed hurling of another's weapons? Why not let him fire them himself?" As he dared say more in rage, father Neptune raised his head from the depths of the waves, struck and dislodged the rock with his trident, and toppled the crag. He carried it with him in his fall, and lies conquered by earth and fire and sea.

Already wrecked, we were drawn by another, worse scourge. There are shallows made treacherous by sharp underwater crags, where deceitful Caphereus conceals his rocky base beneath swirling eddies; water boils over the reefs, the waves always seethe in ebb or flow. Above towers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> This is Ajax "the Less," son of Oileus.

 $<sup>^{24}\,548</sup>$  (deleted): "I alone with stood both Hector and Mars together."

arx imminet praerupta quae spectat mare utrimque geminum: Pelopis hinc oras tui et Isthmon, arto qui recurvatus solo Ionia iungi maria Phrixeis vetat; 565 hinc scelere Lemnon nobilem, hinc et Chalcida tardamque ratibus Aulida, hanc arcem occupat Palamedis ille genitor, et clarum manu lumen nefanda vertice e summo efferens in saxa ducit perfida classem face. 570 haerent acutis rupibus fixae rates. has inopis undae brevia comminuunt vada, pars veĥitur huius prima, pars scopulo sedet; hanc alia retro spatia relegentem ferit et fracta frangit. iam timent terram rates 575 et maria malunt. cecidit in lucem furor: postquam litatum est Ilio, Phoebus redit et damna noctis tristis ostendit dies

## CLYTEMESTRA

Utrumne doleam laeter an reducem virum?
remeasse laetor, vulnus et regni grave
lugere cogor. redde iam Graiis, pater
altisona quatiens regna, placatos deos!
nunc omne laeta fronde veletur caput,
sacrifica dulces tibia effundat modos
et nivea magnas victima ante aras cadat.

Sed ecce, turba tristis incomptae comas Iliades adsunt, quas super celso gradu effrena Phoebas entheas laurus quatit.

566 hinc et Chalcida recc.: hinc calchedona A: et calchedona E

a sheer headland that looks out on two seas, right and left: on one side to your Pelops' shores and the Isthmus, whose narrow, recurving ground keeps the Ionian sea apart from Phrixus'; on the other side to Lemnos, famous for crime, Chalcis, and Aulis delayer of ships. On this headland Palamedes' father, that criminal, took up position. Shining a bright light from the summit, he led the fleet onto the crags with that treacherous beacon. Ships stuck fast on the jagged rocks. Some, with insufficient draft, broke up in the shallows; the front half of one carried away, with the other half sitting on the reef; one ship, trying to back away, was struck by another, both wrecked and wrecking. Now the ships feared the land, and preferred the sea. Towards dawn the madness subsided. Now that atonement had been made for Ilium, Phoebus returned, and the gloomy day revealed the havoc of the night.

# CLYTEMNESTRA

Should I grieve or rejoice at my husband's return? I rejoice at his homecoming, and yet I must mourn the deep wound to our kingdom. O father who shake the high-resounding kingdom, at long last restore the gods' favour to the Greeks! Now every head must be crowned with a joyful wreath; the flute of sacrifice must pour out its sweet notes, and a snow-white victim fall before the high altar.

But see, the women of Ilium are here, a sad group, their hair dishevelled, and pacing tall among them the unbridled priestess of Phoebus<sup>25</sup> shakes the god-filled laurel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Cassandra; the laurel is associated with prophetic trance.

### CHORUS

Heu quam dulce malum mortalibus additum vitae dirus amor, cum pateat malis 590 effugium et miseros libera mors vocet, portus aeterna placidus quiete. nullus hunc terror nec impotentis procella Fortunae movet aut iniqui flamma Tonantis.

pax alta nullos civium coetus timet aut minaces victoris iras. non maria asperis insana Coris, non acies feras pulvereamve nubem motam barbaricis equitum catervis, non urbe cum tota populos cadentes hostica muros populante flamma

indomitumve bellum. solus servitium perrumpet omne contemptor levium deorum, qui vultus Acherontis atri, qui Styga tristem non tristis videt audetque vitae ponere finem: par ille regi, par superis erit.

o quam miserum est nescire mori!

Vidimus patriam ruentem nocte funesta, cum Dardana tecta

26 This ode down to line 636, and the whole of the ode at 808-866, is polymetric: see footnote at Oed 405.

<sup>27</sup> These lines are elaborated by Mary Sidney in a choral ode of The Tragedy of Antony: "Who fearless and with courage bold / Can Acheron's black face behold / Which muddy water beareth, /

595

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CHORUS OF TROJAN WOMEN<sup>26</sup>

Oh, the sweet evil implanted in mortals, this desperate love for life, though escape from troubles lies open, and death's freedom beckons the wretched—

a tranquil harbour of eternal calm, untouched by any terror, by any storm of raging Fortune, by any fire from the hostile Thunderer.

That deep peace fears no throngs of citizens, no conqueror's angry menace, no seas maddened by wild norwesters, no ferocious battle lines or clouds of dust raised by barbarians in horseback squadrons, no downfall of peoples and whole cities as enemy fires ravage the walls,

no untameable war.

Who can fully break out of bondage?
Only one who scorns the fickle gods,
who looks without gloom at gloomy Styx,
looks upon dark Acheron's face,
and has courage to set an end to life:
such a one is a match for kings, for gods.<sup>27</sup>
How wretched to be unschooled in dying!

We saw our country's downfall on the fatal night when you Dorian fires

And crossing over in the way/Is not amaz'd at Perruque gray/Old rusty *Charon* weareth . . . / Who freely can himself dispose / Of that last hour which all must close, / And leave this life at pleasure: / This noble freedom more esteems, / And in his heart more precious deems, / Than crown and kingly treasure."

Dorici raperetis ignes. non illa bello victa, non armis, ut quondam Herculea cecidit pharetra; quam non Pelei Thetidisque natus 615 carusque Pelidae nimium feroci vicit, acceptis cum fulsit armis fuditque Troas falsus Achilles, aut cum ipse Pelides animos feroces sustulit luctu celeremque saltu 620 Troades summis timuere muris. perdidit in malis extremum decus, fortiter vinci: restitit annis Troia bis quinis unius noctis peritura furto.

Vidimus simulata dona
molis immensae, Danaumque
fatale munus duximus nostra
creduli dextra; tremuitque saepe
limine in primo sonipes, cavernis
conditos reges bellumque gestans.
et licuit dolos versare ut ipsi
fraude sua caderent Pelasgi:
saepe commotae sonuere parmae,
tacitumque murmur percussit aures
ut fremuit male subdolo
parens Pyrrhus Ulixi.

635

625

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Patroclus, who borrowed Achilles' armour but was killed in battle (hence Achilles' grief, line 620).

plundered our Dardan homes.

She was not conquered by weapons of war, as formerly she fell to Hercules' arrows.

The son of Peleus and Thetis could not defeat her, nor the man beloved by Peleus' ferocious son<sup>28</sup>

when he gleamed in borrowed armour and routed Trojans as a fake Achilles—

nor Achilles himself, when he roused his ferocious spirit through grief, and the Trojan women on the high walls

shuddered at his swift and springing approach.

shuddered at his swift and springing approach. Yet amidst her troubles she lost the final glory of a valorous defeat;

Troy resisted for twice five years, to perish by the subterfuge of a single night.

We saw the feigned offering of that huge body,<sup>29</sup> and trustingly we pulled the Danaans' fateful gift with our own hands; many times the steed stumbled on the outer gateway, bearing kings and war hidden in its hollow womb. And we could have reversed the trick, and made the Pelasgians fall in their own trap: many times there were sounds from moving shields, and a quiet murmur struck our ears, as Pyrrhus grumbled and chafed at obeying deceitful Ulysses.

 $^{29}$  The Wooden Horse: these lines allude to Vergil's famous account in *Aeneid* book 2.

Secura metus Troica pubes sacros gaudet tangere funes. hinc aequaevi gregis Astyanax, hinc Haemonio desponsa rogo ducunt turmas, haec femineas, ille viriles. festae matres votiva ferunt munera divis, festi patres adeunt aras; unus tota est vultus in urbe; et, quod numquam post Hectoreos vidimus ignes, laeta est Hecabe.

Quid nunc primum, dolor infelix, quidve extremum deflere paras? moenia divum fabricata manu, diruta nostra? an templa deos super usta suos? non vacat istis lacrimare malis: te, magne parens, flent Iliades. vidi, vidi senis in iugulo telum Pyrrhi vix exiguo sanguine tingui.

#### CASSANDRA

Cohibete lacrimas omne quas tempus petet, 660 Troades, et ipsae vestra lamentabili

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 $<sup>^{30}</sup>$  With which the Horse was dragged into Troy. Sacer can also mean "accursed."  $$^{31}$  Lit. to the Haemonian, i.e. Thessalian, pyre; she is Polyxena.

With no thought of fear, the Trojan youth delight to touch the sacred ropes. 30 Here Astyanax, there the girl betrothed to Achilles' pyre 31 lead companies of their peers in age, she of young women, he of young men. Festive mothers bear their votive gifts to the gods; festive fathers approach the altars; one look is on faces throughout the city; and—something we never saw since the burning of Hector's body—Hecuba is joyful.

Ill-starred grief, what sorrow first, what last are you now preparing to mourn? Walls constructed by divine hands, demolished by ours? Or temples burnt on top of their gods? We are not free to lament these troubles: Ilium's women mourn you, great father. I saw, I saw in the old man's throat the sword of Pyrrhus scarcely tinged with his scanty blood.

# ACT 4

## CASSANDRA

Hold back the tears that will be called for throughout time,<sup>32</sup> women of Troy, and mourn your own dead with

<sup>32</sup> I.e. tears for those subjects (Troy and Priam) that will be mourned in every age (as the actor in *Hamlet* weeps for Hecuba).

lugete gemitu funera: aerumnae meae socium recusant. cladibus questus meis removete: nostris ipsa sufficiam malis.

### CHORUS

Lacrimas lacrimis miscere iuvat. 665 magis exurunt quos secretae lacerant curae; iuvat in medium deflere suos. Nec tu, quamvis dura virago patiensque mali, poteris tantas flere ruinas. non quae verno mobile carmen 670 ramo cantat tristis aedon Ityn in varios modulata sonos, non quae tectis Bistonis ales residens summis impia diri furta mariti garrula narrat, 675 lugere tuam poterit digne conquesta domum; licet ipse velit clarus niveos inter olores Histrum cycnus Tanainque colens 680 extrema loqui, licet alcyones Ceyca suum fluctu leviter plangente sonent, cum tranquillo male confisae

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> The swallow is the metamorphosed form of Procne, wife of the Thracian Tereus (hence "Bistonian," i.e. Thracian). Tereus re-

groans and laments: my sorrows brook no companion. Keep your keening apart from my tragedies: I shall be adequate to my own troubles.

# CHORUS OF TROJAN WOMEN

It helps to mingle tears with tears. Cares wound more deeply the people they afflict in private; it helps to mourn one's losses in common. Not even you, though heroic and hard in enduring troubles. can suffice to mourn such devastation. Not the sad nightingale that sings her changeful song from a springtime branch, inflecting "Itys" in varied notes, not the Bistonian bird that perches on rooftops and babbles the story of her monstrous husband's unnatural secret lust<sup>33</sup> could suffice to mourn your family with a fitting lament; even though Cycnus, bright amidst the snow-white swans at home on Hister or Tanais, should choose to sing his last song: or though halcyons, to the gentle sorrowful beat of waves, should sound their Cevx' name, when they count unwisely on calm weather, rashly trusting the sea yet again,

peatedly raped Procne's sister Philomela. Philomela, transformed into the nightingale, here mourns for Procne's son Itys, killed by Procne to punish her husband.

credunt iterum pelago audaces
fetusque suos
nido pavidae titubante fovent;
non si molles imitata viros
tristis laceret bracchia tecum
quae turritae turba parenti
pectora rauco concita buxo
ferit ut Phrygium lugeat Attin.
non est lacrimis, Cassandra, modus,
quia quae patimur vicere modum.

Sed cur sacratas deripis capiti infulas? miseris colendos maxime superos putem.

### CASSANDRA

Vicere nostra iam metus omnes mala.
equidem nec ulla caelites placo prece,
nec, si velint saevire, quo noceant habent;
Fortuna vires ipsa consumpsit suas.
quae patria restat, quis pater, quae iam soror?
bibere tumuli sanguinem atque arae meum.
quid illa felix turba fraterni gregis?
exhausta nempe. regia miseri senes
vacua relicti, totque per thalamos vident
praeter Lacaenam ceteras viduas nurus.
tot illa regum mater et regimen Phrygum
fecunda in ignes Hecuba fatorum novas

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Viz. the Galli, self-castrated devotees of Cybele, who sometimes cut their arms in religious ecstacy. The "crowd" consists of Cybele's other worshippers; the "mother" is Cybele.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Again elaborated by Mary Sidney in an ode of *Antony* (cf. fn. above on 609): "Our plaints no limits stay, / No more than do

and nestle their young anxiously in a rocking nest; not if the crowd should slash their arms like the unmanned men<sup>34</sup> in sorrow with you—the crowd that are stirred by the strident flute and beat their breasts in honour of the tower-crowned mother, to mourn for Phrygian Attis.

There is no limit, Cassandra, to tears, since what we suffer has surpassed limit.<sup>35</sup>

But why are you ripping the consecrated bands from your head? I would think the wretched most of all need to revere the gods.

### CASSANDRA

My troubles now have surpassed all fears. For my part I do not try to placate the gods with any prayer: even if they should want to be brutal, they have no means of doing harm. Fortune has used up all her resources! Does any fatherland remain now, any father, any sister? Burial mounds and altars have drunk my blood. What of that thriving, thronging group of brothers? All spent, of course. In the empty palace only sad old men are left, and throughout so many marriage chambers they see all other young wives widowed except the Spartan. <sup>36</sup> That famous mother of many princes and guidance for Phrygians, Hecuba, prolific for fires, <sup>37</sup> found fate to have new laws, and put on

our woes; / Both infinitely stray, / And neither measure knows. / In measure let them plain / Who measured griefs sustain."

<sup>36</sup> Helen. <sup>37</sup> I.e. prolific of sons who would be cremated. There is also an allusion to the fires of Troy, portended by her dream of giving birth to a firebrand (*Tro* 36–40).

experta leges induit vultus feros: circa ruinas rabida latravit suas, Troiae superstes, Hectori, Priamo, sibi.

### CHORUS

- 710 Silet repente Phoebas et pallor genas creberque totum possidet corpus tremor; stetere vittae, mollis horrescit coma, anhela corda murmure incluso fremunt, incerta nutant lumina et versi retro
- 715 torquentur oculi, rursus immoti rigent. nunc levat in auras altior solito caput graditurque celsa, nunc reluctantes parat reserare fauces, verba nunc clauso male custodit ore, maenas impatiens dei.

## CASSANDRA

- Quid me furoris incitam stimulis novi, quid mentis inopem, sacra Parnasi iuga, rapitis? recede, Phoebe, iam non sum tua; extingue flammas pectori infixas meo. cui nunc vagor vesana? cui bacchor furens? iam Troia cecidit: falsa quid vates ago?
- Ubi sum? fugit lux alma et obscurat genas nox alta et aether abditus tenebris latet. sed ecce gemino sole praefulget dies geminumque duplices Argos attollit domos.
- 730 Idaea cerno nemora? fatalis sedet inter potentes arbiter pastor deas? timete, reges, moneo, furtivum genus:

bestial form: she barked rabidly around her own ruins, a survivor of Troy, of Hector, of Priam, of herself.

# CHORUS LEADER

Suddenly Phoebus' priestess is silent; pallor spreads over her cheeks, continual trembling over her whole body. The holy ribbons stand out, her soft hair bristles. Her panting breast is loud with pent-up utterance; her gaze is unsteady and drooping; her eyes roll backwards, then again are fixed and rigid. Now she raises her head aloft, higher than usual, and walks tall; now she makes ready to unseal her reluctant mouth, now she tries in vain to hold in the words behind closed lips—a maenad unwilling to endure the god.

### CASSANDRA

Sacred peaks of Parnassus, why do you goad me with spurs of fresh madness, why sweep me out of control of my mind? Leave me, Phoebus: I am not yours any longer. Smother the flames you have planted in my breast. For whom do I drift in frenzy now? For whom do I play the crazed maenad? Now Troy has fallen, what business have I as a failed prophet?

Where am I? The kindly light has vanished, deep night blinds my eyes, heaven is obscured and hidden by darkness. But see now, daylight shines from twofold suns, Argos is twofold and raises up double homes. Do I see the groves of Ida? Is the fatal herdsman sitting as judge between powerful goddesses? You kings, I warn you, fear the clandestine breed: though raised in the backcountry,<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> These phrases equate Paris (the judge of goddesses) with Aegisthus, each raised in obscurity among herdsmen; "clandestine breed" alludes to the adultery of each, and (since *genus* can also mean "offspring") to Aegisthus' illicit conception.

agrestis iste alumnus evertet domum. quid ista vecors tela feminea manu destricta praefert? quem petit dextra virum Lacaena cultu, ferrum Amazonium gerens? quae versat oculos alia nunc facies meos? victor ferarum colla summissus iacet ignobili sub dente Marmarici lupi,

740 morsus cruentos passus audacis leae.

Quid me vocatis sospitem solam e meis, umbrae meorum? te sequor, tota pater Troia sepulte. frater, auxilium Phrygum terrorque Danaum, non ego antiquum decus

video aut calentes ratibus ambustis manus, sed lacera membra et saucios vinclo gravi illos lacertos. te sequor, nimium cito congresse Achilli Troile; incertos geris, Deiphobe, vultus, coniugis munus novae.

750 iuvat per ipsos ingredi Stygios lacus, iuvat videre Tartari saevum canem avidique regna Ditis! haec hodie ratis Phlegethontis atri regias animas vehet, victamque victricemque. vos, umbrae, precor,

755 iurata superis unda, te pariter precor: reserate paulum terga nigrantis poli,

<sup>738</sup> summissus Fitch: sublimis E: vexatus A

 $<sup>^{739}</sup>$  Marmarici lupior Marmarici canis  $Hendry\colon \text{marmaricus}$  leo EA

 $<sup>^{745}</sup>$  ratibus ambustis M.  $M\"{u}ller$ : ruptas bustis E: ratibus exustis A

he will overthrow your house! Why is that madwoman's hand holding an unsheathed weapon? Spartan by dress,<sup>39</sup> carrying an Amazon's steel, what man does she aim to attack? What different vision is attracting my eyes now? The conqueror of wild beasts lies with neck bowed beneath the ignoble jaws of the Marmaric wolf,<sup>40</sup> after suffering the bloody bites of the daring lionness.

[Seeing into the underworld] Spirits of my loved ones, why do you summon me, the only survivor of my family? I follow you, father, whose tomb is the whole of Troy. Brother, support of the Phrygians and terror of the Danaans, I do not see your splendour of old nor the hands hot from the firing of the ships, but torn limbs, and those famous arms wounded by heavy chains. I follow you, Troilus, who encountered Achilles too soon. I follow you, Troilus, who encountered Achilles too soon. You face is unrecognisable, Deiphobus, thanks to your new wife. What joy to embark on the very pools of Styx, what joy to see the savage hound of Tartarus and the realms of greedy Dis! Today this boat in black Phlegethon will carry royal souls, conquered and conqueror. You spirits, I pray you; you waters that the gods swear by, I pray you as well: draw back a little the covering of the dark world, so the in-

 $<sup>^{39}</sup>$  Clytemnestra is Spartan by birth; perhaps also an allusion to Spartan women's manlike strength (Med~78).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Viz. the hyena (here symbolizing Aegisthus), thought to be bisexual (cf. 890) and to mate with the lionness (which here symbolizes Clytemnestra).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> I.e. as a youth: Troy was destined not to fall if Troilus reached the age of 20. The previous brother seen by Cassandra is Hector, his body wounded by being dragged in chains behind Achilles' chariot.

levis ut Mycenas turba prospiciat Phrygum. spectate, miseri: fata se vertunt retro!

Instant sorores squalidae,

760 anguinea iactant verbera, fert laeva semustas faces turgentque pallentes genae

et vestis atri funeris exesa cingit ilia;

765 strepuntque nocturni metus, et ossa vasti corporis

corrupta longinquo situ palude limosa iacent.

Et ecce, defessus senex

ad ora ludentes aquas non captat oblitus sitim, maestus futuro funere. exultat et ponit gradus pater decoros Dardanus.

### CHORUS

775 Iam pervagatus ipse se fregit furor, caditque flexo qualis ante aras genu cervice taurus vulnus incertum gerens. relevemus artus.

> En deos tandem suos victrice lauru cinctus Agamemnon adit, et festa coniunx obvios illi tulit gressus, reditque iuncta concordi gradu.

770

substantial throng of Phrygians can look out at Mycenae. Watch, you poor folk: fate is reversing itself!

The scabrous sisters<sup>42</sup> advance, they brandish snaky whips, their left hands bear charred torches, their cheeks are pale and bloated, and black funereal garments girdle their wasted flanks.

The terrors of darkness howl, and the bones of a giant body rotted by long decay lie in the slimy marsh.

And see, the tired old man does not snatch at the fooling waters near his lips, forgets his thirst, grieving at death to come.<sup>43</sup> But Father Dardanus exults and treads a stately dance.

## CHORUS LEADER

Now her madness has spent itself with its ramblings, and she sinks down, as a bull sinks on bent knees before the altar, bearing an ill-aimed wound in its neck. Let us lift her body.

See, at last Agamemnon comes before his own gods, crowned with the victor's laurel; his wife went out to meet him in festive mood, and returns walking in concord at his side.

<sup>42</sup> The Furies

 $<sup>^{43}</sup>$  Tantalus mourns the imminent death of his great-grandson Agamemnon.

## AGAMEMNON

Tandem revertor sospes ad patrios lares. o cara salve terra! tibi tot barbarae dedere gentes spolia, tibi felix diu potentis Asiae domina summisit manus.

Quid ista vates corpus effusa ac tremens dubia labat cervice? famuli, attollite, refovete gelido latice. iam recipit diem marcente visu. Suscita sensus tuos: optatus ille portus aerumnis adest. festus dies est

> CASSANDRA Festus et Troiae fuit.

> > AGAMEMNON

Veneremur aras.

785

790

CASSANDRA Cecidit ante aras pater.

AGAMEMNON

Iovem precemur pariter.

CASSANDRA
Herceum Iovem?

AGAMEMNON

Credis videre te Ilium?

CASSANDRA Et Priamum simul.

AGAMEMNON

795 Hic Troia non est.

## AGAMEMNON

At long last I return in safety to my father's housegods. Greetings, my dear land! To you so many barbarian peoples have yielded spoils, to you the long-thriving mistress of powerful Asia has surrendered.

Why is the priestess lying there trembling and fainting, her neck drooping? Servants, raise her, revive her with cold water. Now she sees the light again, but with dull eyes. [To Cassandra] Gather your senses: the longed-for haven from sufferings is here at hand. This is a festive day!

CASSANDRA

It was festive too at Troy.

AGAMEMNON

Let us do reverence at the altar.

CASSANDRA

Father fell before an altar.

AGAMEMNON

Let us pray to Jove together.

CASSANDRA

Hercean Jove?

AGAMEMNON

You think you see Ilium?

CASSANDRA

Yes, and Priam as well.44

AGAMEMNON

Here is not Troy.

<sup>44</sup> I.e. a king fated to be murdered in his own palace, viz. Agamemnon.

CASSANDRA Helena ubi est, Troiam puto.

AGAMEMNON

Ne metue dominam famula.

CASSANDRA Libertas adest.

AGAMEMNON

Secura vive!

CASSANDRA Mihi mori est securitas.

AGAMEMNON

Nullum est periclum tibimet.

CASSANDRA At magnum tibi.

AGAMEMNON

Victor timere quid potest?

CASSANDRA Ouod non timet.

AGAMEMNON

800 Hanc, fida famuli turba, dum excutiat deum, retinete, ne quid impotens peccet furor.

At te, pater, qui saeva torques fulmina pellisque nubes, sidera et terras regis, ad quem triumphi spolia victores ferunt, et te sororem cuncta pollentis viri,

 $<sup>^{45}</sup>$  I.e. Clytemnestra, as Helen's sister and an adulteress and bringer of death like her. (Helen herself is not present.) That

CASSANDRA

Where Helen is,<sup>45</sup> I think it Troy.

AGAMEMNON

Do not fear your mistress, though a slave.

CASSANDRA

Freedom is close.

AGAMEMNON

Live in security!

CASSANDRA

For me death is security.

AGAMEMNON

There is no danger for you.

CASSANDRA

But great danger for you.

AGAMEMNON

What can a conqueror fear?

CASSANDRA

What he does not fear.

### AGAMEMNON

My loyal band of servants, restrain her until she throws off the god's influence, lest her wayward madness should commit some offence.

But you, father, who hurl fierce thunderbolts, who drive the clouds and rule the stars and earth, to whom conquerors bring triumphal spoils, and you, sister of your

Cassandra glances at Clytemnestra is suggested by Agamemnon's reply.

Argolica Iuno, pecore votivo libens Arabumque donis supplice et fibra colam.

## CHORUS

820

825

rettuitque pedem
 nomen alternis stella quae mutat
 seque mirata est Hesperum dici.

Aurora movit
ad solitas vices caput, et relabens
imposuit seni collum marito.
sensit ortus, sensit occasus
Herculem nasci: violentus ille
nocte non una poterat creari.
tibi concitatus substitit mundus,
o puer subiture caelum.

810 educans Fitch: educas EA
 819 lacuna recognised by Zwierlein

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 46}$  Juno, angry at the number of Jove's bastard children, her "stepchildren."

all-powerful husband, Argive Juno: I shall gladly worship you with votive animals, with offerings from Arabia, and with entrails burnt in thanksgiving.

### CHORUS

Argos famed for famous citizens,
Argos dear to the angry stepmother, 46
always nurturing mighty sons:
you rounded the uneven number of the gods.
That hero of yours earned admission to heaven
by his twice six labours—great Alcides,
for whom Jove broke the laws of the cosmos,
doubled the hours of dewy night,
and ordered Phoebus

to drive his speeding chariot more slowly and your two horses to return at a walk,

radiant Phoebe.

The star that alternates its name<sup>47</sup>
... and then stepped back,
amazed to find itself called Hesper.

Aurora raised

her head in time for the usual shift, then sinking back pillowed her neck on her ancient husband.

The lands of sunrise and sunset were aware of Hercules' genesis; that aggressive hero could not have been sired in a single night. For you the hastening skies stood still, child with the destiny of entering heaven.

<sup>47</sup> The dawn star, Lucifer, was sometimes regarded as identical with the evening star, Hesperus. The gist of the missing words must be that the star prepared to shine as Lucifer.

Te sensit Nemeaeus arto pressus lacerto fulmineus leo 830 cervaque Parrhasis, sensit Arcadii populator agri. gemuitque taurus Dictaea linguens horridus arva. morte fecundum domuit draconem 835 vetuitque collo pereunte nasci, geminosque fratres pectore ex uno tria monstra natos stipite incusso fregit insultans duxitque ad ortus Hesperium pecus, 840 Geryonae spolium triformis. egit Threicium gregem, quem non Strymonii gramine fluminis Hebrive ripis pavit tyrannus: hospitum dirus stabulis cruorem 845 praebuit saevis, tinxitque crudos ultimus rictus sanguis aurigae. vidit Hippolyte ferox pectore e medio rapi spolium, et sagittis nube percussa 850 Stymphalis alto decidit caelo; arborque pomis fertilis aureis extimuit manus insueta carpi fugitque in auras leviore ramo. audivit sonitum crepitante lamna 855

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> The chorus list Hercules' labours in the following order: Nemean lion, Arcadian hind, Erymanthian boar, Cretan bull, Lernaean hydra, cattle of Geryon, horses of Diomedes, baldric of

Your power was felt by the lightning-like Nemean lion, crushed in your tightened arms,<sup>48</sup> and the Parrhasian hind,

and felt by the plunderer of Arcadian fields; and the fearsome bull

bellowed at leaving Dictaean lands. He subdued the snaky creature, fertile in death, and stopped it arising from dying necks;

the twinned brothers

that rose as three monsters from a single breast he crushed as he leapt with blows from his club, and he brought east the Hesperian cattle,

spoil from three-formed Geryon.

He drove the Thracian herd

that the tyrant had fed not on the grassy banks of the Strymon River or Hebrus: the fiend purveyed the gore of strangers to his savage beasts, but the last blood to redd

to his savage beasts, but the last blood to redden those brutish jaws was their charioteer's.

From her very breast the fierce
Hippolyte watched him wrench
the spoil; when the clouds were struck by arrows
the Stymphalids fell from the high heavens.

The tree prolific of golden apples shrank from his hands, unused to being plucked, and recoiled upwards with lightened branches.

The clink of metallic leaves was heard

Hippolyte, Stymphalian birds, apples of Hesperides, Cerberus. (Details are given in the Index.) To these eleven they add the expedition against Troy and omit the Augean stables, maintaining the canonical number of twelve.

frigidus custos nescius somni, linqueret cum iam nemus omne fulvo plenus Alcides vacuum metallo. tractus ad caelum canis inferorum

860

865

triplici catena
tacuit nec ullo latravit ore,
lucis ignotae metuens colorem.
te duce succidit
mendax Dardanidae domus
et sensit arcus iterum timendos;
te duce concidit totidem diebus
Troia quot annis.

### CASSANDRA

Res agitur intus magna, par annis decem. eheu quid hoc est? anime, consurge et cape pretium furoris: vicimus victi Phryges. bene est, resurgis, Troia; traxisti iacens 870 pares Mycenas, terga dat victor tuus! tam clara numquam providae mentis furor ostendit oculis: video et intersum et fruor: imago visus dubia non fallit meos. spectemus! epulae regia instructae domo, 875 quales fuerunt ultimae Phrygibus dapes, celebrantur; ostro lectus Iliaco nitet merumque in auro veteris Assaraci trahunt. et ipse picta veste sublimis iacet, Priami superbas corpore exuvias gerens. 880

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> The Dardanid was Laomedon, who cheated Hercules of a promised reward. Hercules' arrows would threaten Troy again in the hands of Philoctetes.

by the chill guard that knew no sleep, as Alcides was leaving the grove entirely empty of the tawny metal that filled his arms.

The hound of the underworld, dragged aloft with triple chains, fell silent, barked with none of his mouths, fearing the colour of the unknown light.

When you led the attack, the Dardanid's perjured house collapsed, and felt the arrows that would threaten again;49 when you led the attack, it fell in as many days as Troy took years to fall.

# ACT 5

### CASSANDRA

A great deed is being done inside, a match for those ten years. Oh no, what is this? Rise up, my spirit, and enjoy the rewards of your madness! We have conquered, we conquered Phrygians! Good, you are rising again, Troy. While fallen you have dragged down your adversary, Mycenae; your conqueror turns and runs! My prophetic madness has never shown things to my eyes so clearly. I see the scene, I am there, I relish it; this is no hazy picture deceiving my sight. Let us watch! A feast is being held, laid out in the royal house—like that last banquet for the Phrygians. The couch is replendent with purple cloths from Ilium, and they quaff their wine from the gold of old Assaracus. He himself lies in state in an embroidered robe, his body clothed in proud spoils from Priam.

Detrahere cultus uxor hostiles iubet, induere potius coniugis fidae manu textos amictus. horreo atque animo tremo! regemne perimet exul et adulter virum? 885 venere fata. sanguinem extremae dapes domini videbunt, et cruor Baccho incidet. mortifera vinctum perfidae tradit neci induta vestis: exitum manibus negant caputque laxi et invii claudunt sinus. 890 haurit trementi semivir dextra latus, nec penitus egit: vulnere in medio stupet. at ille, ut altis hispidus silvis aper cum casse vinctus temptat egressus tamen artatque motu vincla et in cassum furit, 895 cupit fluentes undique et caecos sinus dissicere et hostem quaerit implicitus suum. armat bipenni Tyndaris dextram furens, qualisque ad aras colla taurorum popa designat oculis antequam ferro petat, 900 sic huc et illuc impiam librat manum. habet, peractum est! pendet exigua male caput amputatum parte, et hinc trunco cruor exundat, illinc ora cum fremitu iacent. nondum recedunt: ille iam exanimem petit 905 laceratque corpus, illa fodientem adiuvat. uterque tanto scelere respondet suis: est hic Thyestae natus, haec Helenae soror. stat ecce Titan dubius emerito die, suane currat an Thyestea via.

898 popa Bentley: prius EA

His wife bids him take off this enemy attire, and put on instead a mantle woven by her hand, his faithful spouse. I shudder and tremble in spirit! Shall the king be murdered by an exile, the husband by an adulterer? The hour of fate has come. The feast's last course will see the master's blood—ves, blood will drop into the wine. The deadly garment he has put on binds him and delivers him to death by treachery. Its loose, impenetrable folds imprison his head and give his hands no way out. The half-man gouges his side with a trembling hand—but he has not thrust deep, he freezes in the very act of wounding! As in deep woods a bristling boar caught fast in a net still attempts to escape, tightening his bonds by his movements and raging in vain, so the king tries to part the blinding folds that pour around him, and searches for his enemy while ensnared. The Tyndarid madly arms herself with a double-bladed axe, and tries aiming at various points with those wicked hands, just as an attendant at the altar marks out the bulls' necks by eve before striking with the steel. He's hit,50 it's all over! The head hangs by a small segment, not cleanly cut off. Here blood pours from the torso, there lies the face with its mouth still shouting. They are not yet stepping away: he attacks Agamemnon now he is dead and mutilates his body, she assists in the stabbing. Both show themselves true to family by such a crime: he is Thyestes' son, she is Helen's sister. But see, with his day's work ended the Titan halts in confusion: should he run his own course, or a Thyestean course?51

50 Literally "he has it" (the wound), a phrase taken from gladiatorial fights.
51 After Thyestes' gruesome feast the sun turned and ran counter to its normal direction.

# ELECTRA

910 Fuge, o paternae mortis auxilium unicum, fuge et scelestas hostium evita manus. eversa domus est funditus, regna occidunt.

Quis iste celeres concitus currus agit? germane, vultus veste furabor tuos.

915 —quid, anime demens, refugis? externos times? domus timenda est! pone iam trepidos metus, Oresta: amici fida praesidia intuor.

### STROPHIUS

Phocida relictam Strophius Elea inclitus palma revertor. causa veniendi fuit gratari amico, cuius impulsum manu cecidit decenni marte concussum Ilium.

Quaenam ista lacrimis lugubrem vultum rigat pavetque maesta? regium agnosco genus. Electra, fletus causa quae laeta in domo est?

## ELECTRA

925 Pater peremptus scelere materno iacet, comes paternae quaeritur natus neci, Aegisthus arces venere quaesitas tenet.

# STROPHIUS

O nulla longi temporis felicitas!

# ELECTRA

Per te parentis memoriam obtestor mei, 930 per sceptra terris nota, per dubios deos: recipe hunc Oresten ac pium furtum occule.

### ELECTRA

[Entering with Orestes and speaking to him] Escape! You are the only hope of redress for our father's death—escape and elude our enemies' wicked hands. Our house is utterly overthrown, our royal power brought low.

Who is this, driving a chariot here in such haste? Brother, I shall conceal your face behind my cloak. [To herself] What craziness, to shrink back and fear outsiders! Our home is what we must fear! No more panic now, Orestes: I see a loyal friend and protector.

### STROPHIUS

[Entering in a chariot with his son Pylades] I am returning home to Phocis, my name Strophius made famous through winning the palm at Elis. My purpose in coming was to congratulate my friend, whose hand has toppled Ilium after ten years of warfare had shaken her.

Who is this with tears of sorrow on her face, fearful and sad? I recognise her royal lineage. Electra, what cause is there for tears in your joyful house?

#### ELECTRA

Our father lies murdered by our mother's criminal act; they are searching for the son to join his father in death; and Aegisthus holds sway over the city, gained by adultery.

## STROPHIUS

Oh, the transience of all happiness!

## **ELECTRA**

By my father's memory I implore you, by his worldrenowned sceptre, and by the fickle gods: take Orestes here, and conceal the righteous theft.

### STROPHIUS

Etsi timendum caesus Agamemnon docet, aggrediar et te, Oresta, furabor libens. [fidem secunda poscunt, adversa exigunt] cape hoc decorum ludicri certaminis, insigne frontis; laeva victricem tenens frondem virenti protegat ramo caput, et ista donum palma Pisaei Iovis velamen eadem praestet atque omen tibi. Tuque, o paternis assidens frenis comes, condisce, Pylade, patris exemplo fidem. Vos Graecia nunc teste veloces equi infida cursu fugite praecipiti loca.

#### ELECTRA

Excessit, abiit, currus effreno impetu effugit aciem. tuta iam opperiar meos hostes et ultro vulneri opponam caput.

Adest cruenta coniugis victrix sui, et signa caedis veste maculata gerit. manus recenti sanguine etiamnunc madent vultusque prae se scelera truculenti ferunt. concedam ad aras.—Patere me vittis tuis, Cassandra, iungi paria metuentem tibi.

## CLYTEMESTRA

Hostis parentis, impium atque audax caput, quo more coetus publicos virgo petis?

934 deleted by Peiper

935

940

945

## ACAMEMNON

#### STROPHIUS

Even though Agamemnon's murder teaches the need for fear, I shall gladly brave the task and steal you away, Orestes. <sup>52</sup> Take this prize from the athletic games to adorn your brow. Your left hand must hold the branch of victory and screen your head with its green foliage: so the palm bestowed by Pisaean Jove shall offer you both concealment and a good omen. And Pylades, sitting close by your father as he drives: learn loyalty from your father's example. Now, you horses, whose speed all Greece has witnessed, gallop away from this place where loyalty is lost.

# ELECTRA

He is off, he has gone, the chariot sped headlong, already out of sight! Now I am safe,<sup>53</sup> I shall await my enemies and willingly offer my neck to the death blow.

Here she is, the bloodthirsty conqueror of her own husband, with the signs of murder on her stained clothes. Her hands are still wet with fresh blood, and her truculent expression reveals her criminality. I shall withdraw to the altar. Let me share your protecting chaplets, <sup>54</sup> Cassandra, since my danger is equal to yours.

## CLYTEMNESTRA

Enemy of your mother, unnatural, brazen creature: what behaviour is this, to seek public converse as a virgin girl?

<sup>52</sup> 934 (deleted): "Good fortune calls for loyalty, but adversity demands it."

<sup>53</sup> Because Orestes is out of danger, and she is unafraid to face death herself (cf. e.g. *Tro* 574).

<sup>54</sup> The reference is to the woollen bands identifying those under the aegis of the gods, such as priests and suppliants.

ELECTRA

955 Adulterorum virgo deserui domum.

CLYTEMESTRA

Quis esse credat virginem—

ELECTRA
Natam tuam?

CLYTEMESTRA

Modestius cum matre.

ELECTRA
Pietatem doces?

CLYTEMESTRA

Animos viriles corde tumefacto geris; sed agere domita feminam disces malo.

ELECTRA

960 Nisi forte fallor, feminas ferrum decet.

CLYTEMESTRA

Et esse demens te parem nobis putas?

ELECTRA

Vobis? quis iste est alter Agamemnon tuus? ut vidua loquere: vir caret vita tuus.

CLYTEMESTRA

Indomita posthac virginis verba impiae 965 regina frangam; citius interea mihi edissere ubi sit natus, ubi frater tuus.

ELECTRA

Extra Mycenas.

### ELECTRA

As a virgin girl I have quit the home of adulterers.

# CLYTEMNESTRA

Who would believe you a virgin?

**ELECTRA** 

Your daughter?

# CLYTEMNESTRA

More modestly with your mother!

## ELECTRA

Are you teaching right relationships?

# CLYTEMNESTRA

You carry a man's spirit in your puffed-up heart, but when tamed by suffering you will learn to play the woman.

## ELECTRA

If I am not mistaken, women have an aptitude for steel.

# CLYTEMNESTRA

And do you have the crazy notion that you are a match for us?

# ELECTRA

For you two? Who is that other Agamemnon of yours? Speak as a widow: your husband has lost his life.

## CLYTEMNESTRA

These unbridled words from an undutiful virgin—I shall break them later as queen. Meanwhile tell me quickly where is my son, your brother.

## **ELECTRA**

Outside Mycenae.

CLYTEMESTRA Redde nunc natum mihi.

ELECTRA

Et tu parentem redde.

CLYTEMESTRA
Quo latitat loco?

ELECTRA

Tuto quietus, regna non metuens nova: 970 dixi parenti satis.

> CLYTEMESTRA At iratae parum.

morieris hodie.

ELECTRA

Dummodo hac moriar manu. recedo ab aris. sive te iugulo iuvat mersisse ferrum, praebeo iugulum tibi; seu more pecudum colla resecari placet, intenta cervix vulnus expectat tuum. scelus paratum est: caede respersam viri atque obsoletam sanguine hoc dextram ablue.

CLYTEMESTRA

Consors pericli pariter ac regni mei, Aegisthe, gradere. nata genetricem impie probris lacessit, occulit fratrem abditum.

AEGISTHUS

Furibunda virgo, vocis infandae sonum et aure verba indigna materna opprime.

970 dixi E: justae\* A

973 tibi E: volens A

975

# ACAMEMNON

### CLYTEMNESTRA

Restore my son to me now.

ELECTRA

And you restore my father.

CLYTEMNESTRA

Where is he hiding?

#### ELECTRA

In peace and safety, with no fear of the new regime. I have said enough for a mother.

#### CLYTEMNESTRA

But not enough for an angry one. You shall die this day.

### ELECTRA

So long as I die by this hand of yours! I am moving away from the altar. If you please to sink the steel in my throat, I offer you my throat; or if you want my neck to be severed like cattle, my neck is stretched out to await your deathblow. The crime is ready-made. Since your hand is spattered and tarnished with your husband's gore, cleanse it with this blood!

#### CLYTEMNESTRA

You who share my danger as well as my throne, Aegisthus, come! My daughter is insulting her mother outrageously, and keeping her brother hidden away.

# AEGISTHUS

Demented girl, hush this infamous talk, these words unfit for a mother's ears.

# ELECTRA

Etiam monebit sceleris infandi artifex, per scelera natus, nomen ambiguum suis, idem sororis natus et patris nepos?

# **CLYTEMESTRA**

Aegisthe, cessas impium ferro caput demetere? fratrem reddat aut animam statim.

# **AEGISTHUS**

Abstrusa caeco carcere et saxo exigat aevum; per omnes torta poenarum modos referre quem nunc occulit forsan volet. inops egens inclusa, paedore obruta, vidua ante thalamos, exul, invisa omnibus aethere negato sero succumbet malis.

#### ELECTRA

Concede mortem.

985

#### **AEGISTHUS**

Si recusares, darem:

995 rudis est tyrannus morte qui poenam exigit.

#### ELECTRA

Mortem aliquid ultra est?

### AEGISTHUS

Vita, si cupias mori.

Abripite, famuli, monstrum, et avectam procul ultra Mycenas ultimo in regni angulo vincite saeptam nocte tenebrosi specus, ut inquietam virginem carcer domet.

### AGAMEMNON

#### ELECTRA

Is he really going to give reprimands, this architect of infamous crime, a man born through crime, ambiguously related to his own family—both son of his sister and grandchild of his father?

### CLYTEMNESTRA

Aegisthus, why hesitate to strike off the undutiful creature's head with your sword? She must give up her brother or her life immediately.

#### AEGISTHUS

She shall live out her life buried in an unlit, rocky dungeon. Tormented by all manner of punishments, she will perhaps agree to return the one she is now hiding. Helpless, starving, imprisoned, overwhelmed with filth, bereft before being married, exiled, hated by all, denied the daylight, she will succumb at long last to her sufferings.

#### ELECTRA

Grant me death!

#### AEGISTHUS

If you said no to it, I would confer it. One who punishes by death is an inept tyrant.

#### ELECTRA

Is anything worse than death?

#### AEGISTHUS

Life, if you long to die. Slaves, hurry this monster away, carry her far outside Mycenae, and in the kingdom's remotest corner chain and confine her in the darkness of an unlit cave, so that prison may tame this turbulent virgin.

### CLYTEMESTRA

At ista poenas capite persolvet suo captiva coniunx, regii paelex tori. Trahite, ut sequatur coniugem ereptum mihi.

# CASSANDRA

Ne trahite, vestros ipsa praecedam gradus.

1005 perferre prima nuntium Phrygibus meis
propero: repletum ratibus eversis mare,
captas Mycenas, mille ductorem ducum,
ut paria fata Troicis lueret malis,
perisse dono, feminae stupro, dolo.

1010 nihil moramur, rapite, quin grates ago:
iam, iam iuvat vixisse post Troiam, iuvat.

CLYTEMESTRA

Furiosa, morere!

CASSANDRA Veniet et vobis furor.

# AGAMEMNON

### CLYTEMNESTRA

But this one shall pay the death penalty—this prisonerwife, mistress of the royal bed. Drag her away to follow the husband she stole from me.

# CASSANDRA

Do not drag me, I shall walk before you. I am eager to reach my Phrygians first with the news: how the sea was filled with capsized ships, how Mycenae was taken, how the leader of a thousand leaders—to meet a fate commensurate with Troy's sufferings—perished by a gift, by a woman's lust, by a trick. I make no delay, hurry me away, indeed I thank you. *Now* I am happy to have outlived Troy—yes, happy!

# CLYTEMNESTRA

Die in your madness!

### CASSANDRA

Madness will come upon you too.55

 $^{55}$  I.e. vengeance will come upon both of you (vobis plural) at Orestes' hands: madness (furor) and revenge are closely connected through the Furies.



# INTRODUCTION

# Background

Tantalus, a human son of Jupiter, served the flesh of his son Pelops to the gods to test them. They perceived the trick, restored Pelops to life, and sentenced Tantalus to eternal torment by hunger and thirst in the underworld. Later Pelops came to Greece, and was challenged by Oenomaus to a mortal chariot race. Pelops bribed his opponent's charioteer Myrtilus to sabotage his master's chariot; when Myrtilus claimed his reward, Pelops drowned him. Afterwards Pelops established a kingdom in Greece south of the Isthmus, which became known as the Peloponnese or "island of Pelops."

The family's history of wrongdoing continues in Pelops' sons Atreus and Thyestes. Thyestes seduced Atreus' wife Aerope; consequently Atreus is uncertain of the paternity of his sons Agamemnon and Menelaus. With Aerope's help, Thyestes obtained the golden-fleeced ram which was the talisman of the Argive throne; so he became king, and drove Atreus into exile. Now Atreus has gained the throne, and is preparing to take revenge on his banished brother.

# Summary

# Act 1

The ghost of Tantalus is brought from the underworld, and forced by a Fury to infect the royal house of Argos with his evil influence.

Ode 1. The chorus prays that the gods will end the sequence of evildoing among Tantalus' descendants. Description of Tantalus' punishment in the underworld.

# Act 2

Atreus goads himself to take revenge on his brother, and settles on the scheme of the feast. First he will invite Thyestes and his sons back from exile in a pretence of reconciliation.

Ode 2. True kingship consists not of temporal power but governance of the self. The chorus expresses its ideal of a simple life in seclusion.

# Act 3

Thyestes thinks better of returning to Argos, but is persuaded by his son to continue. Atreus welcomes him effusively and dresses him in royal robes.

*Ode* 3. The chorus comments on the drastic change from war preparations to peace. No situation or good fortune is enduring.

# Act 4

A messenger describes Atreus' sacrifice of Thyestes' sons, his cooking of their flesh, and its consumption by Thyestes.

Ode 4. The chorus reacts to the turning back of the sun. Does it signal the imminent fall of the constellations and destruction of the cosmos?

# Act 5

The still ignorant Thyestes attempts to enjoy the feast, but cannot dispel misgivings. After mocking him, Atreus reveals what he has done. Thyestes' prayers to the gods for retribution meet with no response.

# Comment

The play's central theme is tantalising, insatiable desire. The eponymous embodiment of such desire is Tantalus, ancestor of the royal house of Argos, whose punishment in the underworld is appropriately to "catch at vanishing food with his avid mouth" (line 2). When the Fury bids him "fill the whole house with Tantalus," she means "fill it with insatiable desire" (53). Hunger and thirst, emptiness and fulness are constant motifs of the play, sometimes literal and physical as in Tantalus, sometimes metaphors for other desires and attempts to satisfy them. Supreme power above all tantalises those who desire it: "Let kingship slip from the brothers when in their pride, and pull them back when in exile" (32–33).

In keeping with the insatiable nature of desire, Atreus does not enjoy the supreme power he holds, but wants more. Specifically he wants revenge, which he regards as the right and almost the duty of a despot. But how to encompass a revenge that will be adequate, in the sense of

outdoing all previous achievements? Here as in Medea and elsewhere we find the old heroic drive for competitive accomplishment, "to be best and to be outstanding among others": but that drive has now become an obsessive desire, and one devoid of any moral content. The longing to "fill" the self with transcendent passion (253) suggests hollowness, not heroism. And the wish "to be outstanding among others" has been transformed into (or revealed as) a desire to vindicate one's selfhood by domination of others. Hence the connection in Atreus' mind between supreme power and revenge. As his subjects must be forced not just to tolerate but to praise his acts (206-07), so the threat posed (allegedly) by Thyestes' existence must be brought under control. The issue of mastery is clear in Atreus' image of Thyestes as a beast caught in a net, and of the crown placed on Thyestes' head as a bond (491, 544). Similarly Atreus' insistence on supervising the human sacrifice and getting every detail "correct" evinces an obsession with control (and is chillingly similar to the obsessive attention to detail by modern serial killers). The sacrifice demonstrates Atreus' control in other ways too: as a sacrifice to himself (713) it places him in the position of a god, and simultaneously proves that the gods cannot prevent his usurpation of their rights.

Ode 2, with its calm teaching that self-governance is the only true kingship, presents so attractive a contrast to Atreus' understanding of kingship that it has been taken as an authorial statement controlling interpretation of the play. Seneca as a philosopher was, after all, aligned with Stoicism, and the best known of the Stoic paradoxes held that "the wise man alone is king." But there were differences of emphasis and doctrine within Stoicism, as within Christianity. Seneca as philosopher nowhere endorses the paradox of the wise man as king.¹ His ideal of kingship is rather that of the *rex iustus*, i.e. of one who holds temporal power but exercises it with justice and clemency (see his essay *On Clemency*). The doctrine that "the wise man alone is king" has the potential to lead to a radical and non-Stoic repudiation of temporal power and of involvement in affairs of state: it is significant that this very ode shifts into a desire for retirement and enjoyment of the passing day (391–403) that is certifiably Epicurean, not Stoic. As elsewhere, the chorus' moral pronouncements shed light on the drama, but should not be read as authorial.

In contrast to the single-minded Atreus, Thyestes is torn between desire on the one hand and knowledge on the other hand. In this he recalls Ovid's Medea: "Desire urges one course, knowledge another; I see the better path and endorse it, but I follow the worse" (Metamorphoses 7.19-21). References in Thyestes' opening speech to wealth, acclaim, and the throne reveal that he has not lost his hunger for those things. On the other hand he knows how delusive and dangerous they are, and how much peace lies in the simple life—a life lived according to nature, a life "among the beasts and comparable to theirs" (413-414). In some ways his understanding echoes the philosophical ideas of Ode 2, though his knowledge is based on personal experience not philosophy, and his behaviour shows that he has not in fact "put aside" ambition and other desires. Consequently he follows his sons, trusts

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> He does however recount—with evident irony—that his Stoic teacher Attalus claimed such philosophical kingship (*Letter* 108.13).

his brother, and accepts a crown, knowing full well that he should do none of these things, and wallows in food and drink exactly where he knows danger lurks.

Both brothers, then, are in the grip of tantalising desire. In what sense is it inspired by their grandfather Tantalus, as Act 1 suggests? His role can be understood symbolically: as he rises from the depths of the underworld, so desire rises from the irrational depths of the mind. Correspondingly the dark, sinister valley in the palace grounds is like a black hole of irrational drives within the psyche. But Act 1 also symbolises a causal relationship between Tantalus' desire and his grandsons', since the family's history has shaped the present generation, including its insatiable desires. By both nature and nurture this generation is driven to desire, imitating and emulating the examples of its forebears.

Desire is so boundless that it perverts not only human relationships but also the natural world and the order of the cosmos. The turning back of the sun in horror, traditional to the myth, brings darkness at noon, and raises fears of a universal cataclysm (such as was predicted by the physical science of Seneca's day, both Stoic and Epicurean). Already in the prologue the earth's moisture is parched, its greenery withered, by the presence of Tantalus/desire (106–121); consequently the chorus' hope in Ode 1, that nature's beauty will inspire divine protection, is already undermined for the audience. Similarly fire recoils from involvement in Atreus' evil (768–772).<sup>2</sup> Such

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In ancient myth and religion, nature is seen as reacting to evil in the human world by omens and portents; in Seneca that traditional picture may take on some philosophical colouring through

unintended consequences of human desire are matched by its intended results. Atreus wants the whole world to be convulsed by his revenge, with fields and cities blazing everywhere (180–183)—and he has the power, like his Roman counterparts, to put at least some of that into effect. The high and mighty of Argos/Rome contravene nature systematically, building out into the sea, planting forests on rooftops, turning day into night—and making themselves gods in place of Jove, to show that they recognise no limit to their power (455–467). There is no missing the relevance of these themes to our own situation two millennia later, in which a mania for consumption threatens every natural system on earth, and the desire for political dominion has led to development of weapons that could devastate the world.

Allusions and references to the world of Rome are prominent in the middle stretch of this play (from Ode 2 on), almost all having to do with power and dominion. The examples of ostentatious greed cited by Thyestes—the building of villas out into the sea, and so on—are familiar in Roman satire and moralising, while the reference to supplanting Jove's worship cannot fail to suggest the worship of Roman emperors (see e.g. Suetonius' *Life of Caligula* 22). The Messenger's description of the Tantalid palace in Act 4 strongly evokes Vergil's depiction of a hill-top palace-temple in early Rome (*Aeneid* 7.170–186), a prototype of the actual imperial palace of Vergil's and Seneca's day atop the Palatine Hill; what is a place of benign power in Vergil has become a place of tyranny in Seneca.

the Stoic doctrine of *sympatheia*, i.e. the interconnection and interaction of all parts of the cosmos.

And particularly in Odes 2 and 3 there are references to foreign peoples at or beyond the borders of Rome's empire, peoples of importance in the geopolitical struggles of the first century A.D. This plethora of references leaves no doubt that the play's themes of megalomania, lust for power, violation of family relationships, and oppression of citizens have a direct relevance to the experience of imperial Rome.

The story of Atreus and Thyestes had, in fact, long been found particularly relevant to Roman potentates and their boundless hunger for power. The notorious tag oderint dum metuant, "let them hate as long as they fear me," comes from Accius' Atreus (perhaps 140 B.C.); it was quoted by Cicero to suggest Antony's tyrannical ambition, and by Seneca in reference to the age of Sulla and Marius; Caligula allegedly liked to utter it with perverse approval. The Atreus of Aemilius Scaurus so offended Tiberius that it cost the author his life. Later in the century, Curiatius Maternus planned a Thyestes specifically as a vehicle for dissident comment under the autocratic Domitian. If Seneca did indeed write Thyestes in the later years of Nero's reign, he can have had little doubt about the dangerous relevance of its subject. Fortem facit vicina libertas senem: "The closeness of freedom makes the aged brave" (Pha 139).

Thyestes is remarkable for its integration of many facets into a unified whole: dramaturgy, rhetoric, themes, imagery, moral and political issues. Because of this integration it is often and rightly regarded as Seneca's masterpiece (though one should add that Seneca did not necessarily seek unity of this kind in the other plays). Thyestes also has other characteristics of greatness: an ability to resonate

with meaning at many levels, and an ability to speak directly to ages other than its own.

But though unmistakably a masterpiece, is its effect that of tragedy? It does not evoke that sympathy for the victims of disaster on which many Greek tragedies base their emotional effect; for Thyestes is too weak-willed, too gross in his feasting, too dim-witted in comparison with his brother, to command much sympathy. Atreus himself is paradoxically far more attractive, at least initially: in his exuberant ruthlessness, in his frank devotion to power as the only good, in his macabre wit, in his command of words and rhetoric, he has an appeal like that of Shakespeare's Richard III. But he becomes repellent in his demented sacrificing of the youngsters, and in his sadistic toving with Thyestes. The play's effect is likely to be horror and shock—shock in particular that the play ends in Atreus' triumph, with no prospect of his punishment in sight. Admittedly his insatiable desire is unlikely to remain satisfied for long, indeed is already dissatisfied (1053–1068). And admittedly we know, unlike the chorus, that the cosmos will survive. But that knowledge is hardly reassuring, since the pathological desire for domination will also survive, in the Tantalid family and in Atreus' metaphorical descendants, a Caligula or a Nero, a Hitler or a Hussein. Perhaps part of tragedy's role is to confront us with the darkest elements in our experience of the world and of ourselves. The experience may not be comfortable or therapeutic. But in a tough-minded age largely unaccustomed to religious comfort, it may not seem as intolerable as it did to some earlier ages.

The greatest horror, the killing and eating of the children, was part of the myth long before Seneca, and is par-

allelled in other Greek myths such as those of Saturn, Procne, and Tantalus himself. The killing of children or young people by the older generation, often their parents, is a prominent motif of ancient tragedy, present in most of the Senecan dramas. A structural contrast may be made with comedy: in a familiar comic pattern, young people escape the control of their elders and establish themselves as adults, potential parents in turn. In tragedy that natural succession is often denied.<sup>3</sup> The inversion of natural processes is particularly clear when children are thrust back into the body of the parent in a travesty of birth and pregnancy (see 999–1000, 1041–1044), unable to achieve separation (978–979, 998). However extreme this element in *Thyestes* may appear from a moral viewpoint, it has a structural centrality to the tragic genre.

# Sources

The widespread view of *Thyestes* as the most Senecan of the Senecan plays is largely attributable to the loss of so many dramas from antiquity. The strife between Thyestes and Atreus was one of the most popular themes of ancient tragedy. We know of eight Greek dramatists who wrote on it, including Sophocles and Euripides, and six Roman dramatists other than Seneca himself (see Tarrant [1985] 40–

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The triumphant success of the leading character at the end of *Thyestes* is structurally comparable with the pattern of comedy—as is the use of wit, cunning, and humour in the process of achieving it—but inverts the implications and values of comedy. Similarly the feast, in comedy a celebration of community, here becomes inversely a feast for one man.

43). Most of these plays are lost beyond recall. The only one that can be reconstructed with any confidence is the *Atreus* of Accius (probably performed 140 B.C.). It appears to have been similar in outline to Seneca's play, and even to have shared the theme of tyranny, to judge by its best known surviving words, quoted above. The probable explanation of the similarities is not that Seneca followed Accius in particular, but that the main elements of plot and character had become thoroughly traditional—with each dramatist free, of course, to adjust them according to his own emphases.

Seneca also draws on a wealth of nondramatic poetry, particularly Augustan. There are several resonances with scenes of Vergil's Aeneid that have underworld connotations: Aeneas' descent to the underworld (Book 6), Faunus' oracular grove (7.81–91), and the Fury Allecto's ascent to earth (7.323–571). And there are echoes throughout of Seneca's master Ovid, especially his recounting of the myth of Procne (Metamorphoses 6, chiefly 609–666), with its relevance to the subject of the play. "In his overt awareness of the Procne-Tereus story, and particularly in his desire to surpass it, [Atreus] resembles Seneca himself in his relationship to Ovid. The challenge and anxiety of imitatio are shared by author and character" (Tarrant [1985] 130).

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# DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Ghost of TANTALUS, grandfather of Atreus and Thyestes

FURY from the underworld

ATREUS, king of Argos, grandson of Tantalus and son of Pelops

ASSISTANT to Atreus

THYESTES, banished brother of Atreus

SONS of Thyestes: TANTALUS, PLISTHENES, and a third (the last two personae mutae)

MESSENGER CHORUS

# Scene

The action takes place outside and (in Act 5) inside the royal palace in the city of Argos (which is also called Mycenae). The action begins shortly before dawn.

# TANTALI UMBRA

Quis inferorum sede ab infausta extrahit avido fugaces ore captantem cibos? quis male deorum Tantalo invisas domos ostendit iterum? peius inventum est siti arente in undis aliquid et peius fame 5 hiante semper? Sisyphi numquid lapis gestandus umeris lubricus nostris venit, aut membra celeri differens cursu rota. aut poena Tityi, qui specu vasto patens vulneribus atras pascit effossis aves 10 et nocte reparans quidquid amisit die plenum recenti pabulum monstro iacet? in quod malum transcribor? o quisquis nova supplicia functis durus umbrarum arbiter 15 disponis, addi si quid ad poenas potest quod ipse custos carceris diri horreat, quod maestus Acheron paveat, ad cuius metum nos quoque tremamus, quaere! iam nostra subit e stirpe turba quae suum vincat genus 20 ac me innocentem faciat et inausa audeat.

<sup>3</sup> invisas Heinsius: visas E: vivas A

# ACT 1

# GHOST OF TANTALUS

From the accursed abode of the underworld, who drags forth the one that catches at vanishing food with his avid mouth? Who perversely lets Tantalus see once more the hated homes of the gods? Has something worse been devised than thirst parched amidst water, worse than hunger that gapes forever? Can it be that Sisyphus' stone comes to be carried—so slippery—on my shoulders, or the wheel that racks limbs in its swift rotation? Or the punishment of Tityos, who with his cavernous vast opening feeds dark birds from his quarried wounds—who regrows by night what he lost by day, and lies as a full meal for the fresh monster? What evil am I being reassigned to? Whoever you are that allot new penalties to the dead, harsh judge of the shades: if anything can be added to my punishment that would make the very guardian of that dire prison<sup>2</sup> shudder, make gloomy Acheron afraid, make even me tremble in fear of it, seek it out! Now from my stock there is rising a crew that will outdo its own family, make me innocent and dare the undared. Any space unused in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The wheel is usually Ixion's punishment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cerberus.

regione quidquid impia cessat loci complebo; numquam stante Pelopea domo Minos vacabit.

# FURIA

Perge, detestabilis umbra, et penates impios furiis age. certetur omni scelere et alterna vice stringatur ensis. nec sit irarum modus pudorve; mentes caecus instiget furor, rabies parentum duret et longum nefas eat in nepotes, nec vacet cuiquam vetus odisse crimen: semper oriatur novum, nec unum in uno, dumque punitur scelus, crescat, superbis fratribus regna excidant repetantque profugos; dubia violentae domus fortuna reges inter incertos labet; miser ex potente fiat, ex misero potens, fluctuque regnum casus assiduo ferat. ob scelera pulsi, cum dabit patriam deus in scelera redeant, sintque tam invisi omnibus quam sibi. nihil sit ira quod vetitum putet:

fratrem expavescat frater et natum parens natusque patrem; liberi pereant male, peius tamen nascantur; immineat viro

43a,46b infesta coniunx: impia stuprum in domo

47 levissimum sit facinus, et fas et fides

48a,43b iusque omne pereat. bella trans pontum vehant, effusus omnes irriget terras cruor,

45 supraque magnos gentium exultet duces

46b-48a transposed after 43a by Fitch

25

30

quarter of unnatural crimes I shall fill up; while the House of Pelops stands, Minos will never be empty-handed.

#### FURY

Proceed, loathsome shade: goad this unnatural house into vengeful rage. Let them compete in crime of every kind, and take turns to unsheathe the sword. Let there be no limit to their anger, no shame in it; let blind rage incite their minds, let the parents' frenzy last and the long-lived evil pass into the grandchildren. Let there be no space for anyone to loathe an old offence: let new ones always arise, and many within each one, and while crime is being punished, let it grow. Let kingship slip from the brothers when in their pride, and pull them back when in exile. Let the shaky fortunes of this violent house crumble between the insecure brothers. Let the ruler be ruined and the ruined turn ruler: let chance toss the throne on incessant waves. Exiled for crimes, when god restores their homeland let them return to crimes, and let them be as hateful to themselves as they are to all. Let there be nothing that anger regards as forbidden. Let brother be afraid of brother, parent of son, son of father; let death come to children vilely, but birth more vilely; let husband be menaced by wife's enmity; in this unnatural home let adultery be the lightest of misdeeds.<sup>3</sup> Let right, faithfulness and law perish utterly. Let them carry war overseas, let spilt blood drench all lands, and over the mighty leaders of nations let Lust exult

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Some of the Fury's words allude clearly to future events. The vile deaths are those of Thyestes' sons; the vile birth is that of Aegisthus, conceived in incest; the rancorous wife is Clytemnestra, and her deed worse than adultery is murder of her husband. The overseas war of the following lines is the Trojan War.

Libido victrix. non sit a vestris malis immune caelum—cur micant stellae polo flammaeque servant debitum mundo decus? nox alia fiat, excidat caelo dies.

Misce penates, odia caedes funera accerse et imple Tantalo totam domum. ornetur altum columen et lauro fores laetae virescant, dignus adventu tuo splendescat ignis—Thracium fiat nefas maiore numero. dextra cur patrui vacat? nondum stuprator liberos deflet suos? et quando tollet? ignibus iam subditis spument aëna, membra per partes eant discerpta, patrios polluat sanguis focos, epulae instruantur, non novi sceleris tibi conviva venies. liberum dedimus diem tuamque ad istas solvimus mensas famem: ieiunia exple! mixtus in Bacchum cruor spectante te potetur. inveni dapes quas ipse fugeres. siste, quo praeceps ruis?

# TANTALI UMBRA

Ad stagna et amnes et recedentes aquas labrisque ab ipsis arboris plenae fugas. abire in atrum carceris liceat mei cubile; liceat, si parum videor miser, mutare ripas: alveo medius tuo,

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<sup>51</sup> alia E: alta PT: atra CS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> stuprator suggested as a possibility by Fitch: Thyestes EA

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The Thracian outrage involved the feeding of Itys' flesh to

victorious. And let heaven not be immune to your evil. Why are the stars glittering in the sky, their fires maintaining their due of glory in the firmament? Let there be another night, let daylight be lost from the heavens.

Bring havoc on the housegods, summon hatred, slaughter, death, fill the whole house with Tantalus. Let the high roofbeams be festooned, the doors verdant and cheerful with laurel; let the fire blaze up brightly in keeping with your arrival—and let the Thracian outrage be performed with larger numbers!4 Why is the uncle's hand empty? Does the adulterer not yet weep for his own children? And when will he lift them up? 5 Now let cauldrons foam with fires lit beneath them, let rent limbs go piece by piece, let blood pollute the ancestral hearth, let a banquet be furnished. You will join the diners at a crime that is not new to you. We have given you a day of freedom, and released your hunger for this meal: fill up your fasting! Let blood mingled with wine be drunk while you watch. I have found a dinner that even you would run from. Stop, where are you rushing wildly?

### GHOST OF TANTALUS

To the pools and rivers and retreating waters, and the full tree's recoil from my very lips. Give me leave to return to my prison's black lair; give me leave, if I seem not wretched enough, to change rivers: let me be left amidst your chan-

his unwitting father Tereus in revenge for the latter's infidelity. So it closely matches Atreus' coming revenge on Thyestes—but Thyestes has more sons. 5 To lift up a child (tollere) was a gesture recognising it as one's own—as Thyestes will recognise his children (line 1005) after "lifting" them to his mouth. The verb can also mean "do away with."

Phlegethon, relinquar igneo cinctus freto. Quicumque poenas lege fatorum datas pati iuberis, quisquis exeso iaces pavidus sub antro iamque venturi times montis ruinam, quisquis avidorum feros rictus leonum et dira Furiarum agmina implicitus horres, quisquis immissas faces semustus abigis, Tantali vocem excipe properantis ad vos: credite experto mihi, amate poenas! quando continget mihi effugere superos?

# FURIA

Ante perturba domum, inferque tecum proelia et ferri malum regibus amorem; concute insano ferum pectus tumultu.

#### TANTALI UMBRA

Me pati poenas decet, non esse poenam! mittor ut dirus vapor tellure rupta vel gravem populis luem sparsura pestis? ducam in horrendum nefas avus nepotes? magne divorum parens nosterque (quamvis pudeat), ingenti licet taxata poena lingua crucietur loquax, nec hoc tacebo. Moneo, ne sacra manus violate caede neve furiali malo aspergite aras. stabo et arcebo scelus.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The Ghost of Sylla in Ben Jonson's *Catiline* echoes Tantalus' ghost: "Behold, I come, sent from the Stygian sound, / As a dire

nel, Phlegethon, surrounded by your fiery stream. All you who are forced to endure punishments assigned by fate's law, all who lie in terror in hollowed caves, fearing the mountain's imminent collapse, all who tremble in bonds at the fierce jaws of avid lions and the dread troops of Furies, all who half-burnt try to fend off torches thrust at you: take in Tantalus' words as he hurries to you: trust my experience, love your punishments! When shall I have the chance to escape the upper world?

#### FURY

First, disorder this house; along with yourself instil battles and the evil love of the sword in its kings; rouse their fierce hearts to mad turmoil.

### GHOST OF TANTALUS

My proper role is to suffer punishments, not to be a punishment! Am I sent forth like some dread exhalation from a fissure in the earth, or as a plague to scatter foul contagion among the nations? As grandfather am I to lead my grandchildren into terrible evil? Great father of the gods—my father too, even if ashamed of it: though my tongue is assessed a huge penalty and tortured for being talkative, I shall not keep quiet about this either. [As if to his descendants] I warn you, do not defile your hands with accursed bloodshed, and do not sprinkle the altars with the evil of avenging fury. I shall stand and block the crime. [To Fury]

vapour that had cleft the ground, / To ingender with the night and blast the day; / Or like a pestilence that should display / Infection through the world."

<sup>7</sup> As earlier he had blabbed secrets of the gods to humans—one reason for his punishment in the underworld.

Quid ora terres verbere et tortos ferox minaris angues? quid famem infixam intimis agitas medullis? flagrat incensum siti cor et perustis flamma visceribus micat. sequor.

#### FURIA

Hunc, hunc furorem divide in totam domum. sic, sic ferantur et suum infensi invicem sitiant cruorem. sentit introitus tuos domus et nefando tota contactu horruit. actum est abunde. gradere ad infernos specus amnemque notum. iam tuum maestae pedem terrae gravantur: cernis ut fontes liquor introrsus actus linquat, ut ripae vacent ventusque raras igneus nubes ferat? pallescit omnis arbor, ac nudus stetit fugiente pomo ramus; et qui fluctibus illine propinquis Isthmos atque illine fremit, vicina gracili dividens terra vada, longe remotos latus exaudit sonos. iam Lerna retro cessit et Phoronides latuere venae, nec suas profest sacer

latuere venae, nec suas profert sacer Alpheos undas; et Cithaeronis iuga stant parte nulla cana deposita nive, timentque veterem nobiles Argi sitim. 120 en ipse Titan dubitat an iubeat sequi cogatque habenis ire periturum diem.

#### CHORUS

Argos de superis si quis Achaicum

100

105

110

Why do you menace my face with your whip and threaten me fiercely with entwined snakes? Why do you rouse the hunger set in my bones' marrow? My heart is fired and ablaze with thirst, and flames dart through my burnt flesh. I follow!

# FURY

Distribute this very frenzy throughout the house! They must be driven just like this, and in enmity thirst for blood of their blood by turns. The house feels you entering, and shudders throughout at this accursed contact. It is done, and amply! Go to the infernal caverns and the river you know. Already the sad earth is oppressed by your step: do you see how water deserts the springs, forced back within? How rivers are empty, and a fiery wind carries off the sparse clouds? Every tree fades, the branches stand bare as the fruit vanishes, and the Isthmus, which booms to waves close by on each side, as it divides neighbouring gulfs with its strip of land, grows wide and catches their sounds far off. Now Lerna has shrunk back, the Phoronean streams have disappeared, holy Alpheus does not bring forth its waters; Cithaeron's ridges stand nowhere white, their snow sloughed off; and renowned Argos fears its ancient thirst.8 See, even the Titan hesitates whether to bid the daylight follow him, and to force it with the reins to come forth to its ruin.

# CHORUS

If any god loves Achaean Argos,

<sup>8</sup> Argos was said to have suffered drought early in its history. In this context literal thirst can hardly be distinguished from the thirst for power of the Tantalids.

Pisaeasque domos curribus inclitas, Isthmi si quis amat regna Corinthii, 125 et portus geminos et mare dissidens; si quis Taygeti conspicuas nives, quas cum Sarmaticus tempore frigido in summis Boreas composuit iugis, aestas veliferis solvit Etesiis: quem tangit gelido flumine lucidus 130 Alpheos, stadio notus Olympico: advertat placidum numen et arceat, alternae scelerum ne redeant vices nec succedat avo deterior nepos 135 et maior placeat culpa minoribus. Tandem lassa feros exuat impetus sicci progenies impia Tantali. peccatum satis est! fas valuit nihil aut commune nefas. proditus occidit 140 deceptor domini Myrtilus, et fide vectus qua tulerat nobile reddidit mutato pelagus nomine: notior nulla est Ioniis fabula navibus. exceptus gladio parvulus impio dum currit patrium natus ad osculum, 145 immatura focis victima concidit

<sup>9</sup> The line uses two senses of *maior* and *minor*: more literally, "and greater/older wrong attract those who are younger/lesser."

divisusque tua est, Tantale, dextera, mensas ut strueres hospitibus deis. hos aeterna fames persequitur cibos,

hos aeterna sitis; nec dapibus feris

or the Pisan district famed for chariots; or loves the realm of Corinth's Isthmus, its twofold harbours and divided sea; if any loves the far-seen snows piled on Taygetus' lofty ridges by Sarmatian Boreas in the chill season, then melted by summer's sail-filling Etesians; any touched by the ice-cold current of bright Alpheus, famed for Olympic races: let his kindly power be with us, and forbid that a cycle of answering crimes return, that grandsire be followed by worse grandchild and the young strive to be elders in evil.<sup>9</sup>

Spent at last, parched Tantalus' unnatural issue must drop its savage aggression.

Enough of iniquity! Right achieved nothing—nor collective wrong. Myrtilus, his master's betrayer, fell betrayed; conveyed as disloyally as he conveyed others, he made the sea renowned through its changed name; no tale is better known on Ionian ships. 10

The little son running for his father's kiss was received with a cold-blooded sword and fell at the hearth, an unripe victim; your hand, Tantalus, sectioned him to furnish the table for your guests the gods. Such food is avenged by eternal hunger, eternal thirst; for that savage feast

<sup>10</sup> The Myrtoan Sea, east of Argos, was sometimes said to be named for Myrtilus, who was thrown into it by Pelops and drowned. "Ionian" here = Aegean (see Index).

decerni potuit poena decentior.

Stat lassus vacuo gutture Tantalus. impendet capiti plurima noxio Phineis avibus praeda fugacior. hine illine gravidis frondibus incubat et curvata suis fetibus ac tremens alludit patulis arbor hiatibus. haec, quamvis avidus nec patiens morae, deceptus totiens tangere neglegit obliquatque oculos oraque comprimit inclusisque famem dentibus alligat. sed tunc divitias omne nemus suas demittit propius, pomague desuper insultant foliis mitia languidis accenduntque famem, quae iubet irritas exercere manus. has ubi protulit et falli libuit, totus in arduum autumnus rapitur silvaque mobilis. instat deinde sitis non levior fame: qua cum percaluit sanguis et igneis exarsit facibus, stat miser obvios fluctus ore petens; quos profugus latex avertit sterili deficiens vado conantemque sequi deserit. hic bibit

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165

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# ATREUS

Ignave, iners, enervis et (quod maximum probrum tyranno rebus in summis reor) inulte, post tot scelera, post fratris dolos

altum de rapido gurgite pulverem.

no apter penalty could have been appointed. Tantalus stands spent and empty-throated. Over his guilty head in abundance hangs prey more fleeting than Phineus' birds. Leaning around him with gravid branches, curved and trembling with what it bears, the tree mocks at his gaping jaws. Though impatient and avid, he makes no effort (deceived so often) to touch the fruit, but averts his eyes and seals his lips and fetters his hunger behind clenched teeth. But then the whole orchard lowers its riches closer still, and the fruits from above taunt him, so mellow, with drooping leaves, and inflame his hunger, which bids him busy his hands in vain. As he stretches them out, consents to be cheated, the entire harvest is whisked on high with the nimble trees. Next thirst attacks, no weaker than hunger. Once it heats his blood and fires it with torches of flame, the wretch stands chasing the offered waters with his mouth; but the fleeing stream turns away, and dwindles to a barren channel and leaves him trying to follow. He drinks the deeps left from the whirling flood: deep dust.

# ACT 2

#### ATREUS

Idle, inert, impotent, and (what I count the greatest reproach for a tyrant in high matters) unavenged: after so many crimes, after your brother's treachery and the break-

fasque omne ruptum questibus vanis agis iratus Atreus? fremere iam totus tuis debebat armis orbis, et geminum mare utrimque classes agere; iam flammis agros lucere et urbes decuit, ac strictum undique micare ferrum. tota sub nostro sonet

185 Argolica tellus equite; non silvae tegant hostem nec altis montium structae iugis arces. relictis bellicum totus canat populus Mycenis. quisquis invisum caput tegit ac tuetur, clade funesta occidat.

190 haec ipsa pollens incliti Pelopis domus ruat vel in me, dummodo in fratrem ruat.

Age, anime, fac quod nulla posteritas probet, sed nulla taceat. aliquod audendum est nefas atrox, cruentum, tale quod frater meus suum esse mallet. scelera non ulcisceris, nisi vincis.—et quid esse tam saevum potest quod superet illum? numquid abiectus iacet? numquid secundis patitur in rebus modum, fessis quietem? novi ego ingenium viri indocile: flecti non potest—frangi potest. proinde antequam se firmat aut vires parat, petatur ultro, ne quiescentem petat. aut perdet aut peribit: in medio est scelus positum occupanti.

SATELLES
Fama te populi nihil

205 adversa terret?

195

ing of every principle, do you act with futile complaints—you, Atreus in anger? By now the whole world should be resounding to your weapons, fleets on each coast should be stirring up the twin seas; by now fields and cities should be alight with flames, and the drawn sword glinting everywhere. Let the whole Argive land ring beneath my cavalry; let forests not hide the enemy, nor strongholds built on high hilltops. Let the whole populace leave Mycenae and sound the trumpets for war. Let all who hide and protect that hated creature perish in a blood bath. This mighty house of famous Pelops itself—let it fall even on me, so long as it falls on my brother.

Come, my spirit, do what no future age will endorse, but none fail to talk about. I must dare some fierce, bloody outrage, such as my brother would have wished his own. You do not avenge crimes unless you surpass them. And what could be cruel enough to vanquish him? Does he lie downcast? Can he abide moderation in success, or inaction in failure? I know the man's intractable nature: he cannot be bent, but he can be broken. So, before he strengthens himself or marshalls his powers, he must be attacked first, lest he attack me at rest. He will either destroy or be destroyed. Crime is set between us, for the one who seizes it first.

## ASSISTANT

You have no fear of hostile talk among the people?

11 Cf. Ben Jonson, Sejanus II.2: "A race of wicked acts / Shall flow out of my anger, and o'erspread / The world's wide face, which no posterity / Shall e'er approve, nor yet keep silent: things / That for their cunning, close and cruel mark, / Thy father would wish his."

## ATREUS

Maximum hoc regni bonum est, quod facta domini cogitur populus sui tam ferre quam laudare.

## SATELLES

Quos cogit metus laudare, eosdem reddit inimicos metus. at qui favoris gloriam veri petit animo magis quam voce laudari volet.

## ATREUS

Laus vera et humili saepe contingit viro, non nisi potenti falsa. quod nolunt velint.

## SATELLES

Rex velit honesta: nemo non eadem volet.

## ATREUS

Ubicumque tantum honesta dominanti licent, precario regnatur.

## SATELLES

Ubi non est pudor nec cura iuris sanctitas pietas fides, instabile regnum est.

#### ATREUS

Sanctitas pietas fides privata bona sunt: qua iuvat reges eant.

## ATREUS

This is the greatest value of kingship: that the people are compelled to praise as well as endure their master's actions. 12

## ASSISTANT

When fear compels them to praise, fear also turns them into enemies. But one who seeks the tribute of sincere support will want praise from the heart rather than the tongue.

## ATREUS

Sincere praise often comes even to a lowly man; false praise comes only to the mighty. They must want what they do not want!

### ASSISTANT

Let a king want what is honorable: everyone will want the same.

## ATREUS

Where a sovereign is permitted only what is honorable, he rules on sufferance. 13

### ASSISTANT

Where there is no shame, no concern for the law, no righteousness, goodness, loyalty, rule is unstable.

#### ATREUS

Righteousness, goodness, loyalty are private values: kings should go where they please.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. "It is the greatest glory of a king / When, though his subjects hate his wicked deeds, / Yet they are forced to bear them all with praise" (Anon., *The Tragical Reign of Selimus* [1594]).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. "Where only honest deeds to kings are free, / It is no empire, but a beggary" (Marston, Antonio & Mellida Part I IV.1).

## SATELLES

Nefas nocere vel malo fratri puta.

## ATREUS

Fas est in illo quidquid in fratre est nefas. 220 quid enim reliquit crimine intactum aut ubi sceleri pepercit? coniugem stupro abstulit regnumque furto; specimen antiquum imperi fraude est adeptus, fraude turbavit domum. Est Pelopis altis nobile in stabulis pecus, 225 arcanus aries, ductor opulenti gregis, cuius per omne corpus effuso coma dependet auro, cuius e tergo novi aurata reges sceptra Tantalici gerunt: possessor huius regnat, hunc tantae domus 230 fortuna seguitur, tuta seposita sacer in parte carpit prata, quae claudit lapis fatale saxeo pascuum muro tegens. hunc facinus ingens ausus assumpta in scelus consorte nostri perfidus thalami avehit. 235 Hinc omne cladis mutuae fluxit malum: per regna trepidus exul erravi mea,

corrupta coniunx, imperi quassa est fides,
240 domus aegra, dubius sanguis; est certi nihil
nisi frater hostis. quid stupes? tandem incipe
animosque sume. Tantalum et Pelopem aspice;
ad haec manus exempla poscuntur meae.
Profare, dirum qua caput mactem via.

pars nulla nostri tuta ab insidiis vacat,

238 nostri A: generis E

# ASSISTANT

Consider it wrong to harm even a wicked brother.

#### ATREUS

All that is wrong in dealing with a brother is right in dealing with him. What has he left untouched by guilt, when has he refrained from crime? He stole my wife by adultery and my kingdom by theft; by deceit he obtained our ancient symbol of power, by deceit he brought turmoil on the house. In Pelops' high stalls there is a purebred beast, a mysterious ram, leader of a prosperous flock. All over his body there hangs down a luxuriant fleece of gold, and from this coat new Tantalid kings have their sceptres gilded. The one who possesses him reigns, the fortune of this great house follows him. Hallowed, he grazes on safe meadows in a secluded area, enclosed by a rocky stone wall that conceals the fateful pasture. Risking a flagrant crime, and taking the partner of my bed as accomplice, that betrayer carried him off. From this act flowed all the evil of our mutual destruction. Throughout my own realm I have wandered fearfully in exile; no part of what is mine is safe from treachery; my wife is defiled, my confidence in power shaken, my house tainted, its blood uncertain;14 nothing is sure—except my brother's enmity. Why paralysed? At long last rouse your heart and begin. Look to Tantalus and Pelops: my hands are called to follow their examples. [To assistant | Tell me how to slay that fearsome creature.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Because of Thyestes' seduction of Aerope, Atreus is uncertain of his sons' paternity (which he characteristically refers to as "blood").

SATELLES

245 Ferro peremptus spiritum inimicum expuat.

ATREUS

De fine poenae loqueris; ego poenam volo. perimat tyrannus lenis; in regno meo mors impetratur.

SATELLES
Nulla te pietas movet?

ATREUS

Excede, Pietas, si modo in nostra domo
umquam fuisti. dira Furiarum cohors
discorsque Erinys veniat et geminas faces
Megaera quatiens: non satis magno meum
ardet furore pectus, impleri iuvat
maiore monstro.

SATELLES Quid novi rabidus struis?

ATREUS

255 Nil quod doloris capiat assueti modum; nullum relinquam facinus et nullum est satis.

SATELLES

Ferrum?

ATREUS

Parum est.

SATELLES Quid ignis?

ATREUS

Etiamnunc parum est.

## ASSISTANT

Let him die by the sword and spew out his hateful life.

## ATREUS

You talk about punishment's conclusion: I want the punishment! Slaying is for a lenient tyrant; in my kingdom death is something people beg for.

## ASSISTANT

Does no affection move you?

## ATREUS

Begone, Affection, if ever you existed at all in our house! Let the dread band of Furies come, and the Erinys of strife and Megaera brandishing her twin torches. The madness firing my heart is not big enough, I want to be filled with some greater monstrosity.

## ASSISTANT

What new scheme is your rage devising?

## ATREUS

Nothing conforming to the limits of ordinary bitterness. I shall leave no deed undone—and none is enough.

ASSISTANT

The sword?

ATREUS

Insufficient.

ASSISTANT

What about fire?

ATREUS

Still insufficient.

SATELLES

Quonam ergo telo tantus utetur dolor?

ATREUS

Ipso Thyeste.

SATELLES
Maius hoc ira est malum.

ATREUS

260 Fateor. tumultus pectora attonitus quatit penitusque volvit; rapior et quo nescio, sed rapior.—imo mugit e fundo solum, tonat dies serenus ac totis domus ut fracta tectis crepuit et moti Lares vertere vultum. fiat hoc, fiat nefas quod, di, timetis!

SATELLES
Facere quid tandem paras?

## ATREUS

Nescioquid animo maius et solito amplius supraque fines moris humani tumet instatque pigris manibus. haud quid sit scio, sed grande quiddam est! ita sit. hoc, anime, occupa. dignum est Thyeste facinus et dignum Atreo: uterque faciat! vidit infandas domus Odrysia mensas—fateor, immane est scelus, sed occupatum: maius hoc aliquid dolor

 $^{267}$  animo Leo: animus EA  $^{272}$  uterque A: quod uterque E

## ASSISTANT

Then what will such bitterness use as its weapon?

ATREUS

Thyestes himself.

## ASSISTANT

This evil goes beyond anger.

## ATREUS

I admit it. A tumult of frenzy is shaking my breast, and churning it deep within. I am swept along, and know not where, but I am swept along. —The ground moans from its lowest depths, the sky thunders though cloudless, the house cracks throughout its structure as if shattered, and the housegods shake and avert their faces. Let it be done, let it be done, this outrage that makes you gods afraid!

### ASSISTANT

What are you planning to do?

#### ATREUS

Something greater, larger than usual, beyond normal human limits, is swelling in my spirit and jolting my sluggish hands. What it is I do not know, but it is something mighty!  $^{15}$  So be it. Seize on it, my spirit! The deed is worthy of Thyestes and worthy of Atreus: let each perform it. The Odrysian house saw an unspeakable feast  $^{16}$ —that crime is monstrous, admittedly, but already taken. My bitterness

 $^{15}$  Cf. Shakespeare, King Lear II.4.280–282: "I will do such things—/What they are yet I know not, but they shall be/The terrors of the earth."  $^{16}$  See fn. 4: "Odrysian" is a synonym for "Thracian." The "Daulian mother and sister" (275) is Procne, who served her son Itys' flesh to his father Tereus, to avenge Tereus' rape of her sister Philomela.

inveniat. animum Daulis inspira parens sororque; causa est similis: assiste et manum impelle nostram. liberos avidus pater gaudensque laceret et suos artus edat. bene est, abunde est: hic placet poenae modus
tantisper.

Ubinam est? tam diu cur innocens versatur Atreus? tota iam ante oculos meos imago caedis errat, ingesta orbitas in ora patris—anime, quid rursus times et ante rem subsidis? audendum est, age: quod est in isto scelere praecipuum nefas, hoc ipse faciet.

## SATELLES

Sed quibus captus dolis nostros dabit perductus in laqueos pedem? inimica credit cuncta.

#### ATREUS

Non poterat capi, nisi capere vellet. regna nunc sperat mea: hac spe minanti fulmen occurret Iovi, hac spe subibit gurgitis tumidi minas dubiumque Libycae Syrtis intrabit fretum, hac spe, quod esse maximum retur malum, fratrem videbit.

## SATELLES

Quis fidem pacis dabit?

295 cui tanta credet?

 $^{290}$  in this position A: after 292 MF: after 293 E

285

must find something greater than this. Breathe your spirit into me, you Daulian mother and sister: our cause is comparable. Stand by me, drive my hand. Let the father rend his children avidly, gleefully, and eat his own flesh. This is good, this is ample. This measure of revenge pleases me—for the present.

Where in the world is he? Why has Atreus remained innocent so long? Now the whole picture of the carnage hovers before my eyes—childlessness stuffed down the father's throat!<sup>17</sup> Why take fright again, my spirit, and slacken before the event? Come, you must be bold. *He* will be the one that commits the principal outrage in this crime.

## ASSISTANT

But what ruse will catch him and induce him to walk into our snare? He sees enemies everywhere.

## ATREUS

He could not be caught, unless he wanted to catch others. But as it is, he desires my kingdom. In this desire he will confront Jove's threat of the thunderbolt; in this desire he will face the threats of the swelling flood, or enter the treacherous straits of the Libyan Syrtes; in this desire he will do what he thinks the greatest evil: see his brother.

# ASSISTANT

Who will give him assurance of peace? Whom will he trust so greatly?

 $^{17}\,\mathrm{The}$  Latin can mean also "thrust in the father's face" (as happens at 1005).

## ATREUS

Credula est spes improba. natis tamen mandata quae patruo ferant dabimus, relictis exul hospitiis vagus regno ut miserias mutet atque Argos regat ex parte dominus. [si nimis durus preces spernet Thyestes, liberos eius rudes malisque fessos gravibus et faciles capi prece commovebo.] hinc vetus regni furor, illinc egestas tristis ac durus labor quamvis rigentem tot malis subigent virum.

## SATELLES

305 Iam tempus illi fecit aerumnas leves.

### ATREUS

Erras: malorum sensus accrescit die. leve est miserias ferre, perferre est grave.

# SATELLES

Alios ministros consili tristis lege. peiora iuvenes facile praecepta audiunt; in patre facient quidquid in patruo doces. saepe in magistrum scelera redierunt sua.

#### ATREUS

Ut nemo doceat fraudis et sceleris vias, regnum docebit. ne mali fiant times? nascuntur. istud quod vocas saevum asperum, agique dure credis et nimium impie, fortasse et illic agitur.

<sup>299b-302a</sup> deleted by Courtney <sup>309</sup> part of Assistant's speech in A: spoken by Atreus in E

300

310

# ATREUS

Greedy desire trusts readily. However, I shall give my sons a mandate to take to their uncle: that he should leave a wandering exile's lodgings, trade his wretchedness for a throne, and reign in Argos as co-ruler. On the one side his old passion for power, on the other grim poverty and hard toils, will subdue the fellow, however toughened by so many troubles.

## ASSISTANT

By now time has made affliction light to him.

## ATREUS

You are wrong. The sense of hardship accumulates day by day. To bear wretchedness is a light thing: to keep bearing it is heavy.

## ASSISTANT

Select other agents for your grim plan. Young men readily listen to worse precepts. All that you teach them in dealings with their uncle, they will do in dealings with their father. Crimes often return upon the teacher. 19

#### ATREUS

Though no one teaches them the ways of deceit and crime, kingship will teach it. You fear their becoming evil? They are born so. What you call cruel and savage, and consider too harsh and unnatural a step, is perhaps being taken on that side too.

<sup>18</sup> Lines 299b-302a (deleted): "If Thyestes is too hard and scorns my appeal, my appeal will move his children, inexperienced and weary of hardship and easily deceived."

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Shakespeare, *Macbeth* I.7.7–10: "But in these cases/We still have judgment here, that we but teach/Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return/To plague th'inventor."

SATELLES Hanc fraudem scient

nati parari?

ATREUS

Tacita tam rudibus fides non est in annis; detegent forsan dolos. tacere multis discitur vitae malis.

SATELLES

320 Ipsosque per quos fallere alium cogitas falles?

#### ATREUS

Ut ipsi crimine et culpa vacent. quid enim necesse est liberos sceleri meo inserere? per nos odia se nostra explicent.
—male agis, recedis, anime: si parcis tuis, parces et illis. consili Agamemnon mei sciens minister fiat, et fratri sciens Menelaus adsit. prolis incertae fides ex hoc petatur scelere: si bella abnuunt et gerere nolunt odia, si patruum vocant, pater est. eatur.—multa sed trepidus solet detegere vultus, magna nolentem quoque consilia produnt: nesciant quantae rei fiant ministri. Nostra tu coepta occule.

#### SATELLES

Haud sum monendus: ista nostro in pectore 335 fides timorque, sed magis claudet fides.

317b-319 spoken by Atreus in E: by Assistant in A

325

## ASSISTANT

Are your sons to know this deception is planned?

## ATREUS

Reliable discretion is not found in such tender years; perhaps they will reveal the plot; silence is a lesson learned through life's many sufferings.

## ASSISTANT

So you will deceive the very people by whom you plan to deceive others?

## ATREUS

Yes, so they themselves may be free of guilt. What need is there to involve my children in my crime? Let my hatred unfold through me. —You are going wrong, you are retreating, my spirit! If you spare your own, you will spare those too. Agamemnon must serve my scheme knowingly, and Menelaus assist his brother knowingly. Let me gain assurance about my questionable issue from this crime: if they refuse to engage in this war of hatred, if they call him uncle, he is their father. They must go. —But a nervous expression often reveals much; great schemes betray a person even against his will. They must not know how great a business they are agents in. And you, keep my venture secret.

## ASSISTANT

I need no warning. Loyalty and fear will hide it in my heart—but chiefly loyalty.

CHORUS

Tandem regia nobilis, antiqui genus Inachi, fratrum composuit minas.

Quis vos exagitat furor, alternis dare sanguinem et sceptrum scelere aggredi? nescitis, cupidi arcium, regnum quo iaceat loco.

Regem non faciunt opes, non vestis Tyriae color, non frontis nota regia, non auro nitidae trabes. rex est qui posuit metus et diri mala pectoris; quem non ambitio impotens et numquam stabilis favor vulgi praecipitis movet, non quidquid fodit Occidens aut unda Tagus aurea claro devehit alveo. non quidquid Libycis terit fervens area messibus; quem non concutiet cadens obliqui via fulminis, non Eurus rapiens mare aut saevo rabidus freto ventosi tumor Hadriae, quem non lancea militis,

340

345

350

355

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The Chorus presumably means "settled," i.e. they are igno-

#### CHORUS

At last this famed royal house, issue of ancient Inachus, has arranged<sup>20</sup> the brothers' threats.

What is this frenzy that drives you to spill your blood by turns and beset the sceptre with crime? In your greed for strongholds, you mistake the place where kingship lies.

A king is not made by wealth nor the colour of Tyrian robes nor the sign of royalty on his brow nor roofbeams gleaming with gold. A king is one rid of fear and the evil of an ugly heart; one that no wilful ambition or the ever shifting favour of the hasty mob can affect, nor all that is mined in the West or that golden-flowing Tagus carries down in its bright bed, nor all that is threshed from Libyan harvests on scorching floors; one that the zigzag lightning cannot shake in its falling track, nor Eurus whirling the sea, nor the violent raging swell of the windswept Adriatic; one that no soldier's lance.

rant of Atreus' real intention in recalling Thyestes. But for the audience *composuit* holds another meaning, "set face to face."

non strictus domuit chalybs; qui tuto positus loco infra se videt omnia occurritque suo libens fato nec queritur mori.

fato nec queritur mori.

Reges conveniant licet
qui sparsos agitant Dahas,
qui rubri vada litoris
et gemmis mare lucidis
late sanguineum tenent,
aut qui Caspia fortibus
recludunt iuga Sarmatis;
certet Danuvii vadum
audet qui pedes ingredi
et (quocumque loco iacent)
Seres vellere nobiles:
mens regnum bona possidet.
nil ullis opus est equis,
nil armis et inertibus
telis, quae procul ingerit

Parthus, cum simulat fugas; admotis nihil est opus urbes sternere machinis longe saxa rotantibus: [rex est qui metuit nihil, rex est qui cupiet nihil]

388-389 deleted by Leo

365

370

375

380

<sup>21</sup> Ruber ("Red") is a general term for the seas around the Arabian peninsula, including the modern Red Sea. Seneca here relates it to the colour of the gems.

no naked steel has subdued; one set in a place of safety who sees all things beneath him and willingly goes to meet his fate, with no protest at death.

Let kings forgather—those who rouse the scattered Dahae, who control the waters of the ruby coast,21 the sea blood-reddened far and wide by gleaming gems, or those who open the Caspian heights to the bold Sarmatians;<sup>22</sup> let him compete, who dares to walk on the Danube River,23 and the Seres famed for silk (in whatever place they lie): wisdom secures the kingship. There is no need of cavalry, no need of weapons, the craven arrows poured from a distance by the Parthian in feigned flight, no need to flatten cities by moving up siege engines that whirl rocks from afar:24

<sup>22</sup> I.e. the kings of Iberia (modern Georgia), who let the Sarmatians enter from the north through a pass in the Caucasus to attack their enemies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> I.e. its frozen surface (cf. Pha 59).

 $<sup>^{24}</sup>$  Lines 388–389 (deleted); "A king is one who fears nothing, / a king is one who will want nothing."

hoc regnum sibi quisque dat. 390 Stet quicumque volet potens aulae culmine lubrico: me dulcis saturet quies. obscuro positus loco leni perfruar otio, 395 nullis nota Ouiritibus aetas per tacitum fluat. sic cum transierint mei nullo cum strepitu dies, plebeius moriar senex. 400 illi mors gravis incubat qui, notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.

## THYESTES

Optata patriae tecta et Argolicas opes

miserisque summum ac maximum exulibus bonum,
tractum soli natalis et patrios deos
(si sunt tamen di) cerno, Cyclopum sacras
turres, labore maius humano decus,
celebrata iuveni stadia, per quae nobilis

palmam paterno non semel curru tuli.
occurret Argos, populus occurret frequens—
sed nempe et Atreus. repete silvestres fugas
saltusque densos potius et mixtam feris

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> A passage naturalized in English poetry. The best known rendering is Andrew Marvell's. "Climb at court for me that will / Giddy favour's slippery hill; / All I seek is to lie still. / Settled in some secret nest, / In calm leisure let me rest, / And far off from public stage / Pass away my silent age. / Thus when without noise, unknown, / I have lived out all my span, / I shall die, without a

each grants himself this kingship.

Who wishes may stand in power on a palace's slippery peak: let sweet repose sate me.

Set in an obscure place let me bask in gentle leisure; unknown to any Quirites let my life flow on through peace. So, when my days have passed without turmoil, let me die an old plebeian man.

Death weighs heavy on one who, too well known to all, dies unknown to himself. 25

## ACT 3

#### THYESTES

At last I see the long-desired housetops of my homeland, the wealth of Argos, and what seems to miserable exiles the greatest and highest good—the reaches of my native soil and the gods of my fathers (if there really are gods); the Cyclopes' sacred towers, a glory too great for human labour, and the racetrack I frequented in youth, through which I carried the palm in glory more than once on my father's chariot. Argos will come to meet me, the people will come in crowds—but so will Atreus, of course. Better hurry back to your forest refuges, to those dense woods

groan, / An old honest countryman. / Who exposed to others' eyes, / Into his own heart ne'er pries, / Death's to him a strange surprise."

similemque vitam. clarus hic regni nitor
fulgore non est quod oculos falso auferat.
cum quod datur spectabis, et dantem aspice.
modo inter illa, quae putant cuncti aspera,
fortis fui laetusque. nunc contra in metus
revolvor: animus haeret ac retro cupit
420 corpus referre, moveo nolentem gradum.

## TANTALUS

Pigro (quid hoc est?) genitor incessu stupet vultumque versat seque in incerto tenet.

## THYESTES

Quid, anime, pendes, quidve consilium diu tam facile torques? rebus incertissimis, fratri atque regno, credis ac metuis mala iam victa, iam mansueta, et aerumnas fugis bene collocatas? esse iam miserum iuvat. reflecte gressum, dum licet, teque eripe.

## TANTALUS

Quae causa cogit, genitor, a patria gradum referre visa? cur bonis tantis sinum subducis? ira frater abiecta redit partemque regni reddit et lacerae domus componit artus teque restituit tibi.

## THYESTES

Causam timoris ipse quam ignoro exigis. nihil timendum video, sed timeo tamen. placet ire, pigris membra sed genibus labant, alioque quam quo nitor abductus feror. sic concitatam remige et velo ratem aestus resistens remigi et velo refert.

425

430

and your life among the beasts and comparable to theirs. There is no reason for this bright lustre of kingship to blind your eyes with its false glitter. When you examine a gift, look at the giver too. Just now, amid what everyone considers hardships, I was courageous and happy. But now I am relapsing into fears; my spirit falters and wants to turn my body back, my steps are forced and reluctant.

## TANTALUS

What is it? Father walks listlessly, in a daze; he keeps looking round and hesitating.

## THYESTES

Why the impasse, my spirit? Why wrestle so long with such an easy decision? Can you trust the most unreliable of things, a brother and a throne? Are you afraid of evils you have already conquered and tamed? Running from hardships you have turned to advantage? By now it is pleasant to be "wretched"! Turn back while you may, and rescue yourself.

## TANTALUS

What is forcing you, father, to walk away from sight of your fatherland? Why fold your arms against such blessings? Your brother returns to you with his anger cast aside, gives you back a share in the throne, joins together the limbs of this dismembered family, and restores you to yourself.

## THYESTES

You ask the reason for my fear: I do not know it myself. I see nothing fearful, but I fear nonetheless. My intention is to proceed, but my body is weak-kneed and faltering, and I am pulled away from the goal I struggle towards. Just so a ship, urged on by oar and sail, is carried back by the tide resisting oar and sail.

#### TANTALUS

Evince quidquid obstat et mentem impedit reducemque quanta praemia expectent vide. pater, potes regnare.

THYESTES
Cum possim mori.

TANTALUS

Summa est potestas-

THYESTES Nulla, si cupias nihil.

TANTALUS

Natis relinques.

THYESTES

Non capit regnum duos.

TANTALUS

445 Miser esse mavult esse qui felix potest?

## THYESTES

Mihi crede, falsis magna nominibus placent, frustra timentur dura. dum excelsus steti, numquam pavere destiti atque ipsum mei ferrum timere lateris. o quantum bonum est obstare nulli, capere securas dapes humi iacentem! scelera non intrant casas, tutusque mensa capitur angusta scyphus; venenum in auro bibitur. expertus loquor:

452 scyphus Axelson: cibus EA

 $<sup>^{26}</sup>$  The option of death guarantees self-determination, i.e. kingship over oneself (cf. *Phoen* 105).

## TANTALUS

Whatever this check and hindrance is in your mind, overcome it. Think what rewards await your return. Father, you can be king!

THYESTES

Yes, since I can die.26

TANTALUS

The highest power is—

THYESTES

No power, if you want nothing.

TANTALUS

You will leave it to your sons.

THYESTES

A throne has no room for two.

TANTALUS

A person who can be happy prefers to be wretched?

### THYESTES

Believe me, they are false names that make "greatness" attractive; the fear of "hardship" is groundless. While I stood on high, I never ceased to feel terror, or to fear the very sword at my side. Oh, what a blessing it is to stand in no one's way, to take carefree meals lying on the ground! Crimes do not enter huts, and one takes a cup safely at a humble table; poison is drunk in gold.<sup>27</sup> I speak from ex-

<sup>27</sup> John Crowne rings variations on these themes in his version of *Thyestes* (1681): "Things are miscall'd, I ne're was blest till now—/When I was great, I had not one delight:/Who needs a Taster has small joy in taste:/Who needs a guard for safety, ne're are safe:/And who needs watching, has but little rest."

malam bonae praeferre fortunam licet.

Non vertice alti montis impositam domum 455 et imminentem civitas humilis tremit. nec fulget altis splendidum tectis ebur, somnosque non defendit excubitor meos. non classibus piscamur et retro mare 460 iacta fugamus mole, nec ventrem improbum alimus tributo gentium: nullus mihi ultra Getas metatur et Parthos ager. non ture colimur nec meae excluso Iove ornantur arae, nulla culminibus meis 465 imposita nutat silva, nec fumant manu succensa multa stagna, nec somno dies Bacchoque nox iungenda pervigili datur. sed non timemur, tuta sine telo est domus rebusque parvis magna praestatur quies.

470 immane regnum est posse sine regno pati.

#### TANTALUS

Nec abnuendum est, si dat imperium deus, nec appetendum est. frater ut regnes rogat.

## THYESTES

Rogat? timendum est. errat hic aliquis dolus.

## TANTALUS

Redire pietas unde summota est solet, reparatque vires iustus amissas amor.

#### THYESTES

Amat Thyesten frater? aetherias prius perfundet Arctos pontus et Siculi rapax

perience: one may legitimately prefer "bad" fortune to

"good."

No house of mine is set lowering on a high hilltop, making the lowly citizenry tremble; there is no bright ivory gleaming on high ceilings of mine, no bodyguard protecting my sleep. I do not take whole fleets fishing, or drive back the sea by dumping rock, 28 or feed a gluttonous belly with the tribute of nations; no fields are harvested for me beyond the Getae or Parthians. I am not worshipped with incense, no altars of mine are adorned to the exclusion of Jove. I have no woodland planted on my rooftop and swaying in the breeze, no steaming pools heated by many hands; my day is not given over to sleep, nor my night forthwith to sleepless drinking. But I am not feared, my house is safe without weapons, and my small domain is supplied with great peace. It is a vast kingdom, to be able to cope without a kingdom.

## TANTALUS

Power is not to be refused, if god offers it, nor to be sought. Your brother is *asking* you to rule.

## THYESTES

Asking? Fearful! Some trickery is skulking here.

## TANTALUS

Family feeling often returns where it has been banished, and rightful love regains its lost strength.

## THYESTES

Thyestes loved by his brother? Sooner the ocean will soak the Bears of heaven, and the whirling waves of Sicily's tides

28 I.e. as a foundation for a luxurious villa built out into the sea. This and other details of Thyestes' satire are overtly Roman. consistet aestus unda et Ionio seges matura pelago surget et lucem dabit 480 nox atra terris; ante cum flammis aquae, cum morte vita, cum mari ventus fidem foedusque iungent.

TANTALUS

Quam tamen fraudem times?

#### THYESTES

Omnem: timori quem meo statuam modum? tantum potest quantum odit.

TANTALUS
In te quid potest?

## THYESTES

485 Pro me nihil iam metuo: vos facitis mihi Atrea timendum.

TANTALUS
Decipi cautus times?

## THYESTES

Serum est cavendi tempus in mediis malis. eatur. unum genitor hoc testor tamen: ego vos sequor, non duco.

TANTALUS Respiciet deus bene cogitata. perge non dubio gradu.

## ATREUS

Plagis tenetur clausa dispositis fera: et ipsum et una generis invisi indolem iunctam parenti cerno. iam tuto in loco versantur odia. venit in nostras manus

will halt; ripe grain will grow on the Ionian Sea, and black night give light to the earth; sooner will water join flame, life join death, wind join sea in a bond of allegiance.

## **TANTALUS**

But what kind of deceit do you fear?

## THYESTES

Every kind! What limit can I set on my fear? His capacity is as great as his hatred.

#### TANTALUS

What can he do to you?

#### THYESTES

For myself I fear nothing now: you are the ones that make Atreus fearful to me.

#### TANTALUS

Despite caution, you fear being deceived?

# THYESTES

The time for caution is past in the midst of evil. Onward! But this one thing I affirm as your father: I am following you, not leading.

#### TANTALUS

God will look kindly on our well-considered plans. Step forward without hesitation.

#### ATREUS

[Aside] The beast is held fast in the nets I set out. I see both the man and, along with him, the hopes of that detested line, joined with their father. Now my hatred is on a firm

tandem Thyestes, venit, et totus quidem. 495 vix tempero animo, vix dolor frenos capit. sic, cum feras vestigat et longo sagax loro tenetur Umber ac presso vias scrutatur ore, dum procul lento suem odore sentit, paret et tacito locum 500 rostro pererrat; praeda cum propior fuit, cervice tota pugnat et gemitu vocat dominum morantem seque retinenti eripit. cum sperat ira sanguinem, nescit tegitamen tegatur. aspice, ut multo gravis 505 squalore vultus obruat maestos coma, quam foeda iaceat barba.—praestetur fides.

Fratrem iuvat videre. complexus mihi redde expetitos. quidquid irarum fuit transierit; ex hoc sanguis ac pietas die colantur, animis odia damnata excidant.

#### THYESTES

Diluere possem cuncta, nisi talis fores.
sed fateor, Atreu, fateor, admisi omnia
quae credidisti. pessimam causam meam
515 hodierna pietas fecit. est prorsus nocens
quicumque visus tam bono fratri est nocens.
lacrimis agendum est: supplicem primus vides;
hae te precantur pedibus intactae manus:
ponatur omnis ira et ex animo tumor
erasus abeat. obsides fidei accipe
hos innocentes. frater.

ATREUS
A genibus manum aufer meosque potius amplexus pete.

footing. At last Thyestes has come into my hands, he has come—yes, in his entirety. I can scarcely restrain my spirit, my rancour can scarcely be reined in. So with a keen-nosed Umbrian hound tracking beasts, held on a long leash, his snout bent down to probe the trails: while he scents the boar far off and faintly, he is obedient and silent in scouring the place; but when the prey is closer, he struggles with all the force of his neck and bays to hurry his slow master and fights free of restraint. When anger senses blood, it knows no concealment. But concealed it must be. See how his hair is heavy with grime and shrouds his dismal face, how foul and limp his beard. —But good faith must be demonstrated.

I am delighted to see my brother. Let me feel once more the embrace I have longed for! Any anger that existed must be in the past. From this day ties of blood and family must be cherished, and hatred be condemned and expelled from our hearts.

#### THYESTES

I could explain everything away, if you were not like this. But I confess, Atreus, I confess, I committed all that you thought I had. The fraternal affection you show today has made my case indefensible. A man is obviously guilty if he seems guilty to such a good brother. I must plead with tears. You are the first to see me supplicate. These hands, that have touched no one's feet before, implore you; let all anger be set aside, let passion be erased and gone. As hostages of my good faith take these innocents, brother.

## ATREUS

Take your hand from my knees, and come to my embrace

Vos quoque, senum praesidia, tot iuvenes, meo pendete collo. Squalidam vestem exue,
525 oculisque nostris parce, et ornatus cape pares meis, laetusque fraterni imperi capesse partem. maior haec laus est mea, fratri paternum reddere incolumi decus; habere regnum casus est, virtus dare.

### THYESTES

530 Di paria, frater, pretia pro tantis tibi meritis rependant. regiam capitis notam squalor recusat noster et sceptrum manus infausta refugit. liceat in media mihi latere turba.

> ATREUS Recipit hoc regnum duos.

> > THYESTES

535 Meum esse credo quidquid est, frater, tuum.

ATREUS

Quis influentis dona Fortunae abnuit?

THYESTES

Expertus est quicumque quam facile effluant.

ATREUS

Fratrem potiri gloria ingenti vetas?

THYESTES

Tua iam peracta gloria est, restat mea. 540 respuere certum est regna consilium mihi.

instead. You too, protectors of old men—so *many* young-sters!—come cling about my neck. [*To Thyestes*] Off with these filthy clothes—have pity on our eyes—and accept finery equal to mine; prosper and take on a share of your brother's power. Mine is the greater glory in restoring our father's grandeur to my safely returned brother. To hold a throne is luck; to bestow it, virtue.

### THYESTES

The gods grant you, brother, the rewards you deserve so richly. But my foul state unfits my head for the royal emblem, and my luckless hand shrinks from the sceptre. Let me just blend in with the common people.

## ATREUS

This throne has room for two.

## THYESTES

All that is yours, brother, I regard as mine.29

## ATREUS

Who would refuse the inflow of Fortune's gifts?

## THYESTES

Anyone who has experienced how easily they flow away.

### ATREUS

You forbid your brother to win great glory?

#### THYESTES

Your glory is already complete, mine still to be won. It is my fixed purpose to reject the throne.

 $^{29}$  Thyestes implies diplomatically "I do not need to share power formally, since I enjoy it through you." But the words could have another meaning, of which Thyestes is presumably unaware.

## ATREUS

Meam relinquam, nisi tuam partem accipis.

## THYESTES

Accipio. regni nomen impositi feram, sed iura et arma servient mecum tibi.

#### ATREUS

Imposita capiti vincla venerando gere; 545 ego destinatas victimas superis dabo.

## CHORUS

Credat hoc quisquam? ferus ille et acer nec potens mentis truculentus Atreus fratris aspectu stupefactus haesit. nulla vis maior pietate vera est; iurgia externis inimica durant, quos amor verus tenuit, tenebit. ira cum magnis agitata causis gratiam rupit cecinitque bellum, cum leves frenis sonuere turmae, fulsit hinc illinc agitatus ensis, quem movet crebro furibundus ictu sanguinem Mavors cupiens recentem, opprimit ferrum manibusque iunctis ducit ad pacem Pietas negantes.

Otium tanto subitum e tumultu quis deus fecit? modo per Mycenas arma civilis crepuere belli. pallidae natos tenuere matres;

550

#### ATREUS

I shall abandon my share, unless you accept yours.

#### THYESTES

Then I accept. I shall bear the title of king imposed on me, but the laws and army will be subject to you, along with myself. $^{30}$ 

#### ATREUS

Wear this bond set on your venerable head. For my part, I shall offer the designated victims to the gods above.

#### CHORUS

Who could believe it? That savage man, the wild, irrational, truculent Atreus, was awed and arrested by sight of his brother. No force is greater than true love of family. Disputes among strangers persist in rancour, but those it has held, true love will hold. When anger, roused by mighty causes, breaks off friendship and trumpets war, when harnesses jangle on wheeling squadrons and the roused sword gleams in opposing ranks, stirred to repeated blows by furious Mars in his longing for fresh blood, then family love overwhelms the steel, joins hands, and leads the reluctant to peace.

What god has created sudden calm out of such uproar? Just now the weapons of civil war clattered throughout Mycenae; ashen-faced mothers clasped their children;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Another unintended and unfortunate ambiguity from Thyestes (cf. note on 534).

	uxor armato timuit marito,
565	cum manum invitus sequeretur ensis,
	sordidus pacis vitio quietae.
	ille labentes renovare muros,
	hic situ quassas stabilire turres,
	ferreis portas cohibere claustris
570	ille certabat, pavidusque pinnis
	anxiae noctis vigil incubabat:
	peior est bello timor ipse belli.
	Iam minae saevi cecidere ferri,
	iam silet murmur grave classicorum,
575	iam tacet stridor litui strepentis:
	alta pax urbi revocata laetae est.
	sic, ubi ex alto tumuere fluctus
	Bruttium Coro feriente pontum,
	Scylla pulsatis resonat cavernis
580	ac mare in portu timuere nautae
	quod rapax haustum revomit Charybdis;
	et ferus Cyclops metuit parentem
	rupe ferventis residens in Aetnae,
	ne superfusis violetur undis
585	ignis aeternis resonans caminis;
	et putat mergi sua posse pauper
	regna Laertes Ithaca tremente.
	si suae ventis cecidere vires,
	mitius stagno pelagus recumbit;
590	alta, quae navis timuit secare,
592	strata ludenti patuere cumbae,
591	hinc et hinc fusis speciosa velis;

 $^{592}$  transposed before 591 by Fitch

wives feared for their husbands in arms, as the sword reluctantly came to hand dulled with the rust of tranquil peace. Some men struggled to repair the sagging walls, others to strengthen derelict towers, others to lock the gates with iron bars; guards crouched in dread on the battlements to watch the anxious night. Worse than war is the fear of war.

Now the menace of savage steel is fallen, now hushed the trumpets' blaring din, now quiet the strident clarion's scream; deep peace is restored to the joyful city. So, when waves swell out of the deep as Corus buffets the Bruttian Sea, Scylla roars at the pounding of her caves, and sailors in harbour dread the seas swallowed, then spewed by whirling Charybdis; and a bestial Cyclops, perched on a crag of seething Etna, fears his parent<sup>31</sup> may violate with his flooding waves the fire that roars in undying forges; and as Ithaca trembles, Laertes thinks his meagre kingdom could be submerged. But if their force has failed the winds, the sea sinks down calmer than a pond; the deeps that ships were afraid to cleave are smooth and open to pleasure craft, arrayed with sails spread far and wide;

 $<sup>^{31}\,\</sup>mathrm{Neptune};$  the Cyclopes tend Vulcan's forges within Mt Etna.

et vacat mersos numerare pisces hic ubi ingenti modo sub procella Cyclades pontum timuere motae.

Nulla sors longa est: dolor ac voluptas invicem cedunt; brevior voluptas. ima permutat levis hora summis. Ille qui donat diadema fronti, quem genu nixae tremuere gentes,

cuius ad nutum posuere bella Medus et Phoebi propioris Indus et Dahae Parthis equitem minati, anxius sceptrum tenet et moventes cuncta divinat metuitque casus mobiles rerum dubiumque tempus. Vos quibus rector maris atque terrae ius dedit magnum necis atque vitae, ponite inflatos tumidosque vultus. quidquid a vobis minor expavescit,

maior hoc vobis dominus minatur: omne sub regno graviore regnum est. quem dies vidit veniens superbum, hunc dies vidit fugiens iacentem.

Nemo confidat nimium secundis, nemo desperet meliora lassis: miscet haec illis prohibetque Clotho stare Fortunam, rotat omne fatum. nemo tam divos habuit faventes. crastinum ut posset sibi polliceri. res deus nostras celeri citatas

turbine versat.

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there is freedom to count the fish below water where just now, under the mighty storm, the shaken Cyclades feared the sea.

No state is lasting; pain and pleasure give way in turn: pleasure is briefer. A short hour switches high and low. Even he who crowns the heads of princes, before whom nations kneel and tremble. at whose nod wars are set aside by Medes and Indians close to Phoebus and Dahae whose horsemen threaten the Parthianshe grips the sceptre tensely, and tries in his fear to divine the changes of chance that changes all, and the hazards of time. You, whom the ruler of earth and sea has granted dread power over life and death: drop your puffed-up, arrogant airs. Whatever a lesser man fears from you threatens you from a greater master; all power is under a weightier power. Rising day sees a man in pride: retreating day sees him brought low.

No one should trust too much in success, no one despair of misfortune improving. Clotho mixes the two, forbidding Fortune to rest, and spins each destiny around. No one has enjoyed such favouring gods that he could promise himself the morrow. God keeps our lives hastening, turning in a speeding whirlwind.

#### NUNTIUS

Quis me per auras turbo praecipitem vehet atraque nube involvet, ut tantum nefas eripiat oculis? o domus Pelopi quoque et Tantalo pudenda!

CHORUS
Quid portas novi?

# NUNTIUS

Quaenam ista regio est? Argos et Sparte, pios sortita fratres, et maris gemini premens fauces Corinthos, an feris Hister fugam praebens Alanis, an sub aeterna nive Hyrcana tellus, an vagi passim Scythae? quis hic nefandi est conscius monstri locus?

#### CHORUS

Effare, et istud pande, quodcumque est, malum.

#### NUNTIUS

Si steterit animus, si metu corpus rigens remittet artus. haeret in vultu trucis imago facti. Ferte me insanae procul, illo, procellae, ferte quo fertur dies hinc raptus.

#### CHORUS

Animos gravius incertos tenes. quid sit quod horres ede et auctorem indica. 640 non quaero quis sit, sed uter. effare ocius.

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# ACT 4

#### MESSENGER

Will some whirlwind carry me headlong through the air and wrap me in black cloud, to wrest such an outrage from my sight? This house would shame even Pelops and Tantalus!

#### CHORUS LEADER

What news do you bring?

# MESSENGER

What country is this? Argos, and Sparta blessed with devoted brothers, <sup>32</sup> and Corinth that closes the throats of two seas? Or the Danube that offers escape to barbarous Alani, or the Hyrcanian land under its eternal snow, or the farwandering Scythians? What is this place that knows such a terrible enormity?

#### CHORUS LEADER

Speak out and reveal this evil, whatever it is.

#### MESSENGER

Once my mind slows down, once my fear-frozen body loosens its limbs. The picture of that savage deed sticks in my eyes. Bear me far away, you mad cyclones, bear me where the daylight is borne, now stolen from here.<sup>33</sup>

#### CHORUS LEADER

You hold our minds in deeper uncertainty. Tell us the source of your horror and name the culprit. I do not ask who it might be, but which of the two. Speak out quickly.

<sup>32</sup> Castor and Pollux, exemplars of brotherly devotion.

<sup>33</sup> By the Sun's turning back in horror (cf. 776ff.).

#### NUNTIUS

In arce summa Pelopiae pars est domus conversa ad austros, cuius extremum latus aequale monti crescit atque urbem premit et contumacem regibus populum suis habet sub ictu. fulget hic turbae capax 645 immane tectum, cuius auratas trabes variis columnae nobiles maculis ferunt. post ista vulgo nota, quae populi colunt, in multa dives spatia discedit domus. arcana in imo regio secessu iacet, 650 alta vetustum valle compescens nemus, penetrale regni, nulla qua laetos solet praebere ramos arbor aut ferro coli, sed taxus et cupressus et nigra ilice obscura nutat silva, quam supra eminens 655 despectat alte quercus et vincit nemus. hinc auspicari regna Tantalidae solent, hinc petere lassis rebus ac dubiis opem. affixa inhaerent dona: vocales tubae fractique currus, spolia Myrtoi maris, 660 victaeque falsis axibus pendent rotae et omne gentis facinus; hoc Phrygius loco fixus tiaras Pelopis, hic praeda hostium et de triumpho picta barbarico chlamys. fons stat sub umbra tristis et nigra piger 665 haeret palude: talis est dirae Stygis deformis unda quae facit caelo fidem. hinc nocte caeca gemere ferales deos fama est, catenis lucus excussis sonat

ululantque manes. quidquid audire est metus

286

## MESSENGER

On the summit of the citadel is a section of the House of Pelops that faces south. Its outer flank rises up like a mountain, hemming in the city and holding in its range a populace defiant to its kings. Here is a vast gleaming hall, room enough for a multitude, its gilded roofbeams supported by columns with conspicuous varied markings. Behind these public rooms, where whole peoples pay court, the wealthy house goes back a great distance. At the farthest and lowest remove there lies a secret area that confines an age-old woodland in a deep vale-the inner sanctum of the realm. There are no trees here such as stretch out healthy branches and are tended with the knife, but yews and cypresses and a darkly stirring thicket of black ilex, above which a towering oak looks down from its height and masters the grove. Tantalid kings regularly inaugurate their reigns here, and seek help here in disasters and dilemmas. Here votive gifts are fastened: hanging up are bruiting trumpets and wrecked chariots, spoils from the Myrtoan Sea, wheels defeated because of rigged axles, 34 and all the exploits of the clan. In this place is pinned the Phrygian cap of Pelops, here are spoils from his enemies and an embroidered cape from his triumph over barbarians. In the gloom is a dismal stagnant spring, oozing slowly in the black swamp. Such is the unsightly stream of dread Styx, which generates trust in heaven. Here in the blind darkness rumour has it that death gods groan; the grove resounds to the rattling of chains, and ghosts howl. Anything fearful to hear can be seen there. A

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> The reference is to Oenomaus' chariot, wrecked and defeated in the race with Pelops.

illic videtur. errat antiquis vetus emissa bustis turba et insultant loco maiora notis monstra. quin tota solet micare silva flamma, et excelsae trabes ardent sine igne. saepe latratu nemus trino remugit, saepe simulacris domus attonita magnis. nec dies sedat metum: nox propria luco est, et superstitio inferum in luce media regnat. hinc orantibus responsa dantur certa, cum ingenti sono laxantur adyto fata et immugit specus vocem deo solvente.

Quo postquam furens intravit Atreus liberos fratris trahens, ornantur arae. quis queat digne eloqui? post terga iuvenum nobiles revocat manus et maesta vitta capita purpurea ligat. non tura desunt, non sacer Bacchi liquor tangensve salsa victimam culter mola. servatur omnis ordo, ne tantum nefas non rite fiat.

# CHORUS Quis manum ferro admovet?

# NUNTIUS

Ipse est sacerdos, ipse funesta prece letale carmen ore violento canit. stat ipse ad aras, ipse devotos neci contrectat et componit et ferro apparat; attendit ipse: nulla pars sacri perit. Lucus tremescit, tota succusso solo

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hoary crowd walks abroad, released from their ancient tombs, and things more monstrous than any known caper about the place. In addition, flames repeatedly flicker throughout the wood, and the lofty treetrunks burn without fire. Often the grove booms with threefold barking, often the house is awed by huge apparitions. Daytime does not allay the fear: the grove has a night all its own, and an eerie sense of the underworld reigns in broad daylight. Here those seeking oracles are granted infallible answers; words of destiny are loosed from the sanctuary amidst thunderous noise, and the hollow space booms as a god unleashes his voice.

Once Atreus enters the place in frenzy, dragging his brother's children, the altar is fitted out. Who could express it properly? He pulls the youths' princely hands behind their backs, and binds their sorrowful heads with a purple band of wool. The incense is not missing, nor Bacchus' holy liquid nor the knife that touches the victims with salted meal. Every part of the ritual is kept, to ensure that such an outrage is performed by the rules.

#### CHORUS LEADER

Who sets his hand to the knife?

# MESSENGER

He himself is priest, he himself makes sinister prayers and sings the death chant in a bloodthirsty voice. He stands by the altar himself, himself handles and arranges those doomed to slaughter and readies them for the knife; he himself checks details—no part of the ritual is forgotten. The grove begins to tremble; as the earth shakes the whole

<sup>694</sup> apparat Axelson: admovet EA

nutavit aula, dubia quo pondus daret ac fluctuanti similis; e laevo aethere atrum cucurrit limitem sidus trahens. libata in ignes vina mutato fluunt cruenta Baccho; regium capiti decus bis terque lapsum est; flevit in templis ebur. movere cunctos monstra, sed solus sibi immotus Atreus constat, atque ultro deos

Iamque dimissa mora adsistit aris, torvum et obliquum intuens. ieiuna silvis qualis in Gangeticis inter iuvencos tigris erravit duos, utriusque praedae cupida, quo primum ferat incerta morsus; flectit hoc rictus suos, illo reflectit et famem dubiam tenet: sic dirus Atreus capita devota impiae speculatur irae. quem prius mactet sibi dubitat, secunda deinde quem caede immolet. nec interest, sed dubitat et saevum scelus iuvat ordinare.

CHORUS

Quem tamen ferro occupat?

NUNTIUS

Primus locus (ne desse pietatem putes) avo dicatur: Tantalus prima hostia est.

CHORUS

Quo iuvenis animo, quo tulit vultu necem?

NUNTIUS

720 Stetit sui securus et non est preces

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terret minantes.

palace sways, uncertain which way to topple and seeming to waver. From the sky's left quarter races a comet, leaving a black trail. Wine poured in libation on the fires changes as it flows to blood; the royal emblem slips repeatedly from his head; ivory statues weep in the temples. All are affected by these prodigies, but Atreus alone remains unaffected and constant; he counter-threatens the menacing gods.

And now he dismisses delays and takes his stand at the altar, with a forbidding sidelong glare. As in the woods by the Ganges a hungry tigress wavers between two young bulls, craving each prey and uncertain where to sink her teeth first; she turns her gaping jaws here, turns them back there and keeps her hunger in suspense: so dread Atreus surveys the victims consecrated to his godless anger. He hesitates: which shall he sacrifice first to himself, then which shall he offer up as the second killing? It makes no difference, yet he hesitates and takes pleasure in ordering the savage crime.

# CHORUS LEADER

Which one does he catch first with the sword?

#### MESSENGER

First place (lest you think him lacking in family feeling) is dedicated to his grandfather: Tantalus is the first victim.

#### CHORUS LEADER

What was the young man's attitude and expression in facing murder?

#### MESSENGER

He stood firm without concern for himself, and refused to

perire frustra passus; ast illi ferus in vulnere ensem abscondit, et penitus premens iugulo manum commisit: educto stetit ferro cadaver, cumque dubitasset diu hac parte an illa caderet, in patruum cadit.

Tunc ille ad aras Plisthenem saevus trahit adicitque fratri. colla percussa amputat; cervice caesa truncus in pronum ruit, querulum cucurrit murmure incerto caput.

#### CHORUS

730 Quid deinde gemina caede perfunctus facit? puerone parcit, an scelus sceleri ingerit?

#### NUNTIUS

Silva iubatus qualis Armenia leo in caede multa victor armento incubat; cruore rictus madidus et pulsa fame non ponit iras: hinc et hinc tauros premens vitulis minatur, dente iam lasso piger: non aliter Atreus saevit atque ira tumet. ferrumque gemina caede perfusum tenens, oblitus in quem fureret, infesta manu exegit ultra corpus; ac pueri statim pectore receptus ensis e tergo exstitit. cadit ille et aras sanguine extinguens suo per utrumque vulnus moritur.

#### CHORUS

O saevum scelus!

741 e Tarrant; in EA

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waste breath on futile prayers. The brute buried his sword in the wound he made, the hand meeting the throat as it thrust deep. When the steel was pulled out the corpse stayed upright; after long hesitation whether to fall this way or that, it fell on its uncle.

Then that savage drags Plisthenes to the altar, and adds him to his brother. With a mortal stroke he chops off the head; with the neck severed the trunk falls forward, while the head rolls away, mumbling some unintelligible protest.

## CHORUS LEADER

Then what does he do after accomplishing two murders? Spare the boy, or pile crime on crime?

# MESSENGER

As in the forests of Armenia a maned lion falls victoriously on a herd amidst much slaughter; though his jaws are bloodsoaked and his hunger checked he does not abandon his anger, but attacks the bulls in one direction and another and threatens the calves, though sluggishly and with weary jaws: just so Atreus rages, swollen with anger. Holding a blade soaked in two killings, and regardless of the target of his rage, he drives it violently out beyond the body: taken on the chest, the sword projects at once from the boy's back. He falls, and dies from both wounds as his blood douses the altar fire.

#### CHORUS LEADER

What a savage crime!

NUNTIUS

Exhorruistis? hactenus si stat nefas, 745 pius est.

CHORUS

An ultra maius aut atrocius natura recipit?

NUNTIUS

Sceleris hunc finem putas?

gradus est.

CHORUS

Quid ultra potuit? obiecit feris lanianda forsan corpora atque igne arcuit?

# NUNTIUS

Utinam arcuisset! ne tegat functos humus nec solvat ignis! avibus epulandos licet 750 ferisque triste pabulum saevis trahatvotum est sub hoc quod esse supplicium solet: pater insepultos spectet! o nullo scelus credibile in aevo quodque posteritas neget! erepta vivis exta pectoribus tremunt 755 spirantque venae corque adhuc pavidum salit; at ille fibras tractat ac fata inspicit et adhuc calentes viscerum venas notat. Postquam hostiae placuere, securus vacat iam fratris epulis. ipse divisum secat 760 in membra corpus, amputat trunco tenus umeros patentes et lacertorum moras,

tantum ora servat et datas fidei manus. 765 haec veribus haerent viscera et lentis data

denudat artus durus atque ossa amputat;

#### MESSENGER

You shudder? If this is where the outrage stops, he is a righteous man.

#### CHORUS LEADER

Does nature have room for anything still greater or more atrocious?

#### MESSENGER

You think this is the endpoint of crime? It is just a step!

#### CHORUS LEADER

What could he do beyond this? Perhaps toss the bodies to wild beasts to tear, and deny them fire?

#### MESSENGER

I wish he had denied them! Let earth not hide the dead. nor fire consume them! Let him drag them out for birds to feast on, as ghastly feed for savage animals! Under him what is normally a punishment becomes a prayer. May their father look upon them unburied! No age could believe such a crime: the future will deny it. Torn from the living chests the organs are still trembling, the veins pulsing and the hearts throbbing in terror. But he handles the entrails and looks into destiny and takes note of the stillhot veins on the viscera. Once the victims prove satisfactory, he relaxes and takes time for his brother's feast. With his own hands he cuts and separates the bodies limb by limb: working back to the trunk he chops away the resisting arms and broad shoulders; heartlessly he lays bare the joints and bones and chops them away; just the faces he keeps, and the hands given in trust. Some of the flesh is stuck on spits, and sits dripping over slow burners; other

stillant caminis, illa flammatus latex candente aëno iactat.

Impositas dapes
transiluit ignis, inque trepidantes focos
bis ter regestus et pati iussus moram
770 invitus ardet. stridet in veribus iecur;
nec facile dicam corpora an flammae magis
gemuere. piceos ignis in fumos abit;
et ipse fumus, tristis ac nebula gravis,
non rectus exit seque in excelsum levat:
775 ipsos penates nube deformi obsidet.

O Phoebe patiens, fugeris retro licet medioque raptum merseris caelo diem, sero occidisti! lancinat natos pater artusque mandit ore funesto suos.

780 nitet fluente madidus unguento comam gravisque vino est; saepe praeclusae cibum tenuere fauces. in malis unum hoc tuis bonum est, Thyesta, quod mala ignoras tua. sed et hoc peribit. verterit currus licet sibi ipse Titan obvium ducens iter.

sibi ipse Titan obvium ducens iter, tenebrisque facinus obruat taetrum novis nox missa ab ortu tempore alieno gravis, tamen videndum est. tota patefient mala.

# CHORUS

Quo, terrarum superumque potens, cuius ad ortus noctis opacae decus omne fugit, quo vertis iter

771 magis E: gemant A

777 raptum recc.: ruptum EA

parts are tossed about by kindled water in a boiling cauldron.

The fire leaps past the food placed on it; though forced back again and again onto the trembling hearth and commanded to stay in place, it burns grudgingly. The liver hisses on the spit; I could not easily say whether the bodies or flames groan more loudly. The fire turns into pitchy smoke, and the smoke itself, in a heavy, gloomy fog, will not go straight up or rise into the air: it smothers the very house gods in an unsightly cloud.

O long-suffering Phoebus! Though you have fled backward, snatched the day from mid-heaven and drowned it, you set too late! The father is mangling his sons, gnawing his own limbs with entombing teeth. He is glistening, with hair soaked in flowing unguent, and he is heavy with wine. Often his blocked throat holds the food. In your troubles there is this one boon, Thyestes, that you are ignorant of your troubles! But this too will perish. Though the Titan has turned his chariot, tracing a path counter to himself, and though the foul deed is smothered in strange darkness by this oppressive night, released from the East and at an alien time, yet see you must. All your troubles will be revealed.

# CHORUS

Where, you master of earth and heaven —at whose rising all the glory retreats of shadowed night where do you turn,

<sup>781</sup> est inserted by Tränkle

<sup>789</sup> potens Heinsius: parens EA

medioque diem perdis Olympo? cur, Phoebe, tuos rapis aspectus? nondum serae nuntius horae 795 nocturna vocat lumina Vesper: nondum Hesperiae flexura rotae iubet emeritos solvere currus: nondum in noctem vergente die tertia misit bucina signum; 800 stupet ad subitae tempora cenae nondum fessis bubus arator. Quid te aetherio pepulit cursu? quae causa tuos limite certo deiecit equos? 805 numquid aperto carcere Ditis victi temptant bella Gigantes? numquid Tityos pectore fesso renovat veteres saucius iras? num rejecto latus explicuit monte Typhoeus? numquid struitur 810 via Phlegraeos alta per hostes et Thessalicum Thressa premitur Pelion Ossa? Solitae mundi periere vices; nihil occasus, nihil ortus erit. stupet Eoos 815 assueta deo tradere frenos genetrix primae roscida lucis perversa sui limina regni;

 $<sup>^{35}</sup>$  This implies a regular signal marking the last portion of the day, but the details are uncertain.

annulling the day while still in mid-sky? Why do you snatch your face from us, Phoebus? Not yet is the sign of eventide, Vesper, summoning the lights of night; not yet does the turning of the western wheel bid you loose your steeds, their task completed; not yet, at the sinking of day towards night, has the third trumpet voiced its signal; 55 the ploughman, his oxen not yet weary, stands in amazement: suddenly suppertime!

What has driven you out of your heavenly course? What cause has forced your horses down from their fixed path?
Can it be that the prison of Dis is open and the conquered Giants are venturing war?
Can it be that wounded Tityos renews his ancient rage in his weary breast?
Can Typhon have thrown the mountain off and stretched his limbs?
Can it be that a soaring path is built by Phlegraean foes,<sup>36</sup> and that Pelion in Thessaly is burdened with the weight of Thracian Ossa?

The regular cycles of heaven are lost; sunset and sunrise will not exist. The dewy mother of dawning light, accustomed to hand the eastern reins to the god, is stunned by such disorder on her kingdom's threshold;

 $^{36}$  The Giants, who fought the Olympian gods at Phlegra, and tried to storm heaven by piling up mountains.

nescit fessos tinguere currus
nec fumantes sudore iubas
mergere ponto.
ipse insueto novus hospitio
Sol Auroram videt occiduus,
tenebrasque iubet
surgere nondum nocte parata:
non succedunt astra nec ullo
micat igne polus,
non Luna graves digerit umbras.
Sed quidquid id est, utinam nox sit!
trepidant, trepidant

trepidant, trepidant
pectora magno percussa metu,
ne fatali cuncta ruina
quassata labent
iterumque deos hominesque premat
deforme chaos,
iterum terras et mare cingens
et vaga picti sidera mundi
Natura tegat.

Natura tegat

Non alternae facis exortu dux astrorum saecula ducens dabit aestatis brumaeque notas, non Phoebeis obvia flammis demet nocti Luna timores vincetque sui fratris habenas curvo brevius limite currens. ibit in unum congesta sinum turba deorum. hic qui sacris pervius astris

835 alternae Heinsius: aeternae\* EA

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she does not know how to bathe tired steeds or plunge their smoking, sweaty manes into the sea.

Startled himself by such strange welcome the Sun beholds Aurora as he sets; he bids the darkness rise, yet night is not yet ready: no stars appear in their turn, no fires gleam in the ether, no moon disperses the heavy shadows.

But whatever the cause, may this be night only! Our hearts are shaken and trembling, trembling with enormous fear lest the shattered cosmos fall in the ruin ordained by fate, lest gods and humans be engulfed once more in formless chaos, and once more earth and girdling sea and the wandering stars of the jewelled sky be hidden by Nature.

No longer in successive fiery dawns will the leader of stars, <sup>37</sup> who leads the ages, give indications of summer and winter; no longer, facing Phoebus' flames, will the Moon relieve the night of terrors, as she outstrips her brother's chariot, riding more shortly on her curving path. Into one gulf will fall in a heap the throng of gods.

This highway of the holy planets,

<sup>37</sup> The Sun.

845	secat obliquo tramite zonas,
	flectens longos signifer annos,
	lapsa videbit sidera labens.
	hic qui nondum vere benigno
	reddit Zephyro vela tepenti
850	Aries praeceps ibit in undas,
330	per quas pavidam vexerat Hellen.
	hic qui nitido Taurus cornu
	praefert Hyadas,
	secum Geminos
	trahet et curvi bracchia Cancri.
855	Leo flammiferis aestibus ardens
000	iterum e caelo cadet Herculeus;
	cadet in terras Virgo relictas,
	iustaeque cadent pondera Librae
0.00	secumque trahent Scorpion acrem.
860	et qui nervo tenet Haemonio
	pinnata senex spicula Chiron,
	rupto perdet spicula nervo.
	pigram referens hiemem gelidus
	cadet Aegoceros,
865	frangetque tuam, quisquis es, urnam;
	tecum excedent
	ultima caeli sidera Pisces.
	Monstraque numquam perfusa mari
	merget condens omnia gurges.
	et qui medias dividit Ursas,
870	fluminis instar lubricus Anguis

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> In Latin the zodiac is called *signifer*, "bearer of the signs" (constellations). Seneca here plays on the military sense of *signifer*, as if the zodiac were "standard-bearer" to the years.

that crosses the zones with its slanting track, Sign-Bearer, guide of the lengthy years, 38 will see the fallen stars as it falls. This *Ram*, that before spring weather is kind restores sails to the balmy Zephyr, will fall headlong into the waves over which it carried the frightened Helle. This *Bull*, that displays the *Hyades* on his gleaming horn, will drag down with him the Twins, and the claws of the curving Crab. Hercules' Lion, blazing with fiery heat, will fall once more from heaven; the Virgin will fall to the earth she left, the weights of the even-handed Scales will fall and drag sharp Scorpion down with them. The one who holds feathered darts against his bowstring, old Haemonian Chiron, 39 will lose his darts, the bowstring broken. The chill restorer of sluggish winter, Goat's horn, will fall, and smash your urn, whoever you are;<sup>40</sup> with you will depart the last of heaven's stars, the Fish.

And the monsters that never bathe in the sea will be drowned by the all-engulfing flood. Both the one that glides like a river between the *Bears* and keeps them apart, the *Snake*,

 $<sup>^{39}\,\</sup>mathrm{Here}$  the Archer (Sagittarius) is identified as the centaur Chiron.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> The Water Carrier (Aquarius) was variously identified.

magnoque minor iuncta Draconi frigida duro Cynosura gelu, custosque sui tardus plaustri iam non stabilis ruet Arctophylax.

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Nos e tanto visi populo digni, premeret quos everso cardine mundus? in nos aetas ultima venit? o nos dura sorte creatos, seu perdidimus solem miseri, sive expulimus!

Abeant questus, discede timor: vitae est avidus quisquis non vult mundo secum pereunte mori.

#### ATREUS

885 Aequalis astris gradior et cunctos super altum superbo vertice attingens polum.
nunc decora regni teneo, nunc solium patris.
dimitto superos: summa votorum attigi.
bene est, abunde est, iam sat est etiam mihi.
890 sed cur satis sit? pergam et implebo patrem funere suorum. ne quid obstaret pudor,
dies recessit: perge dum caelum vacat.
utinam quidem tenere fugientes deos
possem et coactos trahere, ut ultricem dapem
895 omnes viderent. quod sat est, videat pater.

etiam die nolente discutiam tibi

<sup>41</sup> Snake and Serpent are one and the same. Cynosura is a name for the Lesser Bear.

and the great Serpent's lesser neighbour, Cynosura, 41 chilled by icy frost, and the slow guard of the Wain, no longer standing firm, will fall—the Bear-Ward.

Out of so many people, is it judged that we deserve to be crushed by the overthrow of the axis of heaven? Has the final age come upon us? O, we were born with a heavy fate, whether we lost the sun through misfortune or drove him away! But let laments go, let fear depart: a glutton for life is one that is loath to die when the whole world perishes with him. 42

# ACT 5

# ATREUS

Peer of the stars I stride, out-topping all, my proud head reaching to the lofty sky. Now I hold the kingdom's glories, now my father's throne. I discharge the gods: I have reached the pinnacle of my prayers. This is good, this is ample, this is enough now, even for me. But why should it be enough? I shall go on, and fill the father with the death of his sons. Lest shame should present any obstacle, daylight has withdrawn: go on while heaven is empty! Indeed I wish I could stop the gods fleeing, round them up and drag them all to see this feast of vengeance. But it is enough that the father see it. Even though the daylight is unwilling, I

 $^{42}$  "Who would not fall with all the world about him?" (Ben Jonson,  $Catiline\ III.1).$ 

tenebras, miseriae sub quibus latitant tuae. nimis diu conviva securo iaces hilarique vultu; iam satis mensis datum est satisque Baccho: sobrio tanta ad mala opus est Thyeste.

Turba famularis, fores templi relaxa, festa patefiat domus. libet videre, capita natorum intuens quos det colores, verba quae primus dolor effundat aut ut spiritu expulso stupens corpus rigescat. fructus hic operis mei est. miserum videre nolo, sed dum fit miser.

Aperta multa tecta conlucent face. resupinus ipse purpurae atque auro incubat, vino gravatum fulciens laeva caput. eructat. o me caelitum excelsissimum, regumque regem! vota transcendi mea. satur est; capaci ducit argento merum—ne parce potu: restat etiamnunc cruor tot hostiarum; veteris hunc Bacchi color abscondet. hoc, hoc mensa claudatur scypho. mixtum suorum sanguinem genitor bibat: meum bibisset. ecce, iam cantus ciet festasque voces, nec satis menti imperat.

#### THYESTES

920 Pectora longis hebetata malis, iam sollicitas ponite curas. fugiat maeror fugiatque pavor, fugiat trepidi comes exilii tristis egestas

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shall dispel for you the darkness that conceals your sorrows. Too long you have lain there feasting with a carefree, cheerful expression. Enough devotion now to the board, enough to wine: for suffering so great, we need Thyestes sober.

You throng of slaves, unbar the temple doors, let the revels of the house be revealed. <sup>43</sup> [Aside] I long to see what colour he turns as he looks on his sons' heads, what words his first torment pours forth, how his body stiffens, breathless with shock. This is the fruit of my work: I do not want to see him broken, but to see him being broken.

Opened up, the house is bright with myriad torches. He is lying on purple and gold, sprawled backwards, propping his wine-heavy head on his left hand. He belches! Oh, I am highest of heavenly gods, and king of kings! I have surpassed my own prayers. He is stuffed, he imbibes pure wine from a great silver cup. Do not stint your drinking! There still remains the blood of so many victims; the colour of vintage wine will disguise it. Yes, let this be the cup to close the feast! Let the father drink the blended blood of his sons: he would have drunk mine. See, now he is raising his voice in festive songs, with little control over his wits.

#### THYESTES

Heart made dreary by long troubles, now set aside your fretful cares. Away with grief, away with fear, away with the comrade of anxious exile, gloomy poverty,

<sup>43</sup> As the doors open, the indoor scene is wheeled out onstage. Similar dramaturgy at *Herc* 1123 (see note), *Pha* 384, 863.

925	rebusque gravis pudor afflictis.
	magis unde cadas quam quo refert.
	magnum, ex alto culmine lapsum
	stabilem in plano figere gressum;
	magnum, ingenti strage malorum
930	pressum fracti pondera regni
	non inflexa cervice pati,
	nec degenerem victumque malis
	rectum impositas ferre ruinas.
	sed iam saevi nubila fati
935	pelle ac miseri temporis omnes
	dimitte notas;
	redeant vultus ad laeta boni,
1	veterem ex animo mitte Thyesten.
	Proprium hoc miseros sequitur vitium,
	numquam rebus credere laetis;
940	redeat felix fortuna licet,
	tamen afflictos gaudere piget.
	quid me revocas
	festumque vetas celebrare diem,
	quid flere iubes,
	nulla surgens dolor ex causa?
	quis me prohibet
945	flore decenti vincire comam,
	prohibet, prohibet?
	vernae capiti fluxere rosae,
	pingui madidus crinis amomo
	inter subitos stetit horrores,
950	imber vultu nolente cadit,
	venit in medias voces gemitus.
	maeror lacrimas amat assuetas,

and shame that weighs upon misfortune.

Where you fall *from* matters more than where you fall to.

It's great, when you slip from a lofty peak, to plant your feet firmly on the ground; great, when a huge havoc of troubles engulfs you, to keep your neck unbowed while enduring the burden of broken kingship—not to be conquered ignobly by troubles but to stand and bear the infliction of ruin. But now dispel the clouds of cruel destiny, and put aside every token of unhappy days; smile once more at happiness, cast from your heart the old Thyestes.

Yet the wretched are dogged by this special fault of never trusting in happy times. Although good fortune comes round again, yet rejoicing grates on those who have suffered. Why hold me back and forbid my celebrating this festive day, why bid me weep, pain arising without a cause? Who prevents me from binding my hair properly with flowers, prevents me, prevents me? The roses of spring slide from my head, my hair, though soaked in heavy myrrh, bristles in sudden shivering fits, teardrops fall from my eyes unbidden, amidst my words there comes a groan. Sorrow loves its familiar tears.

flendi miseris dira cupido est. libet infaustos mittere questus, libet et Tyrio saturas ostro rumpere vestes, ululare libet.

Mittit luctus signa futuri mens ante sui praesaga mali: instat nautis fera tempestas, cum sine vento tranquilla tument.
—Quos tibi luctus quosve tumultus fingis, demens? credula praesta pectora fratri: iam, quidquid id est, vel sine causa vel sero times.
—Nolo infelix, sed vagus intra terror oberrat, subitos fundunt oculi fletus, nec causa subest. dolor an metus est?

an habet lacrimas magna voluptas?

#### ATREUS

970 Festum diem, germane, consensu pari celebremus. hic est sceptra qui firmet mea solidamque pacis alliget certae fidem.

#### THYESTES

Satias dapis me nec minus Bacchi tenet. augere cumulus hic voluptatem potest, si cum meis gaudere felici datur.

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<sup>44</sup> Cf. Shakespeare, Richard III II.3.42-44: "By a divine in-

the unhappy have a fearful craving to weep. I long to utter ill-omened laments, I long to rend these garments steeped in Tyrian purple, I long to howl.

Signs of grief to come are sent by the mind, foreboding its own misfortune: sailors are threatened by a savage storm when a calm sea heaves without any wind. 44 —What griefs, what upheavals are you conjuring for yourself, you madman? Show your brother a trustful heart! Your fear of whatever is either groundless or too late now. —Poor me, I resist, but terror roves and prowls inside me, my eyes pour forth these sudden tears, based on no cause. Is it grief or fear? Or does great pleasure make for weeping?

#### ATREUS

My own brother, we must celebrate this festive day in mutual harmony. This is the day that will strengthen my sceptre, and lock up solid confidence in reliable peace.

#### THYESTES

I am stayed by a surfeit of fine fare, and equally of wine. The final addition that could increase my pleasure would be the chance to enjoy my happiness with my boys.

stinct men's minds mistrust / Ensuing danger; as by proof we see / The water swell before a boist'rous storm."

# ATREUS

Hic esse natos crede in amplexu patris. hic sunt eruntque; nulla pars prolis tuae tibi subtrahetur. ora quae exoptas dabo totumque turba iam sua implebo patrem. satiaberis, ne metue! nunc mixti meis iucunda mensae sacra iuvenilis colunt; sed accientur. poculum infuso cape gentile Baccho.

#### THYESTES

Capio fraternae dapis donum. paternis vina libentur deis, tunc hauriantur. —sed quid hoc? nolunt manus parere, crescit pondus et dextram gravat. admotus ipsis Bacchus a labris fugit circaque rictus ore decepto fluit, et ipsa trepido mensa subsiluit solo. vix lucet ignis; ipse quin aether gravis inter diem noctemque desertus stupet. quid hoc? magis magisque concussi labant convexa caeli. spissior densis coit caligo tenebris noxque se in noctem abdidit; fugit omne sidus. quidquid est, fratri precor natisque parcat, omnis in vile hoc caput abeat procella. Redde iam natos mihi!

# ATREUS

Reddam, et tibi illos nullus eripiet dies.

#### THYESTES

Quis hic tumultus viscera exagitat mea? 1000 quid tremuit intus? sentio impatiens onus meumque gemitu non meo pectus gemit.

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#### ATREUS

Consider your sons as here in their father's embrace. Here they are, and will stay. No portion of your offspring will be taken from you. I shall show you shortly the faces you long for, and give the father his fill of his own dear throng. You will be surfeited, never fear! At the moment, in company with mine, they are observing the sweet communion of the young men's table. But they will be summoned. Take this cup of our bloodline, with an infusion of wine.

# THYESTES

I take the gift, as part of my brother's feast. The wine shall be poured to our fathers' gods, then drained. —But what is this? My hands will not obey, the weight increases and burdens my hand. When raised, the wine flees from my very lips, cheats my mouth and swirls around my open jaws. The table itself jumps with the ground's trembling. The fire scarcely gives light. Even the skies are sluggish and dazed, left abandoned between day and night. What is this? More and more heaven's vault is shaking and lurching. Darkness gathers more thickly amidst dense shadows, and night buries itself in night; every star is in flight. Whatever it is, I pray it may spare my brother and sons, and the whole storm spend itself on this worthless head of mine. Now return my sons to me!

#### ATREUS

I shall return them, and no day will steal them from you.

# THYESTES

What is this turmoil that shakes my guts? What trembles inside me? I feel a restless burden, and my breast groans with groaning not my own. Come, sons, your unhappy

Adeste, nati, genitor infelix vocat, adeste. visis fugiet hic vobis dolor—unde obloquuntur?

#### ATREUS

Expedi amplexus, pater:

1005 venere. natos ecquid agnoscis tuos?

#### THYESTES

Agnosco fratrem. Sustines tantum nefas gestare, Tellus? non ad infernam Styga te nosque mergis, rupta et ingenti via ad chaos inane regna cum rege abripis? non tota ab imo tecta convellens solo vertis Mycenas? stare circa Tantalum uterque iam debuimus, hinc compagibus et hinc revulsis, si quid infra Tartara est avosque nostros, hoc tuam immani sinu demitte vallem, nosque defossos tege Acheronte toto. noxiae supra caput animae vagentur nostrum, et ardenti freto Phlegethon harenas igneus tostas agens exilia supra nostra violentus fluat. immota, Tellus, pondus ignavum iaces? fugere superi.

# ATREUS

Iam accipe hos potius libens diu expetitos: nulla per fratrem est mora. fruere, osculare, divide amplexus tribus.

<sup>1018</sup> tostas *Raphelengius*: totas *EA* 

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father calls you, come! Once I see you this pain will vanish. They interrupt—but from where?

# ATREUS

Unfold your welcoming arms, father. They have come. [The severed heads are revealed]<sup>45</sup> I suppose you recognise your sons?

#### THYESTES

I recognise my brother. Earth, can you bear to support such a weight of outrage? Do you not plunge us down with you into infernal Styx—break open a huge passageway and drag this kingdom with its king into the empty void? Not uproot every building from its base and overturn Mycenae? We two should have been set long ago on each side of Tantalus. Wrench your frame apart here and here; if there is anything below Tartarus and our ancestors, hollow out an immense ravine within yourself to plummet down that far: bury us and hide us beneath the whole of Acheron. Over our heads let guilty souls roam, and let fiery Phlegethon, that carries charred sands in its burning stream, flow violently over our place of exile. Do you lie motionless, Earth, just a stolid mass? The gods above have fled.

#### ATREUS

Come now, rather than this, receive with joy the boys you missed so long. Your brother is not stopping you. Enjoy them, kiss them, split your embraces among the three of them.

 $^{45}$  There are various staging possibilities. A vessel containing the heads could be opened (as in the story of Harpagus in Herodotus 1.119) at this moment by Atreus or attendants or Thyestes. Or the heads could be carried onstage at this point.

# THYESTES

Hoc foedus? haec est gratia, haec fratris fides?
sic odia ponis? non peto, incolumes pater
natos ut habeam; scelere quod salvo dari
odioque possit, frater hoc fratrem rogo:
sepelire liceat. redde quod cernas statim
uri; nihil te genitor habiturus rogo,
sed perditurus.

#### ATREUS

Quidquid e natis tuis superest habes, quodcumque non superest habes.

#### THYESTES

Utrumne saevis pabulum alitibus iacent, an beluis vorantur, an pascunt feras?

#### ATREUS

Epulatus ipse es impia natos dape.

# THYESTES

1035 Hoc est deos quod puduit, hoc egit diem aversum in ortus. quas miser voces dabo questusque quos? quae verba sufficient mihi? abscisa cerno capita et avulsas manus et rupta fractis cruribus vestigia:

1040 hoc est quod avidus capere non potuit pater.
Volvuntur intus viscera, et clausum nefas
sine exitu luctatur et quaerit fugam:
da, frater, ensem (sanguinis multum mei
habet ille): ferro liberis detur via.
1045 negatur ensis? pectora inliso sonent

1033 vorantur Axelson: servantur EA

### THYESTES

### THYESTES

Is this our agreement? Is this your goodwill, your brotherly promise? Is this how you set aside hatred? I do not ask as a father to have my sons safe. What can be granted with no damage to your crime and hatred, I ask you brother to brother: let me bury them. Return what you can watch being burnt at once. I ask you for nothing to keep as a father, only something to lose.

### ATREUS

All that remains of your children you have, all that does not remain you have.

### THYESTES

Are they lying as fodder for cruel birds, or being devoured by monsters, or feeding beasts of the field?

### ATREUS

You yourself banqueted on your sons—a sacrilegious meal.

### THYESTES

This was what shamed the gods, this drove the day back to where it rises. What words shall I utter in such wretchedness, what laments? What speech will suffice me? I see the lopped-off heads, the wrenched-off hands, the feet torn from broken legs. This is what the greedy father could not take in!<sup>46</sup> The flesh churns within me, the imprisoned horror struggles with no way out, seeking to escape. Give me your sword, brother—it already has much of my blood: the blade must give my children a path. You refuse the sword? Let me batter my breast, smash resounding blows against

 $^{\rm 46}$  Either physically (since he was full) or mentally (by understanding Atreus' riddles).

### SENECA

contusa planctu—sustine, infelix, manum, parcamus umbris. Tale quis vidit nefas? quis inhospitalis Caucasi rupem asperam Heniochus habitans, quisve Cecropiis metus terris Procrustes? genitor en natos premo premorque natis! sceleris est aliquis modus!

### ATREUS

Sceleri modus debetur ubi facias scelus. non ubi reponas. hoc quoque exiguum est mihi: ex vulnere ipso sanguinem calidum in tua defundere ora debui, ut viventium biberes cruorem, verba sunt irae data dum propero. ferro vulnera impresso dedi, cecidi ad aras, caede votiva focos placavi, et artus, corpora exanima amputans, in parva carpsi frusta, et haec ferventibus demersi aënis, illa lentis ignibus stillare iussi; membra nervosque abscidi viventibus, gracilique traiectas veru mugire fibras vidi et aggessi manu mea ipse flammas: omnia haec melius pater fecisse potuit, cecidit in cassum dolor: scidit ore natos impio, sed nesciens, sed nescientes.

### THYESTES

Clausa litoribus vagis audite maria; vos quoque audite hoc scelus, quocumque, di, fugistis; audite inferi, audite terrae. Noxque Tartarea gravis et atra nube, vocibus nostris vaca: tibi sum relictus, sola tu miserum vides,

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### THYESTES

it—no, hold your hand, poor wretch, we must spare the dead. Who has ever seen such horror? What Henioch, dwelling on the rough crags of inhospitable Caucasus, or what Procrustes, terror of Cecropian lands? See, a father burdening his sons, and burdened by his sons. There is *some* limit to crime!

### ATREUS

Crime is owed some limit when you commit crime, not when you repay it. Even this is too little for me. Straight from the wound I should have poured the hot blood into your mouth, so you could drink their lifeblood while they lived. I have cheated my anger in my haste. I dealt wounds, pressing the blade home, I slaughtered at the altar, I propitiated the hearth with votive killing, I chopped up the lifeless bodies, pulled the flesh into small pieces and plunged some into boiling cauldrons, bade others drip over slow fires; I cut away limbs and sinews from the living bodies, pierced the organs with thin spits and watched them moan, piled up fires with my own hands: all this the father could have done better. My anger was to no avail. He tore his sons in his sacrilegious mouth, but he did not know it, they did not know it.

### THYESTES

Seas enclosed by winding shores, listen; listen to this crime too, you gods, wherever you have fled; listen, hell; listen, earth. Night, black and heavy with Tartarean fogs, be open to my words: I am abandoned to you, you alone see my etiam sine astris. vota non faciam improba, 1075 pro me nihil precabor—et quid iam potest pro me esse? vobis vota prospicient mea.

> Tu, summe caeli rector, aetheriae potens dominator aulae, nubibus totum horridis convolve mundum, bella ventorum undique committe et omni parte violentum intona, manuque non qua tecta et immeritas domos telo petis minore, sed qua montium tergemina moles cecidit et qui montibus stabant pares Gigantes, hac arma expedi ignesque torque, vindica amissum diem, iaculare flammas, lumen ereptum polo fulminibus exple. causa, ne dubites diu, utriusque mala sit; si minus, mala sit mea: me pete, trisulco flammeam telo facem per pectus hoc transmitte, si natos pater humare et igni tradere extremo volo ego sum cremandus. si nihil superos movet nullumque telis impios numen petit, aeterna nox permaneat et tenebris tegat immensa longis scelera. nil, Titan, queror, si perseveras.

#### ATREUS

Nunc meas laudo manus, nunc parta vera est palma. perdideram scelus, nisi sic doleres. liberos nasci mihi nunc credo, castis nunc fidem reddi toris.

 $^{1074}$  etiam Fitch: tu quoque EA

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### THYESTES

misery—even with no starlight. I shall make no wicked prayers, no prayers to my own benefit—and what can be to my benefit now? My prayers will be in all *your* interests.

You exalted ruler of the skies, mighty master of heaven's court: enfold all the world in fearsome clouds, bring winds from every direction together in warfare, thunder ferociously in every quarter. Not as you strike at innocent homes and buildings with lighter weapons, but as you made the triple mass of mountains<sup>47</sup> fall, along with the Giants who stood tall as mountains: with such force deploy your weapons and launch your fires. Avenge the lost daylight, hurl flames, restore the light stolen from heaven with your bolts of lightning! To save you lengthy deliberation, let each of us be judged guilty. If not, let me be judged guilty. Strike at me, hurl the fiery brand of your threeforked weapon through this chest! If I would bury my sons as father and commit them to the final fire. I must be burnt up myself. But if nothing moves the gods, if no divinity strikes with his weapons at the wicked, let night remain forever, and hide these immeasurable crimes in lasting darkness. I make no protest, Titan, if you continue as you are.

### ATREUS

Now I commend my hands, now the true palm is won. My crime would have been wasted if you did not feel pain like this. Now I believe that the children are mine, and that my bed is faithful and chaste once more!

 $^{\rm 47}$  Pelion, Ossa, and Olympus, piled up by the Giants (cf. lines 811–812).

SENECA

THYESTES

1100 Quid liberi meruere?

ATREUS Quod fuerant tui.

THYESTES

Natos parenti—

ATREUS

Fateor, et, quod me iuvat,

certos.

THYESTES

Piorum praesides testor deos.

ATREUS

Quid coniugales?

THYESTES

Scelere quis pensat scelus?

ATREUS

Scio quid queraris: scelere praerepto doles;
nec quod nefandas hauseris angit dapes:
quod non pararis! fuerat hic animus tibi
instruere similes inscio fratri cibos
et adiuvante liberos matre aggredi
similique leto sternere. hoc unum obstitit:
1110 tuos putasti.

THYESTES

Vindices aderunt dei: his puniendum vota te tradunt mea.

ATREUS

Te puniendum liberis trado tuis.

### THYESTES

### THYESTES

What was my children's guilt?

ATREUS

That they were yours.

THYESTES

You gave sons to their father . . .

ATREUS

I admit it—and definitely your own sons, I am delighted to say.

### THYESTES

I call to witness the gods that protect the righteous.

ATREUS

What about the marriage gods?

THYESTES

Who repays crime with crime?

### ATREUS

I know why you complain: you are hurt at being forestalled in crime. What irks you? Not that you swallowed an unspeakable feast: that you did not arrange one! This had been your purpose, to provide similar food for your unwitting brother, to attack my children with their mother's help and put them to a similar death. The one obstacle was this: you thought them yours!

### THYESTES

The gods of vengeance will come: my prayers consign you to them for punishment.

### ATREUS

I consign you to your children for punishment.



## INTRODUCTION

## Background

Hercules was once travelling through Greece with his newly won bride Deianira, when he found the river Evenus in flood. He entrusted her to the centaur Nessus, who knew the river, to carry her across. But Nessus attempted to abduct her, whereupon Hercules shot him with his poison-tipped arrows. The dying Nessus told the young bride to save some of his poisoned blood, for use as a love philtre if Hercules' affections should ever wander.

Many years later, after completion of his labours, Hercules conceived a desire for the young Iole, princess of the town of Oechalia. When her father Eurytus denied her to him, Hercules sacked her town, killed her father and brother, and sent Iole to his home in Trachis, where Deianira was waiting.<sup>1</sup>

## Summary

## Act 1

Hercules impatiently states his readiness and his qualifications for deification.

<sup>1</sup> This myth is not compatible with that which makes Megara the wife of Hercules at the completion of the labours, as in Seneca's *Hercules* and its antecedents. The adaptability of the myths,

Ode 1. The women of Oechalia lament the destruction of their town, and Hercules' hardness of heart and body. Iole mourns her murdered family.

### Act 2

Deianira expresses her rage and anguish over Hercules' infidelities, most recently Iole. She impregnates a robe with the supposed love philtre from Nessus, and sends it to Hercules via the messenger Lichas.

Ode 2. Deianira's attendants express loyalty to her in this crisis, and see her danger as an inevitable concomitant of high status.

### Act 3

Deianira realises belatedly that the philtre was probably deadly. Hyllus arrives and describes how the robe began to consume the body of Hercules, who killed Lichas in rage. Near death, Hercules is being transported home. Deianira prepares to commit suicide out of guilt and grief.

Ode 3. Orpheus' teaching that everything perishes is confirmed for the chorus by Hercules' downfall; they envisage the collapse of the cosmos as imminent.

## Act 4

Hercules, brought in by bearers, is distraught over so inglorious a downfall, and rages against Deianira even after hearing of her suicide. Only when he learns that his death is in accordance with prophecy does he regain self-control and order a pyre to be built on Mt Oeta.

i.e. the absence of canonical versions, makes for such inconsistencies.

Ode 4. The chorus envisages two possibilities, that Hercules' spirit has descended to the underworld or ascended to heaven.

Act 5

Philoctetes, who has inherited Hercules' bow and arrows, returns from Oeta and describes the hero's triumphant endurance of the final fire. Hercules' mother, Alcmene, mourns his death, but he appears from above to assure her that he has joined the gods in heaven.

### Comment

This is the longest tragedy surviving from antiquity. It is composed on a monumental scale, which matches the hero's colossal physique and endurance and achievements. A drama about a superman, particularly a drama which ends by affirming his greatness, is appropriately a superdrama.

The more Hercules' greatness is emphasised, the more titanic he seems, and the more dangerous to ordinary humans around him. There was ambivalence in antiquity both about the nature of Hercules' heroism and about the nature of his afterlife. The earliest Greek accounts spoke of him as descending after death to the house of Hades, like an ordinary mortal. By the mid-fifth century B.C., on the other hand, it was generally believed that he had joined the gods on Olympus. But Sophocles' Women of Trachis, which portrays him as callous and self-centered, ends with preparations for his death on Mt Oeta, and so leaves us uncertain what fate awaits him beyond death, and whether such a hero deserves deification. Seneca's Hercules shows a

hero who expects deification as the promised reward for the just-completed labours, but who is so full of violent aggression and megalomania that he falls into a bout of madness in which he kills his family.

Hercules on Oeta (= HO) dramatises the end of Hercules' life, and makes clear allusions to the two plays just mentioned. Inevitably, then, our attention is focussed on the question of deification and whether it is deserved. What answers does the play suggest? Some critics see Hercules as portrayed in an essentially favourable light, from his claim in the opening lines to have pacified the world, to his elevation to heaven at the end. They tend, therefore, to palliate or ignore elements of the play that reveal less admirable aspects of his heroism. Such a reading takes its orientation from a passing reference in Seneca's On Steadfastness (De Constantia 2.1) to Hercules as a Stoic exemplar. That reference, however, is brief and general, and qualified by the statement that Cato the Younger is a more reliable exemplar than Hercules; indeed, it can hardly be reconciled, except by drastic allegorization, with the details of the Hercules myth.

Other readers acknowledge negative elements in the portrayal of Hercules: ominous reminiscences in Act 1 of his madness in *Hercules*; monstrous cruelty and lust, as seen through the eyes of the Oechalian women and Deianira; anger and lack of endurance (by Herculean standards) in suffering the torment of the poisoned robe. There is a causal nexus inherent in the myth, with which this reading accords. Hercules' bestial lust goads Deianira into using the supposed love philtre, while his use of the hydra's poison on his arrows, which aligns him thematically with the beast, contributes to the philtre's toxic effect on

him. In both respects his monstrousness contributes to his death.

One benefit of the latter reading is to yield a strong onward impetus in the play, as our views of Hercules change in accordance with his behaviour and the reactions of other characters. The play takes on a dramatic movement from high to low to high: internally, from vainglorious heroics through weakness to steadfast heroism; externally, from apparent success to disaster to supreme good fortune. That the play aims at such a gradual unfolding is confirmed by the fact that Hercules' deification is confirmed only at the very end, after considerable doubt (as in ode 4) about whether he has descended to the underworld or ascended to heaven. A difficulty of such a reading—which perhaps constitutes a criticism of the play itself—is that Hercules' failings are revealed to the audience, but not to himself: he barely acknowledges the damaging impact of his actions on others, nor at the end does he define the mortal part of himself, consumed in the flames, as the part that engendered his failings and passions.

However we read the earlier scenes, the steadfast heroism which Hercules displays from line 1472 can be securely understood in the light of popular Stoicism, such as runs through Seneca's prose works. There, examples of endurance of physical torment are held up as praiseworthy in themselves and as analogues for endurance of spiritual trials. In fact Hercules' self-immolation as a conscious *exhibi*tion of courage (in his case, to a double audience, divine and human) resembles Seneca's own enforced suicide as described by the historian Tacitus in his *Annals* (15.62– 64), with its display of calmness, absence of haste, concern for friends rather than self. Stoicism sheds light also on Hercules' sudden access of endurance at the end of Act 4.

A prime Stoic duty is willing acceptance of fate: "to obey the gods, not to flare up at sudden misfortunes or deplore one's lot, but to accept fate patiently and do its commands" (Seneca, Epistle 76.23). Correspondingly Hercules finds courage to accept death without complaint, even with joy, at exactly the moment when he realises that it is fated (lines 1471-1480). It is worth adding that the philosophical and didactic colouring of these elements would not per se mark them as alien from the context of imaginative literature for a Roman audience, as they might for a modern audience. In Vergil's Aeneid, for example, endurance is embodied in the image of Aeneas as an oak tree, buffeted but unshakeable; acceptance of fate, in the image of Aeneas hoisting on his shoulder the shield that depicts "the fame and fate of his descendants" (respectively 4.441-449 and 8.731). The Vergilian image of the oak lies behind the description in HO of a mighty oak on Oeta, which resists robustly but finally falls (1623-1630), just as Hercules' great physique is destroyed. Complexity is increased by the fact that the oak, together with other sacred trees, indeed a whole forest, is felled at Hercules' own command (1483-1484, 1618-1641): the titanic aspect of the hero's greatness is kept before our eyes even at his death.

What of the doctrine enunciated at the end of HO, that Hercules' mortal part has been consumed by the fire, while his divine part has risen to heaven? Though Hercules' case was special because of his mortal-divine parentage, it could be seen in antiquity as suggesting the possibility that ordinary mortals' souls might similarly rejoin their proper element, the divine heavens, after release from the body. Such body-soul dualism is not in itself Stoic: it belongs to a much broader current of belief going back to Plato and beyond. But it often appears in Seneca's popular

philosophy as an inducement to fighting the good fight on earth. Similarly in *HO* deification rewards Hercules' Stoic endurance on the pyre and, by extension, in the labours.

It would be a mistake, however, to see the play's ending in doctrinaire terms. The idea in HO (1565, 1942, 1971) that the soul's ascent is earned by the display of *virtus*/valour in great deeds is also seen, for example, in Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, in Horace's *Odes* 3.2, and in the famous *sic itur ad astra* of *Aeneid* 9.641. Some such belief is implicit in the Roman practice of deifying emperors after death. Indeed the role of Jupiter's representative on earth, claimed by Hercules in HO (3, 1143), was often associated with the position of the emperor. The nexus of ideas bound up with Hercules' deification, then, is part of mainstream Roman cultural thinking under the empire.

The choral odes of this play are attractive, their contemplative lyric tenor contrasting with the *Sturm und Drang* of the Acts. By expressing the viewpoint of ordinary humans rather than *Übermenschen* (note the evocation of childhood in 583–599) and by generalising the tragedy into themes of mutability, mortality, and the fragility of power, the odes enable the audience to see the applicability of the tragedy to their own situation. Ode 3 gains great power by placing the theme of mortality in the mouth of Orpheus, thus evoking while changing such passages as Ode 2 of *Hercules* and the end of Vergil's *Georgics*.

## Authorship

Hercules on Oeta differs in many respects from the other plays of the corpus. It repeatedly borrows phrases and echoes passages from the other plays, particularly from Hercules. These echoes can enrich the meaning of

the drama; often, however, the effect is cento-like, making one wonder whether the author is in command of the material or vice versa. Phrasing is sometimes remarkably awkward; was Latin not the author's first language? The play's scale is unique in the corpus. There is no sense of a "Cloud of Evil" such as hangs over the other plays; on the contrary, the happy ending with its positive Stoic overtones, and the benign light it sheds on what preceded it, is quite foreign to the rest of the corpus. Consequently many authorities believe that HO was not written by Seneca. Certain close similarities of phrasing to the poetry of Statius and Silius Italicus may indicate that HO was composed in the last decade of the first century A.D. or early in the second century, but this dating is far from certain. On the relationship of HO to Seneca's tragedies, see below under "Sources."

### Sources

The development of Acts 1—4 runs parallel to that of Sophocles' Women of Trachis, but with significant differences. The opening speech is now by Hercules, not Deianira, and raises immediately the issue of deification. Iole and her companions speak of their sufferings at Hercules' hands, whereas in Sophocles they are silent. The Deianira of HO is very different from the gentle, wistful woman of Sophocles: modelled on the great passion figures of Seneca's plays such as Medea, she becomes a person at Hercules' own level, at least in the scope of her thinking if not in her strength, as willing to take on Juno's role as he is to take on Jupiter's.

Like Seneca, the *HO* author took full advantage of Ovid's treatments of the myth in question: they included Deianira's letter to Hercules (*Heroides* 9), and the narra-

tion of the story, from Hercules' winning of Deianira to his death and apotheosis, in Book 9 of the *Metamorphoses*.

In the composition of Roman poetry the twin imperatives of imitation and emulation often involved borrowing the work of predecessors and incorporating it into a new whole. The relationship of HO to Seneca's dramas can be seen as a particular manifestation of this practice. The HO author constantly borrows phrases, and remodels passages and scenes, from Seneca's work, but he also goes beyond his model, in the scale of his work and in its positive Stoic message. Similarly he goes beyond Sophocles by including Hercules' death on the pyre and his apotheosis, material which Sophocles had notably avoided. Whether the process of going beyond produces a real advance in this case is a matter of opinion, but certainly it generates a drastically new and intriguing development in the history of ancient drama. It is the last substantial new development in tragedy known to us until Albertino Mussato composed his Ecerinis in 1315—likewise in imitation of Seneca.

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## DRAMATIS PERSONAE

HERCULES, son of Jupiter and a mortal mother,
Alcmene; mightiest hero of Greece
IOLE, princess of Oechalia, taken captive by Hercules
NURSE of Deianira
DEIANIRA, wife of Hercules
HYLLUS, son of Hercules and Deianira
ALCMENE, mother of Hercules' companions
LICHAS (persona muta), messenger serving Hercules
CHORUS of captive women from Oechalia, accompanying Iole
CHORUS of Aetolian women, attendants of Deianira

### Scene

Ode 1 is probably set near Iole's sacked city of Oechalia in Thessaly; the same may be true of Act 1, though its setting is indeterminate (and immaterial). The rest of the play is set before Hercules' palace in Trachis, near Mt Oeta.

## HERCULES OETAEUS

### HERCULES

Sator deorum, cuius excussum manu utraeque Phoebi sentiunt fulmen domus, secure regna: protuli pacem tibi, quacumque Nereus porrigi terras vetat. non est tonandum: perfidi reges iacent, saevi tyranni. fregimus quidquid fuit tibi fulminandum. sed mihi caelum, parens, adhuc negatur? parui certe Iove ubique dignus, teque testata est meum 10 patrem noverca. quid tamen nectis moras? numquid timemur? numquid impositum sibi non poterit Atlas ferre cum caelo Herculem? quid astra, genitor, quid negas? mors me tibi certe remisit, omne concessit malum 15 quod terra genuit, pontus aer inferi. nullus per urbes errat Argolicas leo, Stymphalis icta est, Maenali nulla est fera;

16 Argolicas Jac. Gronovius: areadias EA

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  I.e. in the far east and west, implying "and everywhere in between." Similarly line 4, connoting "on every shore," implies "in every land."

### ACT 1

### HERCULES

Sire of the gods, whose hand launches the thunderbolts felt by both homes of Phoebus:1 rule with ease of mind. I have brought forth peace for you, wherever Nereus forbids the land to spread further. No need to thunder: treacherous kings are laid low, and cruel tyrants. I have crushed all that required your lightning bolt. But father, is heaven denied me even now? Surely I have proved myself worthy of Jove the world over; and your fatherhood of me is attested by my stepmother! Why do you nonetheless weave delays? Can it be that I am feared? Or that Atlas will be unable to bear the burden of Hercules along with that of heaven? Why, father, why deny me the stars? Certainly Death restored me to you;<sup>3</sup> and every evil produced by earth, sea, air, underworld has surrendered. No lion prowls through Argive cities, the Stymphalian birds are struck down, the beast of Maenalus is no more; the serpent spat-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I.e. attested by Juno's persecution of her husband's bastard son (cf. *Herc* 36).

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 3}$  I.e. Hercules returned from the underworld to the earth and the sight of heaven.

sparsit peremptus aureum serpens nemus, et hydra vires posuit, et notos Hebro cruore pingues hospitum fregi greges, 20 hostique traxi spolia Thermodontiae. vidi silentum fata, nec tantum redî, sed trepidus atrum Cerberum vidit dies et ille solem. nullus Antaeus Libys 25 animam resumit, cecidit ante aras suas Busiris, una Geryon sparsus manu taurusque populis horridus centum pavor. quodeumque tellus genuit infesta occidit meaque fusum est dextera; iratis deis 30 non licuit esse, si negat mundus feras, animum noverca, redde nunc nato patrem vel astra forti, nec peto ut monstres iter; permitte tantum, genitor: inveniam viam. vel si times ne terra concipiat feras, properet malum quodcumque, dum terra Herculem 35 habet videtque: nam quis invadet mala aut quis per urbes rursus Argolicas erit Iunonis odio dignus?

In tutum meas
laudes redegi, nulla me tellus silet:
40 me sensit Ursae frigidum Scythicae genus
Indusque Phoebo subditus, Cancro Libys.
te, clare Titan, testor: occurri tibi

22 silentum E: regentem A

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The serpent guarded the golden apples of the Hesperides.

tered the golden grove in death,4 the hydra lost its might. I crushed the herds famed on Hebrus that fattened on the blood of strangers, and I wrested spoils from Thermodon's warlike queen. I saw the fate of the silent dead, and not only did I return, but the daylight quailed at seeing black Cerberus, and he at seeing the Sun. No longer does Libyan Antaeus draw new life; Busiris fell before his own altar; Geryon was spattered by me single-handedly, and the bristling bull, terror of a hundred communities.<sup>6</sup> All that earth engendered in hostility has been felled and mown down by my right hand; the gods were not permitted to be angry! If the world denies me wild beasts, and my stepmother her anger, now vouchsafe the father to the son, or heaven to the hero. I do not ask you to show the path; just give permission, father, I shall find the way. Or, if you fear that earth may conceive beasts, let the evil come quickly, whatever it may be, while the earth holds Hercules and sees him: for who will attack evils, or who will ever again be worthy of Juno's hatred throughout Argive cities?

I have made my glory impregnable. Every land speaks of me: the chill tribes of the Scythian Bear have met me, and Indians lying beneath Phoebus, and Libyans beneath the Crab. You shall be my witness, bright Titan: I have en-

 $<sup>^{5}\,\</sup>mathrm{The}$  herds were Diomedes' horses; the queen was Hippolyte the Amazon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Antaeus gained strength by contact with his mother Earth, so Hercules killed him while holding him aloft. "Single-handedly" implies a contrast with the triple-bodied Geryon. The bull was that of Crete, island of a hundred cities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> I.e. they had no occasion to take arms against these monsters, as they did against the Giants.

quacumque fulges, nec meos lux prosequi potuit triumphos; solis excessi vices

45 intraque nostras substitit metas dies.
natura cessit, terra defecit gradum,
lassata prior est. nox et extremum chaos
in me incucurrit; inde ad hunc orbem redî,
nemo unde retro est. tulimus Oceani minas,
50 nec ulla valuit quatere tempestas ratem
quamcumque pressi. pars quota est Perseus mei!

Iam vacuus aether non potest odio tuae sufficere nuptae, quasque devincam feras tellus timet concipere, nec monstra invenit. ferae negantur: Hercules monstri loco iam coepit esse. quanta nunc fregi mala, quot scelera nudus! quidquid immane obstitit, solae manus stravere; nec iuvenis feras timui nec infans. quidquid est iussum leve est, nec ulla nobis segnis illuxit dies. o quanta fudi monstra quae nullus mihi rex imperavit! institit virtus mihi

Sed quid impavidum genus fecisse prodest? non habent pacem dei. purgata tellus omnis in caelo videt quodcumque timuit; transtulit Iuno feras. ambit peremptus cancer ardentem plagam Libyaeque sidus fertur et messes alit;

annum fugacem tradit Astraeae leo, 70 at ille, iactans fervidam collo iubam,

55

60

65

Iunone peior.

<sup>8</sup> Perseus was proverbial for travelling far and fast with his

countered you wherever you shine—but the light could not keep pace with my triumphs; I outran the sun's orbit, the daylight stopped short of my bounds. Nature gave way, the earth failed my steps and grew tired first. Night and deepest Chaos beset me; yet I returned to this world from the place whence no one returns. I endured the menace of Ocean, and no storm could shake any ship I freighted. How small Perseus looks against me!8

The emptied sky cannot now meet the needs of your wife's hatred, the earth dare not conceive beasts for me to conquer, and cannot find monsters. Now beasts are denied, Hercules begins to take the place of a monster. What evils, how many crimes, have I now crushed unarmed! These hands unaided have demolished every monstrous opponent; I feared no beasts as man or child. All commands were easy for me, no idle day ever dawned for me. How many monsters I slew without orders from any king! My heroism drove me on more relentlessly than Juno.

But what use is it to have made people unafraid? The gods have no peace. The earth, though completely cleansed, sees all that it feared in the heavens; Juno has transferred the beasts! The slain Crab, known as Libya's constellation, goes round the torrid zone and nurtures harvests; the Lion passes the fleeting year on to Astraea<sup>12</sup>—the Lion, who, tossing the blazing mane on his neck, dries

winged sandals. The implication is, "though less of a world-ranger than I, he has entered heaven." <sup>9</sup> The Nemean lion and other beasts were sometimes said to have fallen to earth from the moon. <sup>10</sup> In infancy he crushed the snakes sent against him by Juno. <sup>11</sup> I.e. Eurystheus, the taskmaster of the Labours themselves. <sup>12</sup> I.e. the sun passes from Leo into Virgo.

austrum madentem siccat et nimbos rapit. invasit omnis ecce iam caelum fera meque antecessit; victor e terris meos specto labores! astra portentis prius ferisque Iuno tribuit, ut caelum mihi faceret timendum. sparserit mundum licet caelumque terris peius ac peius Styge irata faciat, dabitur Alcidae locus. Da, da tuendos, Iuppiter, saltem deos. illa licebit fulmen a parte auferas, ego quam tuebor. sive glacialem polum

seu me tueri fervidam partem iubes,hac esse superos parte securos puta.

Si post feras, post bella, post Stygium canem hauddum astra merui, Siculus Hesperium latus tangat Pelorus: una iam tellus erit, illinc fugabo maria. si iungi iubes, committat undas Isthmos, et iuncto salo nova ferantur Atticae puppes via. mutetur orbis, vallibus currat novis Hister novasque Tanais accipiat vias.

Cirrhaea Paean templa et aetheriam domum serpente caeso meruit; o quotiens iacet Python in hydra! Bacchus et Perseus deis iam se intulere; sed quota est mundi plaga oriens subactus aut quota est Gorgon fera! quis astra natus laudibus meruit suis ex te et noverca? quem tuli mundum peto. Sed tu, comes laboris Herculei, Licha,

87-91 placed after 78 by Fitch

the damp south wind and carries off the clouds. See, each and every beast has now invaded heaven and forestalled me. Though victor, I gaze from earth at my own Labours! Juno has granted stars to prodigies and beasts first, to make heaven fearful to me. But though she has strewn the sky, and makes heaven worse than earth and worse than Styx in her anger, yet Alcides<sup>13</sup> shall be granted a place. At least grant me, Jove, to *protect* the gods. You may remove your lightning bolt from whatever region I shall protect. Whether you bid me protect the icy pole or the torrid region, consider the gods secure in that region.

Yet if after facing beasts, battles, the hound of Styx, I have not yet earned a place in the stars, let Sicilian Pelorus touch the Hesperian coast: it will be all one land, I shall drive the seas thence. If you bid them be united, let the Isthmus connect up the straits, and let Attic ships travel a new path on the united waters. Let the world be changed, let the Hister run in new valleys and the Tanais accept new

channels.

Paean earned a temple at Cirrha and a home in the heavens by slaying the serpent; oh, how many times over was Python slain in the hydra! Bacchus and Perseus have already arrived among the gods; but how small a tract of the earth is the conquered East, <sup>14</sup> how small a fraction of wild beasts is the Gorgon! What son of you and my stepmother has earned a place in the heavens by his worthy deeds? I bore the heavens: <sup>15</sup> now I claim them!

But you, Lichas, companion of Hercules' toils, take

<sup>13</sup> Alcides = Hercules.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Scene of Bacchus' triumphs.

<sup>15</sup> When he relieved Atlas of his burden.

100 perfer triumphos, Euryti victos lares stratumque regnum. Vos pecus rapite ocius qua templa tollens ora Cenaei Iovis aestu timendum spectat Euboicum mare.

### CHORUS

Par ille est superis cui pariter dies 105 et fortuna fuit: mortis habet vices lente cum trahitur vita gementibus. quisquis sub pedibus fata rapacia et puppem posuit fluminis ultimi, non captiva dabit bracchia vinculis nec pompae veniet nobile ferculum: 110 numquam est ille miser cui facile est mori. illum si medio decipiat ratis ponto, cum Borean expulit Africus aut Eurus Zephyrum, cum mare dividunt, 115 non puppis lacerae fragmina colligit, ut litus medio speret in aequore: vitam qui poterit reddere protinus, solus non poterit naufragium pati.

Nos turpis macies et lacrimae tenent et crinis patrio pulvere sordidus. nos non flamma rapax, non fragor obruit: felices sequeris, mors, miseros fugis. stamus, sed patriae messibus heu locus et silvis dabitur, lapsaque sordidae

sibus E: moenibus\* A

120

<sup>102</sup> ora Bothe: ara EA

<sup>103</sup> aestu Axelson: austro E: astro A

<sup>123</sup> sed Gronovius: nec EA patriae\* A: patriis E

news of my triumphs, the defeat of Eurytus' house and conquest of his kingdom. [To other attendants] You, quickly drive the cattle to where the shore of Cenaean Jove raises his temple, and looks out on the Euboean sea with its fearsome tides.

CHORUS OF OECHALIAN WOMEN Equal of the gods is one whose days and fortunes end equally; but a life dragged slowly on, amidst laments, becomes a kind of death. Once a person has set beneath his feet the rapacious fates, and the boat that sails the final river, 16 he will not yield his wrists to chains as a prisoner, nor walk in a victor's parade as a signal trophy: one for whom dving is easy need never suffer. If his ship betrays him in the midst of the deep, when the southern wind has driven off the northern. or the eastern wind the western, as they rend the sea, he does not gather fragments of his wrecked vessel, to cling to hope of shore in the midst of ocean. One who can yield his life without delay is the only person immune from suffering shipwreck.

But we linger on amid dismal wasting and weeping, our hair begrimed with the dust of our fatherland. We were not buried in that greedy, crashing inferno: death follows the fortunate, but shuns the wretched. We stand, but the place where our city stood will be

given to crops and trees, and its fallen temples will turn

16 I.e. once he has overcome fear of death.

fient templa casae; iam gelidus Dolops hac ducet pecudes qua tepet obrutus stratae qui superest Oechaliae cinis. illo Thessalicus pastor in oppido indocta referens carmina fistula cantu nostra canet tempora flebili; et dum pauca deus saecula contrahet, quaeretur patriae quis fuerit locus. felix incolui non steriles focos		0 1
stratae qui superest Oechaliae cinis. illo Thessalicus pastor in oppido indocta referens carmina fistula cantu nostra canet tempora flebili; et dum pauca deus saecula contrahet, quaeretur patriae quis fuerit locus. felix incolui non steriles focos	125	
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et dum pauca deus saecula contrahet, quaeretur patriae quis fuerit locus. felix incolui non steriles focos	130	cantu nostra canet tempora flebili;
quaeretur patriae quis fuerit locus. felix incolui non steriles focos		
		felix incolui non steriles focos
nec ieiuna soli iugera Thessali;		nec ieiuna soli iugera Thessali;
135 ad Trachina vocor, saxa rigentia	135	
et dumeta iugis horrida torridis,		et dumeta iugis horrida torridis,
vix gratum pecori montivago nemus.		
at si quas melior sors famulas vocat,		at si quas melior sors famulas vocat,
illas aut volucer transferet Inachus		illas aut volucer transferet Inachus
140 aut Dircaea colent moenia, qua fluit	140	aut Dircaea colent moenia, qua fluit
Ismenos tenui flumine languidus—		Ismenos tenui flumine languidus—
hic mater tumidi nupserat Herculis!	142	
Falsa est de geminis fabula noctibus,	147	
aether cum tenuit sidera longius		
commisitque vices Lucifer Hespero		
et Solem vetuit Delia tardior.	150	
quae cautes Scythiae, quis genuit lapis?	143	
num Titana ferum te Rhodope tulit,		
te praeruptus Athos, te fera Caspia,	145	
146 quae virgata tibi praebuit ubera?	146	
nullis vulneribus pervia membra sunt:		

 $<sup>^{17}\,\</sup>mathrm{``Chill''}$  as living by cold Mt Pindus (493)—and in contrast to the warm ash.

 $<sup>^{18}</sup>$  I.e. they will be sent to Argos or Thebes, two other cities associated with Hercules.

into grubby shacks; the chill Dolopian<sup>17</sup> soon will drive his livestock here where the buried ash lies warm, last remnant of Oechalia's fall. At this famed city's site a Thessalian herdsman, playing over songs on his untutored pipe, will sing an elegy for these our times; and before the gods have sped a few generations, folk will be asking where our country lay. I thrived as I dwelt in a far from barren home. on fruitful acres of Thessalian soil: but now I am called to Trachis—rugged rocks and baking hillsides covered in rough bush, scrubland unfit for mountain-roaming goats. But those slavewomen called to a better lot will either cross swift-running Inachus or dwell within Dircean walls, where flows sluggish Ismenos with its meagre stream 18 where the mother of arrogant Hercules once wed.

False is the story of the double night<sup>19</sup> when the heavens kept the stars beyond their time, when Lucifer's shift ran into that of Hesper and Delia's tardiness detained the Sun! What boulder gave you birth, what Scythian crag? Did Rhodope bring you forth like a wild Titan, or cliffbound Athos, or some brindled beast<sup>20</sup> that offered you her teats by the Caspian Sea? Impervious his limbs to any wound.

 $<sup>^{19}</sup>$  After mention of Hercules' mother Alcmene, the chorus rejects the story that Jove fathered Hercules on her during a double night.

<sup>20</sup> A tigress.

ferrum sentit hebes, lentior est chalybs; in nudo gladius corpore frangitur et saxum resilit, fataque neglegit et mortem indomito pectore provocat. non illum poterant figere cuspides, non arcus Scythica tensus harundine, non quae tela gerit Sarmata frigidus aut qui soliferae suppositus plagae vicino Nabatae vulnera derigit Parthus Cnosiacis certior ictibus.

Muros Oechaliae corpore propulit; nil obstare valet. vincere quod parat iam victum est—quota pars vulnere concidit! pro fato potuit vultus iniquior, et vidisse sat est Herculeas minas. quis vastus Briareus, quis tumidus Gyges, supra Thessalicum cum stetit aggerem caeloque insereret vipereas manus, hoc vultu riguit? commoda cladibus magnis magna patent: nil superest mali, iratum miserae vidimus Herculem.

### IOLE

At ego infelix non templa suis collapsa deis sparsosve focos, natis mixtos arsisse patres hominique deos, templa sepulcris nullum querimur commune malum.

155 pectore L. Müller: corpore EA167 Gyges Ascensius: gigas\* EA (cf. 1139)

155

160

165

170

175

He senses iron as dull, steel is too soft; a sword is shattered on his unarmed body, a rock rebounds. He scorns the power of fate and challenges death with his unconquered breast. He never could be pierced by sharpened spears nor Scythian shafts discharged from tautened bows nor arrows that the chill Sarmatian bears or Parthians, set beneath the zone of dawn, who train wounds on their Nabataean neighbours and strike more surely than any Cretan archer.

His body's thrust pushed down Oechalia's walls; nothing could stand in his way. What he planned to

conquer

was as good as conquered—How few fell to his wounds! His angry visage carried a power like death; to have seen the threatening Hercules was enough. What giant Briareus or swollen Gyges, standing on mountains piled in Thessaly and reaching snaky hands towards the sky, glared so ferociously? Yet from great disasters great gains emerge: no further evil remains, we have seen the anger of Hercules to our sorrow.

### IOLE

But my sad theme is not temples fallen on their gods or hearths demolished, the burning of fathers together with sons, gods with men, temples with tombs: no shared disaster is my lament.

alio nostras fortuna vocat lacrimas, alias flere ruinas 180 mea fata jubent. quae prima querar? quae summa gemam? pariter cunctos deflere iuvat, nec plura dedit pectora sexus, ut digna sonent verbera fatis. Me vel Sipyli flebile saxum 185 fingite, superi, vel in Eridani ponite ripis, ubi maesta sonat Phaethontiadum silva sororum: me vel Siculis addite saxis. ubi fata gemam Thessala Siren, 190 vel in Edonas tollite silvas, qualis natum Daulias ales solet Ismaria flere sub umbra. formam lacrimis aptate meis resonetque malis aspera Trachin. 195 Cypria lacrimas Myrrha tuetur, raptum coniunx Ceyca gemit, sibi Tantalis est facta superstes; fugit vultus Philomela suos natumque sonat flebilis Atthis: 200 cur mea nondum

182 cunctos Peiper: cuncta A: omitted by E

183 sexus Fitch: tellus EA

 $^{185}$  siphili PT: sisiphi CS: si syphum E

<sup>21</sup> Like Niobe.

Fortune directs my tears elsewhere, my destiny bids me weep for ruin of a different kind.

What first shall I mourn? What grieve for last? I want to weep for all together, but my sex did not grant me breasts enough to resound with blows worthy of my fate.

Into a weeping rock on Sipylus<sup>21</sup> transform me, gods; or set me on Eridanus' banks where sadly sigh the woodland trees, Phaethon's sisters;<sup>22</sup> or add me to those on Sicily's rocks to keen my fate, a Thessalian Siren; or bear me into Edonian forests like the Daulian bird<sup>23</sup> that ever weeps for her son in the shade of Ismarian trees. Give me a form to match my tears, and let rough Trachis re-echo my woes. Cyprian Myrrha keeps her tears,24 the wife of Cevx still mourns his loss, the Tantalid became her own survivor, Philomela escaped her rightful form and the Attic mourner laments her son. Why do my arms

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Transformed into poplars while grieving for Phaethon.

<sup>23</sup> Procne, here transformed to a nightingale.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> I.e. the drops of gum resin from the myrrh tree into which she was transformed. Alcyone (197) metamorphosed into a halcyon, Niobe (198) into a rock, Philomela and Procne (199–200) into birds.

capiunt volucres bracchia plumas? felix, felix, cum silva domus nostra feretur patrioque sedens ales in agro referam querulo murmure casus volucremque Iolen fama loquetur.

Voidereinqu Vidi. vidi

> miseranda mei fata parentis, cum letifero stipite pulsus tota iacuit sparsus in aula; pro, si tumulum fata dedissent, quotiens, genitor, quaerendus eras! potuine tuam spectare necem, nondum teneras vestite genas necdum forti sanguine, Toxeu?

Quid vestra queror fata, parentes, quos in tutum mors aequa tulit? mea me lacrimas fortuna rogat: iam iam dominae captiva colos fusosque legam. pro saeve decor

formaque mortem paritura mihi, tibi cuncta domus concidit uni, dum me genitor negat Alcidae atque Herculeus socer esse timet. Sed iam dominae tecta petantur.

## CHORUS

225 Quid regna tui clara parentis proavosque tuos respicis amens?

210

215

220

 $<sup>^{226}</sup>$  proavosque  $A\colon \text{casusque }E$ 

not yet transform to feathered wings?
Happy, happy
shall I be when the woodland is called my home,
and alighting as a bird in my native fields
I recount my ruin in plaintive tones,
and fame shall speak of winged Iole.

I saw, I saw
the pitiful fate my father met:
struck by that death-bearing club
his body lay spattered throughout the hall.
Ah, if fate had granted you burial
how repeated the search would have been for you,
father!

Could I bear to watch *your* butchery, your cheeks still tender, not yet bearded, and your heartblood not yet valiant, Toxeus?

But why lament my family's fate, when kindly death has borne them to safety? My own fortune calls for tears from me. Soon as a captive I shall spin the distaff and spindle for my mistress. Ah, cruel beauty, lovely form that will bring forth death for me: for you alone my whole house fell as my father refused me to Alcides, afraid to be Hercules' kin by marriage. But now I must make for my lady's house.

## CHORUS

Why look back on your ancestry and the glorious throne of your father? Folly!

fugiat vultus fortuna prior. felix quisquis novit famulum regemque pati vultusque suos variare potest. rapuit vires pondusque mali casus animo qui tulit aequo.

## NUTRIX

O quam cruentus feminas stimulat furor, cum patuit una paelici et nuptae domus! Scylla et Charybdis Sicula contorquens freta 235 minus est timenda, nulla non melior fera est. namque ut reluxit paelicis captae decus et fulsit Iole qualis innubis dies purisve clarum noctibus sidus micat, stetit furenti similis ac torvum intuens 240 Herculea coniunx, feta ut Armenia iacens sub rupe tigris hoste conspecto exilit, aut iussa thyrsum quatere conceptum ferens Maenas Lyaeum dubia quo gressus agat haesit parumper. tum per Herculeos lares 245 attonita fertur, tota vix satis est domus; incurrit, errat, sistit, in vultus dolor processit omnis, pectori paene intimo nihil est relictum; fletus insequitur minas. nec unus habitus durat aut uno furit 250 contenta vultu: nunc inardescunt genae, pallor ruborem pellit et formas dolor errat per omnes; queritur implorat gemit.

 $^{246}$  attonita fertur E: lymphata rapitur A

Your bearing must renounce your former fortunes. Happy are those who can endure to be slave or king and adjust their bearing accordingly. To bear misfortunes with a tranquil mind robs hardship of its strength and weight.

## ACT 2

#### NURSE

What a bloodthirsty rage there is that goads women when a single house is opened to a mistress as well as a wife! Scylla and Charybdis, churning the Sicilian strait, are not more fearsome, no wild beast is worse. When the captive mistress' beauty shone forth—Iole shimmering like the gleam of unclouded daylight or a bright star in the clear night— Hercules' wife stood like a madwoman, glaring grimly. She resembled a whelped tigress, lying beneath a crag in Armenia, that leaps up at sight of the foe; or a Maenad, called to brandish the thyrsus, quickened and ridden by Lyaeus, who hesitates briefly, unsure where to direct her steps. Then she rushed in frenzy through Hercules' house, the whole building scarcely giving room enough; she charged forward, swerved, stopped. All her pain came into her face, almost nothing was left hidden in her breast. Tears followed hard on threats. No single attitude lasted long, no single expression of rage satisfied her: now her cheeks flamed, now pallor expelled the colour. Her pain ranged through every possible form, she lamented, entreated, groaned.

Sonuere postes; ecce praecipiti gradu 255 secreta mentis ore confuso exerit.

## DEIANIRA

Quamcumque partem sedis aetheriae premis, coniunx Tonantis, mitte in Alciden feram quae mihi satis sit! si qua fecundum caput palude tota vastior serpens movet, ignara vinci, si quid excessit feras immane dirum horribile, quo viso Hercules avertat oculos, hoc specu immenso exeat. vel si ferae negantur, hanc animam, precor, converte in aliquod—quodlibet possum malum

hac mente fieri. commoda effigiem mihi parem dolori: non capit pectus minas. quid excutis telluris extremae sinus orbemque versas? quid rogas Ditem mala? omnes in isto pectore invenies feras

270 quas timeat: odiis accipe hoc telum tuis,

272 perfer manus quocumque. quid cessas, dea? utere furente! quod iubes fieri nefas?

274 peperi, quid haeres? ipsa iam cesses licet:

271 ego sum noverca perdere Alciden potens;

275 haec ira satis est.

260

## NUTRIX

Pectoris sani parum, alumna, questus comprime et flammas doma, frena dolorem. coniugem ostende Herculis.

270 timeat A: timuit E 271 placed after 274 by Fitch 274 peperi EA: reperi recc.

potens Bentley: potes EA

A sound from the doors! See, she is rushing headlong, flinging out her mind's secrets in confused words.

## DETANIBA

Wife of the Thunderer: wherever you stand in the heavenly abode, send against Alcides a beast that will satisfy me! If some snaky creature lifts its prolific heads, invincible and vaster than a whole marsh<sup>25</sup>—or if there is something that surpasses beasts, something monstrous, dreadful, terrible, a sight to make Hercules avert his eyes-let it come from its vast lair! Or if beasts are denied, change this spirit into something, I pray; in this mood I can be made into anything at all. Provide me with a shape to match my pain; this breast cannot contain all its menace. Why search the remotest ends of the earth and ransack the world? Why ask Dis for evils? In this breast you will find every wild thing for him to fear: accept it as the instrument of your hatred. Convey my hands anywhere you wish. Why hold back, goddess? Use my rage! What enormity do you bid occur? I have given birth!26 Why are you at a loss? You yourself may hold back now: I am a stepmother who can destroy Hercules;<sup>27</sup> this anger of mine suffices.

## NURSE

Your heart is scarcely sane, my child: restrain its outcry, quench its flames, bridle its pain. Show yourself the wife of Hercules.

<sup>25</sup> I.e. a superior form of the hydra.

<sup>26</sup> I.e. I am mature and capable of anything (cf. *Med* 50 "Greater crimes become me now, after giving birth").

<sup>27</sup> I.e. in contrast to Juno herself. Deianira is "stepmother" to Hercules' bastard child Lamus (Ovid, *Heroides* 9.54).

## DEIANIRA

Iole meis captiva germanos dabit natis, Iovisque fiet ex famula nurus? 280 num flamma cursus pariter et torrens feret et Ursa pontum sicca caeruleum bibet? non ibo inulta. gesseris caelum licet totusque pacem debeat mundus tibi, est aliquid hydra peius: iratae dolor 285 nuptae. quis ignis tantus in caelum furit ardentis Aetnae? quidquid est victum tibi hic vincet animus. capta praeripiet toros? adhuc timebam monstra; iam nullum est malum. cessere pestes, in locum venit ferae

290 invisa paelex.

295

300

305

Summe pro rector deum et clare Titan, Herculis tantum fui coniunx timentis; vota quae superis tuli cessere captae, paelici felix fui, illi meas audistis, o superi, preces, incolumis illi remeat! o nulla dolor contente poena, quaere supplicia horrida, incogitata, infanda, Iunonem doce quid odia valeant: nescit irasci satis.

Pro me gerebas bella, propter me vagas Achelous undas sanguine infecit suo, cum lenta serpens fieret, in taurum trucem nunc flecteret serpente deposita minas, et mille in hoste vinceres uno feras. iam displicemus, capta praelata est mihi. -non praeferetur: qui dies thalami ultimus nostri est futurus, hic erit vitae tuae.

Quid hoc? recedit animus et ponit minas,

## DEIANIRA

Shall Iole the captive produce brothers for my sons? Shall a slave become daughter-in-law to Jove? Can it be that fire and torrent will take the same course, or the dry Bear drink of the deep-blue sea? I shall not go unavenged. Though you have borne the heavens and the whole world owes its peace to you, there is something worse than a hydra: the pain of an angry wife. Does any fire as great as that rage toward heaven from burning Etna? Anything you have conquered, this spirit will conquer. Is a mistress to steal my marriage bed? I was still fearing monsters, but now such evils are no more, scourges have vanished, and in place of a beast has come this hateful mistress.

In the name of the gods' high ruler and the bright Titan! I was Hercules' wife only in his danger, the vows I offered the gods worked for the captive, I was successful for the mistress; for her you gods heard my prayers, for her he returns unscathed. O pain that no vengeance can satisfy, look for horrible, unthought-of, unspeakable punishments! Teach Juno the power of hate: she is incapable of sufficient anger.

You used to wage war for me; it was on my account that Achelous stained his meandering stream with his blood, when he turned into a lithe serpent, then dropped the serpent and changed his menace to that of a grim bull: you conquered a thousand beasts in one enemy! Now I no longer please you; a captive is preferred to me. But she shall not be preferred: the last day of our marriage will be the last of your life.

What is this? My spirit is retreating, dropping its men-

iam cessat ira. quid miser langues dolor? perdis furorem, coniugis tacitae fidem mihi reddis iterum. quid vetas flammas ali? quid frangis ignes? hunc mihi serva impetum, pares eamus. non erit votis opus: aderit noverca quae manus nostras regat nec invocata.

## NUTRIX

Quod paras demens scelus? perimes maritum, cuius extremus dies 315 primusque laudes novit et caelo tenus erecta terras fama suppositas habet? Argea in istos terra consurget lares, domusque soceri prima et Aetolum genus sternetur omne, saxa iam dudum ac faces 320 in te ferentur, vindicem tellus suum defendet omnis: una quot poenas dabis! effugere terras crede et humanum genus te posse: fulmen genitor Alcidae gerit! iam iam minaces ire per caelum faces 325 specta et tonantem fulmine excusso diem. mortem quoque ipsam, quam putes tutam, time: dominatur illic patruus Alcidae tui. quocumque perges, misera, cognatos deos illi videbis. 330

## DEIANIRA

Maximum fieri scelus et ipsa fateor, sed dolor fieri iubet.

309 tacitae E: sanctae\* A
318 Argea Fitch: angor E: rogos A

ace, my anger ebbing. My sorry pain, why are you flagging? You are losing rage, and returning me once more to the loyalty of a wife who keeps silent. Why do you stop the flames being fed? Why allay the fire? Maintain this impetus I have now, let us advance side by side. There will be no need of prayers: a stepmother will stand by to guide my hands, without being invoked.

#### NURSE

What mad crime are you planning? Will you murder this husband, whose renown is known where the day begins and ends, whose glory is raised far above the earth and reaches heaven? The Argive land will quickly rise up against your home: first your father's house<sup>28</sup> and all the folk of Aetolia will be destroyed, and straightway rocks and firebrands will be aimed at you; the whole world will support its champion. One woman suffering so many punishments! But suppose you can evade the earth and the human race: Alcides' father wields the lightning! Watch dangerous bolts immediately crossing the heavens, and the sky thundering as the lightning is launched. Even death itself, which you might think safe, you must fear: your Alcides' uncle<sup>29</sup> is lord there. Wherever you travel, poor woman, you will see gods related to him.

#### DEIANIRA

I myself admit that it is an enormous crime, but my pain insists on it.

Lit. "the house of his father-in-law," i.e. Deianira's fatherOeneus.Dis, brother of Jupiter.

 $<sup>^{327}</sup>$  putes  $Zwierlein\colon putas \textit{EA}$ 

<sup>330</sup> illi Gronovius: illic EA

## NUTRIX

Moriere.

## DEIANIRA

Moriar Herculis nempe incliti conjunx, nec ullus nocte discussa dies viduam notabit, nec meos paelex toros captiva capiet. ante ab occasu dies 335 nascetur, Indos ante glacialis polus Scythasve tepida Phoebus inficiet rota, quam me relictam Thessalae inspiciant nurus. meo iugales sanguine extinguam faces. aut pereat aut me perimat. elisis feris 340 et coniugem addat, inter Herculeos licet me quoque labores numeret: Alcidae toros moritura certe corpore amplectar meo. ire, ire ad umbras Herculis nuptam libet, sed non inultam: si quid ex nostro Hercule 345 concepit Iole, manibus evellam meis ante et per ipsas paelicem invadam faces. me nuptiali victimam feriat die infestus, Iolen dum supra exanimem ruam: felix iacet quicumque quos odit premit. 350

## NUTRIX

Quid ipsa flammas pascis et vastum foves ultro dolorem? misera, quid cassum times? dilexit Iolen nempe cum staret parens regisque natam peteret. in famulae locum regina cecidit; perdidit vires amor

344 herculis nuptam libet E: herculi iunctam licet A

353 cum staret parens E: dum starent lares A

#### NUBSE

You will die!

## DEIANIRA

I shall die, you see, as wife of the glorious Hercules. No day as it dispels night will see me husbandless, and no captive mistress will capture my marriage rights. Sooner shall daylight be born from the west, sooner shall the icy pole colour Indians' skin, or Phoebus colour Scythians with his chariot's warmth, than young Thessalian brides will behold me abandoned. I shall quench the marriage torches with my own blood. He must either be killed or kill me. Let him add his wife to the beasts he has crushed, let him count me among the Herculean labours: be sure that I shall cling to Alcides' marriage bed with my dying body. I am glad to go to the shades as Hercules' bride—but not without taking revenge! First, if Iole has conceived some by-blow from Hercules, I shall drag it out with my own hands, strike at his mistress amidst her marriage torches. Let him smite me in anger as the sacrifice on his wedding day, so long as I can fall on the lifeless Iole! To crush those one hates is to lie happy in death.

#### NURSE

Why do you feed the flames and deliberately foster your swelling pain? Poor soul, why endure pointless fear? He loved Iole, you see, when her father prospered and he was wooing a king's daughter. But the princess has fallen to a slave's status; love has lost its power, and her abject posi-

multumque ab illa traxit infelix status. illicita amantur, excidit quidquid licet.

#### DEIANIRA

Fortuna amorem peior inflammat magis. amat vel ipsum quod caret patrio lare, quod nudus auro crinis et gemma iacet—ipsas misericors forsan aerumnas amat. hoc usitatum est Herculi: captas amat.

#### NUTRIX

Dilecta Priami nempe Dardanii soror concessa famula est; adice quot nuptas prius, 365 quot virgines dilexit: erravit vagus. Arcadia nempe virgo, Palladios choros dum nectit, Auge, vim stupri passa excidit, nullamque amoris retinet Herculei notam. referam quid alias? nempe Thespiades vacant, 370 brevique in illas arsit Alcides face. hospes Timoli Lydiam fovit nurum et amore captus ad leves sedit colos, tenerum feroci stamen intorquens manu. nempe illa cervix spolia deposuit ferae 375 crinemque mitra pressit et famulus stetit, hirtam Sabaea marcidus myrrha comam. ubique caluit, sed levi caluit face.

#### DETANTRA

Haerere amantes post vagos ignes solent.

368 retinet herculei A: retinet herculis E: Hercules retinet Leo 373 tenerum Birt: colum E: nnum A

tion has devalued her greatly. The unattainable is loved, the attainable is disregarded.

#### DEIANIRA

No, a fall from fortune makes love burn hotter. He loves the very fact that she is homeless, that her hair lies stripped of gold and gems. Perhaps he loves her very troubles out of compassion. This is customary with Hercules: he loves captive women.

#### NURSE

He loved the sister of Dardanian Priam<sup>30</sup>—but gave her up as a slave, you see. Think too of all the brides and maidens he has loved previously. He has been a roving wanderer! The Arcadian girl Auge, you see, weaver of dances in Pallas' honour, was forgotten after suffering his rape; she retains no vestige of Hercules' love. Why mention others? Thespius' daughters are clear, you see, and Alcides' flame of passion for them was short-lived. When a guest on Tmolus he fondled the young Lydian woman,<sup>31</sup> and sat as love's captive at the light distaff, twisting the soft thread with his fierce hand. He took the beast-spoil off that famous neck, you see, bound his hair in a turban and stood as a slave, his shaggy hair limp with Sabaean myrrh. He has burned with love everywhere, but burned with an inconstant flame.

## DEIANIRA

But after wandering in their passions, lovers usually cleave to one.

<sup>30</sup> Hesione.

<sup>31</sup> Omphale.

## NUTRIX

Famulamne et hostis praeferet natam tibi?

Ut alta silvas forma vernantes habet,

380

#### DEIANIRA

quas nemore nudo primus investit tepor, at cum solutos expulit Boreas Notos et saeva totas bruma discussit comas. deforme solis aspicis truncis nemus: sic nostra longum forma percurrens iter 385 deperdit aliquid semper et fulget minus, nec illa venus est. quidquid in nobis fuit olim petitum cecidit, et pariter soror materque multum rapuit ex illo mihi, aetas citato senior eripiet gradu. 390 vides ut altum famula non perdat decus? cessere cultus penitus et paedor sedet; tamen per ipsas fulget aerumnas decor nihilque ab illa casus et fatum grave

nisi regna traxit. hic meum pectus timor, altrix, lacessit, hic rapit somnos pavor. praeclara totis gentibus coniunx eram thalamosque nostros invido voto nurus optabat omnis, quae nimis quicquam deos
 orabat ullos: nuribus Argolicis fui mensura voti, quem Iovi socerum parem.

mensura voti. quem Iovi socerum parem, altrix, habebo? quis sub hoc mundo mihi dabitur maritus? ipse qui Alcidae imperat facibus suis me iungat Eurystheus licet,

<sup>380</sup> alta EA: laeta Bentley 383 discussit E: decussit A
388 pariter soror Fitch: pariter labat E: partu labat A

#### NURSE

Will he prefer a slave, an enemy's daughter, to you?

#### DETANIBA

As a high beauty fills the springtime trees, when the first warm days clothe them in the naked forest; but when the norther has driven away the languid south winds, and fierce winter has scattered all the foliage, you see the forest without beauty, its trunks exposed: so our beauty, as it runs its long course, always suffers some loss and shines less brightly, without that attractiveness it used to have. All that was once desirable in me is diminished; sisterhood<sup>32</sup> and motherhood both stole much of it from me, and much will be stolen by quickly advancing age. But you see how this slave has not lost her high grace. She is completely without adornment, covered in grime, yet her loveliness shines through her very troubles; chance and harsh fate have taken nothing from her except her realm. This is the fear that besets my heart, nurse, this is the dread that robs me of sleep. I used to be famed as a wife among all nations; every young woman that asked intensely for anything from any gods would long for my marriage with envy in her prayers: for Argive women's prayers. I was the standard! What father-in-law shall I have to equal Jove? What such husband will be given me under this sky? Though Eurystheus himself, who gives Alcides orders, should take me in

 $^{32}$  She and Meleager's other sisters were grief-stricken by his death (Ovid,  $Metamorphoses\ 8.533-546).$ 

<sup>390</sup> eripiet Grotius: eripuit EA

<sup>399</sup> quae\* nimis A: quaeve mens E

405 minus est. toris caruisse regnantis leve est; alte illa cecidit quae viro caret Hercule.

#### NUTRIX

Conciliat animos coniugum partus fere.

## DEIANIRA

Hic ipse forsan dividet partus toros.

#### NUTRIX

Famula illa trahitur interim donum tibi.

## DEIANIRA

- 410 Hic quem per urbes ire praeclarum vides et viva tergo spolia gestantem ferae, qui regna miseris donat et celsis rapit vasta gravatus horridam clava manum, cuius triumphos ultimi Seres canunt
- 415 et quisquis alius orbe consaepto iacet, levis est, nec illum gloriae stimulat decor. errat per orbem, non ut aequetur Iovi nec ut per urbes magnus Argolicas eat: quod amet requirit, virginum thalamos petit.
- 420 si qua est negata, rapitur; in populos furit, nuptas ruinis quaerit et vitium impotens virtus vocatur. cecidit Oechalia inclita, unusque Titan vidit atque unus dies stantem et cadentem; causa bellandi est amor.
- 425 totiens timebit Herculi natam parens quotiens negabit, hostis est quotiens socer fieri recusat; si gener non est, ferit.

 $^{415}$  consepto recc.: concepto A (407–439 omitted by E)

marriage, it would be a falling-off. Not to have been wife of a ruler is a slight thing; to lose Hercules as one's husband is to fall far.

## NURSE

Having children generally secures husbands' affection.

## DEIANIRA

Perhaps in this case having children<sup>33</sup> will itself break up the marriage.

## NURSE

But for now she is hauled here as a slave, a gift to you.

#### DEIANIRA

This man you see marching through cities in glory, wearing the living<sup>34</sup> spoil from the beast on his back, who grants thrones to the oppressed and takes them from the mighty, his rugged hand burdened with the massive club, whose triumphs are sung by the remote Seres and whoever else lies at the world's edge—he is a trifler, not spurred by the attraction of renown. He wanders through the world, not in order to match Jove, nor to walk tall through Argive cities: he is searching for love objects, looking for girls to bed. If any is denied him, he takes her by force; he rages against whole peoples, seeks out brides amid destruction. And this uncontrolled vice is called heroism! Famous Oechalia fell. a single day's sun saw it standing and falling: the cause of war was love. Whenever a parent denies Hercules his daughter, he must be afraid; anyone who refuses to be his father-in-law is his foe; if he is not son-in-law, he strikes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> I.e. by Iole. <sup>34</sup> Primarily meaning that, unlike most spoils, this one is "natural, not manmade," but also suggesting that the pelt looks lifelike when worn.

Post haec quid istas innocens servo manus?
donec furentem simulet ac saeva manu

430 intendat arcus meque natumque opprimat?
sic coniuges expellit Alcides suas,
haec sunt repudia. nec potest fieri nocens:
terris videri sceleribus causam suis
fecit novercam. quid stupes segnis, furor?

435 scelus occupandum est: perge, dum fervet manus.

NUTRIX

Perimes maritum?

DEIANIRA Paelicis certe meae.

NUTRIX

At Iove creatum.

DEIANIRA Nempe et Alcmena satum.

NUTRIX

Ferrone?

DÉIANIRA

Ferro.

NUTRIX

Si nequis?

DEIANIRA Perimam dolo.

NUTRIX

Quis iste furor est?

After all this, why am I keeping my hands free of guilt? Waiting for the time when he feigns madness, levels his bow with that cruel hand and overwhelms me and my son? This is how Alcides throws out his wives, this is his style of divorce! And nothing can make him guilty: he has made the world believe the cause of his crimes is his stepmother. Why dazed and idle, my rage? In crime one must strike first. Go ahead, while your hand is hot!

NURSE

You will kill this husband?

DEIANIRA

My rival's? Certainly!

NURSE

But one fathered by Jove.

DEIANIRA

Begotten by Alcmene too, you see.

NURSE

With the sword?

DEIANIRA

The sword.

NURSE

If you cannot?

DEIANIRA

I shall kill by guile.

NURSE

What is this rage?

<sup>35</sup> As he did with Megara and her sons.

## DEIANIRA

Quem meus coniunx docet.

## NUTRIX

440 Quem nec noverca potuit, hunc perimes virum?

## DEIANIRA

Caelestis ira quos premit, miseros facit: humana nullos.

## NUTRIX

Parce, miseranda, et time.

## DEIANIRA

Contempsit omnes ille qui mortem prius; libet ire in enses.

#### NUTRIX

Maior admisso tuus, st: culpa par odium exig

alumna, dolor est; culpa par odium exigat. cur saeva modicis statuis? ut laesa es, dole.

## DEIANIRA

Leve esse credis paelicem nuptae malum? quidquid dolorem pascit, hoc nimium puta.

## NUTRIX

Amorne clari fugit Alcidae tibi?

#### DEIANIRA

450 Non fugit, altrix, remanet et penitus sedet fixus medullis, crede; sed magnus dolor iratus amor est.

## DETANIRA

What my husband teaches.

#### NURSE

Will you kill a hero not even his stepmother could kill?

#### DEIANIRA

Heavenly anger plagues its targets, human anger destroys them.

#### NURSE

Hold back, you pitiable woman, in fear.

## DEIANIRA

One who scorns death first, scorns all. I want to charge against swords!

#### NUBSE

Your pain, my child, is too great for the fault. An offence should not arouse more than its share of hate. Why judge something ordinary so fiercely? Let your pain match your injury!

## DEIANIRA

You think a mistress is a trivial wrong to a wife? What you should consider excessive is what feeds the pain.<sup>36</sup>

## NURSE

Has your love for glorious Alcides vanished?

## DEIANIRA

Not vanished, nurse; it remains rooted deep in my bones, believe me. But anger in love is a source of great pain.

<sup>36</sup> I.e. its cause, Hercules' infidelity.

## NUTRIX

Artibus magicis fere coniugia nuptae precibus admixtis ligant. vernare iussi frigore in medio nemus missumque fulmen stare; concussi fretum cessante vento, turbidum explicui mare et sicca tellus fontibus patuit novis. habuere motum saxa, discussi fores umbrasque Ditis, et mea iussi prece manes loquuntur, siluit infernus canis; [mare terra caelum et Tartarus servit mihi] nox media solem vidit et noctem dies, nihilque leges ad meos cantus tenet.

## DEIANIRA

Quas Pontus herbas generat aut quas Thessala sub rupe Pindus, aut ubi inveniam malum cui cedat ille? carmine in terras mago descendat astris Luna desertis licet et bruma messes videat et cantu fugax
stet deprehensum fulmen et versa vice medius coactis ferveat stellis dies, nil flectet illum.

flectemus illum, carmina invenient iter.

- 459 umbrasque Ditis Richter: umbrae stetistis EA
- 460 siluit Axelson: sonuit A: novit E
- 461 omitted by E: placed after 462 by Bothe: deleted by Fitch
- $^{466}$ aut ubiA:aluit ubiE
- 472 nil Fitch: non EA

455

 $<sup>^{37}\,\</sup>mathrm{Line}$  461 (deleted): "Sea, land, heaven, and Tartarus serve me."

#### NURSE

Wives often bind their spouses by magic arts combined with prayers. I have bidden trees to burgeon in midwinter, and the thunderbolt to halt in flight; I have stirred up the straits when the wind was still, and levelled a turbulent sea; in the dry earth new springs have opened; rocks have started to move; I have shattered the doors and darkness of Dis; at the bidding of my prayers the shades spoke and the infernal dog fell silent; midnight has seen the sun, and the day night, and at my chants nothing keeps its nature. We shall change his heart, the spells will find a way.

#### DETANIBA

What herbs are engendered in Pontus or beneath crags on Thessalian Pindus, or where could I find a bane to master him? Though the moon might abandon the stars through magic and descend to earth, and winter see harvests, and the winging thunderbolt halt intercepted by a spell, and the midday sky blaze unnaturally with stars under constraint, nothing will change his heart.

<sup>38</sup> These claims to supernatural power are echoed in Chapman, *Byron's Conspiracy* II.1.114–127: "And tell him this too: if in midst of winter / To make black groves grow green, to still the thunder / And cast out able flashes from mine eyes, / To beat the lightning back into the skies, / Prove power to do it, I can make it good. / And tell him this too: if to lift the sea / Up to the stars, when all the winds are still, / And keep it calm, when they are most enraged, / To make earth's driest plains sweat humorous springs, / To make fixed rocks walk and loose shadows stand, / To make the dead speak, midnight see the sun, / Midday turn midnight, to dissolve all laws / Of nature and of order, argue power / Able to work all, I can make all good."

# NUTRIX Vicit et superos Amor.

## DEIANIRA

Vincetur uni forsan et spolium dabit Amorque summus fiet Alcidae labor. sed te per omne caelitum numen precor, per hunc timorem: quidquid arcani apparo penitus recondas et fide tacita premas.

#### NUTRIX

Quid istud est quod esse secretum petis?

## DEIANIRA

Non tela sunt, non arma, non ignis minax.

#### NUTRIX

480 Praestare fateor posse me tacitam fidem, si scelere careat: interim scelus est fides.

## DEIANIRA

Circumspice agedum, ne quis arcana aucupet, partemque in omnem vultus inquirens eat.

#### NUTRIX

En locus ab omni tutus arbitrio vacat.

#### DEIANIRA

485 Est in remoto regiae sedis loco arcana tacitus nostra defendens specus. non ille primos accipit soles locus, non ille seros, cum premens Titan diem lassam rubenti mergit Oceano rotam.

> <sup>482</sup> aucupet Scaliger: occupet EA <sup>488</sup> premens Axelson: ferens EA

### NURSE

Love has conquered even the gods.39

## DEIANIRA

Perhaps it will be conquered and plundered by this one man, and Love become Alcides' final labour! But I pray you by every single divinity, and by this my fear: any occult preparations I make you must conceal completely and wrap in loyal silence.

#### NURSE

What is it you want kept secret?

## DEIANIRA

Not weapons, not arms, not menacing fire.

#### NURSE

I agree that I can offer loyal silence, provided no crime is involved; but sometimes loyalty is criminal.

## DEIANIRA

Come, look around, lest someone eavesdrop on the secret; cast your gaze attentively in each direction.

#### NURSE

See, the place is clear and safe from any observation.

## DEIANIRA

In a remote corner of the royal demesne there is a hidden cave that guards my secret. That corner does not receive the sun's first rays, nor its last, when the Titan, closing the day, sinks his weary chariot in the crimson Ocean.

<sup>39</sup> And equally a love potion will be able to conquer Hercules.

illic amoris pignus Herculei latet. 490 altrix, fatebor: auctor est Nessus mali quem gravida Nephele Thessalo genuit duci, qua gelidus astris inserit Pindus caput ultraque nubes Othrys eductus riget. 495 namque ut subactus Herculis clava horridi Achelous, omnes facilis in species dari, tandem peractis omnibus patuit feris unoque turpe subdidit cornu caput, me conjugem dum victor Alcides habet, repetebat Argos. forte per campos vagus 500 Evenos altum gurgitem in pontum ferens iam paene summis turbidus ripis erat. transire Nessus verticem solitus vadis pretium poposcit; meque iam dorso ferens qua iungit hominem spina deficiens equo, 505 frangebat ipsas fluminis tumidi minas.

Iam totus undis Nessus exierat ferox medioque adhuc errabat Alcides vado, vasto rapacem verticem scindens gradu;
510 ast ille, ut esse vidit Alciden procul,
"Tu praeda nobis" inquit "et coniunx eris; prohibetur undis," meque complexu ferens gressum citabat. non tenent undae Herculem:
"Infide vector," inquit "immixti licet
515 Ganges et Hister vallibus iunctis eant, vincemus ambos, consequar telo fugam."

 $^{493}$ gelidus Axelson: trepidus E: celsus A $^{502}$ ripis A: silvis E

praecessit arcus verba; tum longum ferens harundo vulnus tenuit haerentem fugam

There lies concealed a surety of Hercules' love. I will admit, nurse, the source of the bane was Nessus, born of Nephele's womb to the Thessalian leader, 40 where chill Pindus thrusts its head among the stars and frozen Othrys rises beyond the clouds. For Achelous, deft at changing to any form, was subdued by rugged Hercules' club and finally stood revealed, all his beast forms used up, bowing his head marred by loss of a horn. By this victory Alcides had gained me as his wife, and was heading for Argos. As it happened the Evenus, whose deep swirling waters wander through fields to the sea, was then foaming almost at the top of its banks. Nessus asked a fee for his experience in fording the torrent; and bearing me on his back just where the horse's spine ends and joins the human, 41 he began to break the swollen river's menace.

And now, while Alcides was still straggling in mid-river, parting the whirling torrent with his huge steps, fierce Nessus had completely emerged from the water. When he saw that Alcides was at a distance, he said, "You shall be my prize and my wife: he is kept away by the waters." And clasping me he began to hurry away. But water does not stop Hercules. "Treacherous ferryman!" said he. "Though Ganges and Hister should flow combined in a joint riverbed, I would overcome them both—and I shall catch your flight with an arrow!" The bowshot preceded the words; then the shaft, with its far-reaching wound, stopped his

<sup>40</sup> Ixion.

<sup>41</sup> Nessus was a centaur, half human and half horse.

mortemque fixit. ille, iam quaerens diem,
tabem fluentis vulneris dextra excipit
traditque nobis ungulae insertam suae,
quam forte saeva sciderat avulsam manu.
tunc verba moriens addit: "Hoc" inquit "magae
dixere amorem posse defigi malo;
hoc docta Mycale Thessalas docuit nurus,

525 hoc docta Mycale Thessalas docuit nurus, unam inter omnes Luna quam sequitur magas astris relictis. inlitas vestes dabis hac" inquit "ipsa tabe, si paelex tuos invisa thalamos tulerit et coniunx levis 530 aliam parenti dederit altisono nurum.

aliam parenti dederit altisono nurum. hoc nulla lux conspiciat, hoc tenebrae tegant tantum remotae: sic potens vires suas sanguis tenebit." verba deprendit quies, mortemque lassis intulit membris sopor.

Tu, quam meis admittit arcanis fides, perge ut nitentem virus in vestem datum mentem per artus adeat et tacitum intimas intret medullas.

## NUTRIX

Ocius iussa exequar, alumna; precibus tu deum invictum advoca qui certa tenera tela dimittit manu.

## DEIANIRA

Te te precor, quem mundus et superi timent et aequor et qui fulmen Aetnaeum quatit, timende Marti teliger saevo puer:

537 tacitum intumas *Gronovius*: tacitus mas *E*: tactus sinus *A*543 Marti . . . saevo *Axelson*: matri . . . saevae\* *EA* 

535

stalled flight and implanted death. Already losing the light of day, he caught in his hand the gore from the flowing wound, and passed it to me encased in his own hoof, opportunely wrenched off and split open by his savage hand. Then he added these dying words: "By this bane," he said, "sorceresses say love can be bound fast. This skill was taught to Thessalian wives by skilled Mycale, who alone of all sorceresses makes the moon follow her and abandon the stars. You shall give him garments smeared with this very gore," he said, "if a hateful rival takes your marriage bed, and your husband's straying affections present his high-thundering father with another daughter-in-law. Only let no light see it, let deepest darkness hide it: in this way the potent blood will retain its power." Silence overtook his words, and sleep prefaced death in his languid limbs.

[To Nurse] Your loyalty gives you access to my secret. Proceed, so the venom once placed on the shining clothes may make its way to his mind through his body, and stealthily pass into his very marrow.

## NURSE

I shall do your bidding speedily, my child. You must invoke the invincible god whose tender hands discharge unerring arrows.  $^{42}$  [Exit]

## DEIANIRA

To you I pray, whom earth and heaven fear, and sea and the wielder of Etna's bolt, 43 young weapon-bearer whom

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Cupid.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 43}$  Jupiter, whose bolts were forged by the Cyclopes within Mt Etna.

intende certa spiculum velox manu,
non ex sagittis levibus: e numero, precor,
graviore prome quod tuae nondum manus
misere in aliquem; non levi telo est opus,
ut amare possit Hercules. rigidas manus
intende et arcum cornibus iunctis para.

550 nunc, nunc sagittam prome qua quondam horridus Iovem petisti, fulmine abiecto deus cum fronte subita tumuit et rabidum mare taurus puellae vector Assyriae scidit. immitte amorem: vincat exempla omnia,

555 amare discat coniuges! si quas decor Ioles inussit pectori Herculeo faces, extingue totas, perbibat formam mei. tu fulminantem saepe domuisti Iovem, tu furva nigri sceptra gestantem poli, 560 turbae ducem majoris et dominum Stygi

turbae ducem maioris et dominum Stygis, tuque, o noverca gravior irata deus, cape hunc triumphum: solus evince Herculem.

## NUTRIX

Prolata vis est quaeque Palladia colu lassavit omnem texta famularem manum. nunc ingeratur virus et vestis bibat Herculea pestem; precibus augebo malum.

In tempore ipso navus occurrit Lichas: celanda vis est dira, ne pateant doli.

<sup>550</sup> horridus A: horridum E

<sup>562</sup> evince A: et vince E

<sup>564</sup> texta EA: tela recc.

<sup>565</sup> ingeratur Axelson: congeratur E: congregetur A

savage Mars must fear. Aim a swift dart with unerring hand—not one of your lighter arrows: from the heavier sort I pray you bring out one that your hands have not yet fired at anyone; no light weapon is needed to make Hercules capable of love. Stretch out your hands rock-firm, bend the bow so its tips join. Now you must bring out the arrow that once in ferocious mood you shot at Jove, when the god cast aside his thunderbolt, and with suddenly distended brows cut through the raging sea as a bull ferrying the Assyrian girl. 44 Fire love into him, let him surpass all precedents—and let him learn to love his wives!45 If Iole's beauty has burnt firebrands into Hercules' heart, quench them completely; let him drink in the beauty of me. You have often mastered thundering Jove, and the bearer of the black world's dusky sceptre, commander of the greater throng and lord of Styx; o deity harsher than the angry stepmother, win this triumph too: be Hercules' only conqueror.

## NUBSE

[Returning] Your arsenal is brought out, and the woven garment that wearied every servant's hands with Pallas' distaff. Now the venom must be poured onto Hercules' clothing, so it drinks in the poison. I shall strengthen the bane with my prayers. [They prepare the robe. Lichas approaches]

At a timely moment here comes the busy Lichas. But our dread arsenal must be hidden, or our ruse is revealed.

44 Europa.

 $^{\rm 45}\,\rm The$  plural suggests habitual failings, i.e. towards both Megara and herself.

## DEIANIRA

O quod superbae non habent umquam domus, fidele semper regibus nomen Licha: cape hos amictus, nostra quos nevit manus dum vagus in orbe fertur et victus mero tenet feroci Lydiam gremio nurum, dum poscit Iolen. sed iecur fors horridum flectam merendo: merita vicerunt malos. non ante vestes induat coniunx iube quam ture flammas pascat et placet deos, cana rigentem populo cinctus comam.

Ipsa ad penates regios gressus feram precibusque Amoris horridi matrem colam. Vos, quas paternis extuli comites focis, Calydoniae, lugete deflendam vicem.

## **CHORUS**

Flemus casus, Oenei, tuos, comitum primos turba per annos; flemus dubios, miseranda, toros. nos Acheloi tecum solitae pulsare vadum, cum iam tumidas vere peracto poneret undas gracilisque gradu serperet aequo, nec praecipitem volveret amnem flavus rupto fonte Lycormas. nos Palladias ire per aras et virgineos celebrare choros, nos Cadmeis orgia ferre

<sup>585</sup> miseranda A: venerande (sic) E

580

585

#### DEIANIRA

Lichas, name of constant loyalty to your rulers—something proud houses never possess: take this garment, spun by my hands while he was wandering the earth, while he clasped the young Lydian woman in his fierce embrace when worse for wine, and while he demanded Iole. But perhaps I can change his violent passion by serving him; service can prevail on the unkind. Before my husband puts the garment on, bid him feed incense into the fire and propitiate the gods, his stiff hair circled with grey poplar leaves.

I myself shall go inside the royal house, and make prayers to the mother of ferocious Love. You Calydonian women, whom I brought as friends from my father's hearth: lament this grievous situation.

## CHORUS OF AETOLIAN WOMEN

We grieve for your plight, daughter of Oeneus, your group of friends through your childhood years; poor woman, we grieve for your threatened marriage. With you we used to splash in the shallows of Achelous, once he allayed at the end of spring his swollen waves and glided calmly in a narrow channel, and Lycormas no longer poured his tawny headlong river from bursting springs. We used to visit Pallas' altars and perform together the maidens' dances; with you we carried the mystic symbols

595	tecum solitae condita cistis, cum iam pulso sidere brumae tertia soles evocat aestas et spiciferae concessa deae Attica mystas claudit Eleusin.
600	nunc quoque casum quemcumque times,
	fidas comites accipe fatis; nam rara fides
	ubi iam melior fortuna ruit.
COF	Tu quicumque es qui sceptra tenes:
605	licet omne tua vulgus in aula
	centum pariter limina pulset;
	cum tot populis stipatus eas,
	in tot populis vix una fides.
	tenet auratum limen Erinys,
610	et cum magnae patuere fores,
	intrant fraudes cautique doli
	ferrumque latens;
	cumque in populos prodire paras,
	comes Invidia est.
	noctem quotiens summovet Eos,
615	regem totiens credite nasci.
	Pauci reges, non regna colunt;
	plures fulgor concitat aulae.
	cupit hic regi proximus ipsi
	clarus totas ire per urbes
620	(urit miserum gloria pectus);

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> The reference is to a Bacchic festival held every three years by inclusive counting (i.e. every two years by modern reckoning). "Cadmean" = of Thebes, Bacchus' birthplace and centre of worship; the "star," i.e. constellation, of winter is Pisces. The "god-

concealed inside Cadmean baskets when each third summer had driven off the star of winter and summoned the sun,<sup>46</sup> and the grain-bearing goddess' own demesne, Attic Eleusis, enclosed the initiates. Now too, in any plight you fear, take us loyal friends to share your fate; for loyalty is rare once good fortune begins to fail.

You that hold a sceptre, whoever you are: granted, the whole population together may knock at the hundred doors of your palace; but though so many people throng around you, among so many people there is scarcely one loyal. The Erinys holds the gilded doorway, and when the great doors open wide, in come betrayals and cagey tricks and the hidden sword; and when you prepare to go out in public, at your side is Envy.

Each time the dawn supplants the night, each time consider a king newborn.<sup>47</sup>

Few cherish kings and not their thrones; most are drawn by the glitter of court. One man longs to walk resplendent through every city at the king's own side; such glory inflames his pathetic breast.

dess" mentioned next is Ceres, worshipped in the Eleusinian Mysteries.

<sup>47</sup> The danger of assassination is so great that each day represents a new lease on life.

cupit hic gazis implere famem, nec tamen omnis plaga gemmiferi sufficit Histri nec tota sitim Lydia vincit nec quae Zephyro subdita tellus stupet aurato flumine clarum radiare Tagum, nec si totus serviat Hebrus ruraque dives iungat Hydaspes intraque suos currere fines spectet toto flumine Gangen: avidis, avidis natura parum est.

Colit hic reges regumque lares, non ut presso vomere semper numquam cesset curvus arator, vel mille secent arva coloni: solas optat quas ponat opes. colit hic reges, calcet ut omnes perdatque aliquos nullumque levet: tantum ut noceat cupit esse potens.

Quota pars moritur tempore fati! quos felices Cynthia vidit, vidit miseros enata dies; rarum est felix idemque senex.

Caespes Tyrio mollior ostro solet impavidos ducere somnos; aurea rumpunt texta quietem

646 texta Axelson: tecta EA

625

630

635

640

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 48}$  The version of this ode attributed to Queen Elizabeth I (and

Another wants treasure to fill his hunger; but all the tract of jewelled Hister cannot suffice not the whole of Lydia slake his thirst, 48 nor the land facing the western winds that is dazzled by the radiance from bright Tagus' golden river—not even if the whole of Hebrus served him and rich Hydaspes added its lands, and he saw the whole of Ganges' river flowing within his own domains. The greedy, the greedy find Nature too little.

One man courts kings and kingly abodes, not so his ploughman shall hunch forever down on his plough and never rest, or a thousand tenants till his fields: he craves wealth only to put it by. Another courts kings to trample on all, destroying some and supporting none: he covets power for harm's sake only.

How few of them die at the fated time! Those seen in good fortune by the Cynthian are seen in misery by the budding day. To be old *and* fortunate is rare.

The greensward, softer than Tyrian sheets, brings slumbers that are free from fear; golden fabrics break one's rest,

intriguingly relevant to her court) rises to eloquence here: "Not all the coast where Istrus' trade doth haunt, / With gems bedecked through hue of diverse kind, / Nor Lydia fair with sweetest streams suffice / To quench or answer all such thirst by half."

	vigilesque trahit purpura noctes.
	o si pateant pectora ditum!
~ <b>~</b> ~	quantos intus
650	sublimis agit fortuna metus!
	Bruttia Coro pulsante fretum
	lenior unda est.
652	pectora pauper secura gerit:
655	carpit faciles vilesque cibos,
656	sed non strictos respicit enses;
653	tenet e patula pocula fago,
654	sed non trepida tenet illa manu:
657	aurea miscet pocula sanguis.
	Coniunx modico nupta marito
	non disposito clara monili
660	gestat pelagi dona rubentis,
	nec gemmiferas detrahit aures
	lapis Eoa lectus in unda,
	nec Sidonio mollis aëno
	repetita bibit lana rubores,
665	nec Maeonia distinguit acu
	quae Phoebeis subditus Euris
	legit Eois Ser arboribus.
	quaelibet herbae tinxere colus
	quas indoctae nevere manus,
670	sed non dubios fovet illa toros.
070	sequitur dira lampade Erinys
	guerum populi coluere diam
	quarum populi coluere diem.
	[nec sibi felix pauper habetur
	nisi felices cecidisse videt]

 $^{655\text{-}656}$  placed after 652 by Zwierlein  $^{673\text{-}674}$  deleted by Schrader

the purple has a train of sleepless nights. If only the hearts of the rich were revealed! How great the fears that lofty fortune stirs within them! Less fierce are the Bruttian waves when a norther pounds the strait. The poor man's heart is free of care. He gathers food at hand and cheap, but keeps no lookout for drawn swords. His cup is carved from the spreading beech, but the hand that holds it does not tremble; golden cups are mixed with blood.

The wife whose spouse has modest means does not carry about the gifts of the ruby sea<sup>49</sup> in bright array on her necklace; her ears are not bejewelled and burdened with stones collected in eastern waters; her wool is not softened in Sidonian vats, drinking twice over the crimson dyes; she does not embroider Maeonian-style threads that the Ser collected from eastern trees in a land of orient winds. Her yarn is dyed with everyday herbs and spun by hands that have no training; but the marriage bed she keeps is stable. The Erinys pursues with her baleful torch women whose days are attended by crowds.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> See *Thyestes* lines 371–373 with note.

 $<sup>^{50}</sup>$  Lines  $^{673}$ – $^{74}$  (deleted): "And the poor man thinks himself unfortunate / unless he sees the fortunate fallen."

Quisquis medium defugit iter 675 stabili numquam tramite curret. dum petit unum praebere diem patrioque puer constitit axe nec per solitum decurrit iter, sed Phoebeis 680 ignota petit sidera flammis errante rota, secum pariter perdidit orbem. medium caeli dum sulcat iter, tenuit placidas Daedalus oras nullique dedit nomina ponto; 685 sed dum volucres vincere veras Icarus audet patriasque puer despicit alas Phoeboque volat proximus ipsi, dedit ignoto nomina ponto. 690 male pensantur magna ruinis. felix alius magnusque sonet; me nulla vocet turba potentem. stringat tenuis litora puppis, nec magna meas aura phaselos 695 iubeat medium scindere pontum: transit tutos Fortuna sinus, medioque rates quaerit in alto

 $^{678}\,\mathrm{patrioque}$  puer constitit axe E: patriosque puer concitat axes A

681 petit Fitch: petens E: secat A

Those who avoid the middle path will never run on a stable course. A boy bestrode his father's chariot.51 seeking to furnish one day's light; since he would not run on the usual path, but sought out stars unknown before to Phoebus' fire with wavward wheels, he ruined himself and the world as well. Since Daedalus cleaved a middle path through the sky, he reached a tranquil shore and bestowed his name upon no sea. But Icarussince he dared to rise above real birds. a boy looking down on his father's wings and flying right up to Phoebus' sidebestowed his name on an unknown sea.52 Great deeds are harshly repaid with ruin. Let another resound as great and fortunate, but let no crowd hail me as powerful. My modest boat should hug the shore, and no great breezes urge a yacht of mine to cleave the midst of the sea. Misfortune passes by safe coves and searches in mid-sea for ships

<sup>51</sup> The boy is Phaethon, his father Phoebus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> I.e. unknown to the world until named "Icarian," but also paradoxically unknown to the source of its name.

quarum feriunt sipara nubes.

700 Sed quid pavido territa vultu, qualis Baccho saucia maenas, fertur rapido regina gradu?

fertur rapido regina gradu? Quae te rursus fortuna rotat? miseranda, refer:

licet ipsa neges,

vultus loquitur quodcumque tegis.

## DEIANIRA

Vagus per artus errat excussos tremor, erectus horret crinis, impulsis adhuc stat terror animis et cor attonitum salit pavidumque trepidis palpitat venis iecur. ut fractus austro pontus etiamnum tumet, quamvis quiescat languidis ventis dies, ita mens adhuc vexatur excusso metu. semel profecto premere felices deus cum coepit, urget. hos habent magna exitus.

#### CHORUS

715 Quis tam impotens, miseranda, te casus rotat?

#### DEIANIRA

Ut missa palla est tabe Nessea inlita

701 maenas E: thyas A

715 attributed to Chorus by A, to Nurse (with 713-714) by E

 $<sup>^{53}</sup>$  The last lines are vigorously rendered by John Studley in his translation of the play (published 1566): "Let other mount aloft, let other soar, / As happy man in great estate to sit. / By flattering name of Lord I set no store; / For under shore my little keel should

whose topsails strike the very clouds.53

## ACT 3

But why is the queen rushing out in fear, panic in her face, with hasty steps like a maenad driven in pain by Bacchus? What whirlwind of new misfortune drives you? Poor woman, tell us: though you say nothing, your face speaks clearly of what you are hiding.

#### DEIANIRA

Shudders run here and there through my shaking limbs, my hair bristles up on end, terror still lodges in my stricken spirit, my heart beats hard in shock, and my liver pulses in fear, its veins trembling. As a sea churned up by the south wind continues to heave though the weather grows calm and the winds drop, so my mind is still agitated though the fear is shaken off. Assuredly when god once begins to attack the fortunate, he harries them. This is how greatness ends.

#### CHORUS LEADER

What is this violent whirlwind of mischance, poor woman?

#### DEIANIRA

After I had sent off the robe smeared with Nessus' gore, as

flit, / And from rough winds my sails fain would I keep, / Lest I be driven into the dangerous deep. / Proud Fortune's rage doth never stoop so low / As little roads, but them she overflies / And seeks amid main seas her force to show / On argosies, whose tops do reach the skies."

thalamisque maerens intuli gressum meis, nescioquid animus timuit: <an moriens viro poenas parat Centaurus > et fraudem struit? libet experiri. solibus virus ferum

720 flammisque Nessus sanguinem ostendi arcuit: hic ipse fraudes esse praemonuit dolus. et forte, nulla nube respersus iubar, laxabat ardens fervidum Titan diem —vix ora solvi patitur etiamnunc timor.

725 medios in ignes solis et claram facem, quo tincta fuerat palla vestisque inlita, abiectus horret villus et Phoebo comam tepefactus arsit—vix queo monstrum eloqui. nives ut Eurus solvit aut tepidus Notus,

quas vere primo lucidus perdit Mimas, utque evolutos frangit Ionio salo opposita fluctus Leucas et lassus tumor in litore ipso spumat, aut caelestibus aspersa tepidis tura laxantur focis,

735 sic languet omne vellus et perdit comas. dumque ista miror, causa mirandi perit; quin ipsa tellus spumeos motus agit, et quidquid illa tabe contactum est labat tumensque tacita \* \* \*

< Quis ille maestum lugubris > quassat caput?
 740 natum paventem cerno et ardenti pede gressus ferentem. Prome quid portes novi.

718 Lacuna recognised and supplement proposed by Leo 727 villus Richter: virus A: sanguis E Phoebo Fitch: Phoebi\* EA

I sadly walked into my bedchamber, my mind felt a vague fear: <did the dying centaur plan revenge on my husband> and devise some treachery? I wanted to check. Nessus had forbidden that the dangerous blood and venom should be exposed to sunlight or flames. This very stratagem gave forewarning of treachery. As it happened the fiery Titan was loosing the blazing daylight, his rays unsullied by any cloud—fear scarcely allows me to speak even now. A wool cloth, used to impregnate the robe and smear the clothes, had been thrown aside full in the bright, burning sunlight. It shuddered, and as its pile was heated by Phoebus it burst into flames-I can scarely speak of something so monstrous! As the east wind or warm south wind melts the snows that vanish in early spring on bright Mimas, and as the spent swell foams right on the shore when waves rolling in from the Ionian Sea break against the barrier of Leucas, or as incense strewn to the gods melts in altar fires, so the whole cloth wilted and lost its pile. And while I wondered at it, the cause of my wonder was destroyed. Indeed the very ground heaved and foamed; anything touched by that gore languished, and swelling with the stealthy <bane> . . .

<But who is this,> pounding his head <in grief and sorrow?> I see my son in panic, coming hotfoot towards us.
Tell me what news you bring.

 $<sup>^{739}</sup>$  E writes tumensque tacita and quassat caput on separate lines: A links them by writing tumensque tacita sequitur et quassat caput. Supplement by Fitch

## HYLLUS

I, profuge, quaere si quid ulterius patet terris freto sideribus Oceano inferis; ultra labores, mater, Alcidae fuge.

### DEIANIRA

745 Nescioquod animus grande praesagit malum.

### HYLLUS

Spolium triumphi templa Iunonis pete: haec tibi patent, delubra praeclusa omnia.

#### DEIANIRA

Effare quis me casus insontem premat.

## HYLLUS

Decus illud orbis atque praesidium unicum, quem fata terris in locum dederant Iovis, o mater, abiit. membra et Herculeos toros urit lues nescioqua; qui domuit feras, ille ille victor vincitur maeret dolet. quid quaeris ultra?

#### DETANTRA

Miserias properant suas
755 audire miseri. fare, quo posita in statu
iam nostra domus est? o lares, miseri lares!
nunc vidua, nunc expulsa, nunc ferar obruta.

### HYLLUS

Non sola maeres Herculem, toto iacet mundo gemendus. fata nec, mater, tua 760 privata credas: iam genus totum obstrepit.

 $^{746}$ spolium Fitch: certae Damsté: regna E: 746–747 omitted by A

## HYLLUS

Go, escape, try to find some haven beyond earth, sea, stars, Ocean, underworld: beyond Alcides' labours, mother, is where you must flee.

#### DEIANIRA

My mind forebodes some great evil.

#### HYLLUS

As Juno's spoil of triumph, run for her temples! They are open to you, but all other shrines are barred.

## DEIANIRA

Tell me what undeserved mischance is falling on me.

#### HYLLUS

That glory of the world, its sole defence, whom fate gave to the earth in lieu of Jove, is gone, mother! Those muscular limbs of Hercules are being burnt away by some strange blight. He who tamed wild beasts, that famous conqueror is conquered, in grief, in pain. Why ask further?

## DEIANIRA

The sorrowful are eager to hear about their sorrows. Tell me, what is the situation now with our house? O my home, my unhappy home! Now I shall go forth widowed, banished, ruined.

#### HYLLUS

You are not alone in mourning Hercules: his death deserves the whole world's grief. Do not think your fate a private one, mother; the whole race cries out in protest. This

hunc ecce luctum quem gemis cuncti gemunt; commune terris omnibus pateris malum. luctum occupasti: prima, non sola, Herculem, miseranda, maeres.

#### DEIANIRA

Quam prope a leto tamen 765 ede, ede quaeso iaceat Alcides meus.

#### HYLLUS

Mors refugit illum, victa quae in regno suo semel est, nec audent Fata tam vastum nefas admittere. ipsa forsitan trepida colos Clotho manu proiecit et fata Herculis timet peragere. pro diem, infandum diem! hocne ille summo magnus Alcides erit?

## DEIANIRA

Ad fata et umbras atque peiorem polum praecedere illum dicis? an possum prior mortem occupare? fare, si nondum occidit.

#### HYLLUS

Euboica tellus vertice immenso tumens pulsatur omni latere: Phrixeum mare scindit Caphereus, servit hoc Austro latus; at qua nivosi patitur Aquilonis minas, Euripus undas flectit instabilis vagas
septemque cursus volvit et totidem refert, dum lassa Titan mergit Oceano iuga. hic rupe celsa, nulla quam nubes ferit, annosa fulgent templa Cenaei Iovis.

 $^{761}$ ecce luctum Richter: ecce luctuE: eiulatu (-iPT) A $^{768}$ ipsaA: ipsas E

very grief which you mourn, all mourn; the trouble you suffer is common to every land. You have anticipated their grief—Hercules' first mourner, poor woman, but not his sole mourner.

#### DEIANIRA

But tell me, tell me, I pray, how close to death my Alcides lies.

#### HYLLUS

Death, defeated once in its own kingdom,<sup>54</sup> flies from him, and the Fates dare not commit so great an outrage. Clotho herself perhaps let the distaff drop from her trembling hands, afraid to wind up Hercules' fate. Oh this day, this unspeakable day! Will it be the last of mighty Hercules' life?

#### DEIANIRA

Do you mean he precedes me to doom and the shades and the darker world? Or can I reach death first? Tell me if he has not yet perished.

#### HYLLUS

The Euboean land, swelling to an immense height, is buffeted on every side. Cape Caphereus juts into the Sea of Phrixus, and this side is open to the southerlies; but where it feels the blustery, snowy norther, the restless Euripus switches its vagrant tides, flowing seven times one way and seven times the other before the Titan plunges his weary team in Ocean. Here, on a high crag unscathed by clouds, gleams an age-old temple to Cenaean Jove.

54 When Hercules took Cerberus from the world of the dead.

Ut stetit ad aras omne votivum pecus 785 totumque tauris gemuit auratis nemus, spolium leonis sordidum tabo exuit posuitque clavae pondus et pharetra graves laxavit umeros. veste tunc fulgens tua, cana revinctus populo horrentem comam, succendit aras. "Accipe has" inquit "focis 790 non false messes genitor et largo sacer splendescat ignis ture, quod Phoebum colens dives Sabaeis colligit truncis Arabs. pacata tellus" inquit "et caelum et freta, feris subactis omnibus victor redî: 795 depone fulmen"—gemitus in medias preces stupente et ipso cecidit; hinc caelum horrido clamore complet. qualis impressa fugax taurus bipenni vulnus et telum ferens delubra vasto trepida mugitu replet, 800 aut quale mundo fulmen emissum tonat, sic ille gemitu sidera et pontum ferit, et vasta Chalcis sonuit et voces Cyclas excepit omnis; hinc petrae Capherides, hinc omne voces reddit Herculeas nemus. 805 flentem videmus, vulgus antiquam putat rabiem redisse; tunc fugam famuli petunt. At ille, vultus ignea torquens face,

At ille, vultus ignea torquens face, unum inter omnes sequitur et quaerit Lichan. complexus aras ille tremebunda manu mortem metu consumpsit et parvum sui poenae reliquit. dumque tremebundum manu tenuit cadaver, "Hac manu, hac" inquit "ferar,

Once all the votive cattle were stationed at the altar. and the grove was filled with the bellows of gilded bulls,55 he took off the lionskin, soiled with gore, set down the heavy club, and relieved his burdened shoulders of the quiver. Then, resplendent in your robe, and with his rough hair wreathed in grey poplar leaves, he kindled the altar. "Accept these thank offerings," said he, "you who are rightly called my father; let the holy flame blaze up with abundant incense, collected from Sabaean branches by the rich sun-worshipping Arabs. Earth has been pacified," he said, "and sky and sea; after subduing all beasts I have returned victorious. Lay down your thunderbolt!" The prayer was interrupted by a groan that astonished even him; then he filled the sky with fearful shouts. As a runaway bull with the axe embedded, bearing both wound and weapon, fills a startled shrine with tremendous bellows, or as a bolt thunders when launched from heaven. so he smote stars and sea with his groans. Chalcis resounded mightily, and all the Cyclades heard his cries. On one side the crags of Caphereus, on the other the whole grove echoed to Hercules' cries. We beheld him weeping! People thought his old madness had returned; then his servants made their escape.

But with eyes rolling from the fiery heat, he pursued and sought Lichas alone among them all. He, clutching the altar with trembling hands, spent his death through terror and left little of himself for retribution. With the trembling corpse in his grip he said, "Is this the hand, you fates, by

<sup>55</sup> Bulls' horns were sometimes gilded before sacrifice.

o fata, victus? Herculem vicit Lichas? 815 ecce alia clades: Hercules perimit Lichan. facta inquinentur: fiat hic summus labor." in astra missus fertur et nubes vago spargit cruore; talis in caelum exilit harundo Getica iussa dimitti manu 820 aut quam Cydon excussit—inferius tamen

et tela fugient. truncus in pontum cadit, in saxa cervix: unus ambobus iacet.

"Resistite" inquit, "non furor mentem abstulit, furore gravius istud atque ira malum est: 825 in me iuvat saevire." vix pestem indicat et saevit: artus ipse dilacerat suos et membra vasta carpit avellens manu. exuere amictus quaerit: hoc solum Herculem non posse vidi. trahere conatus tamen 830 et membra traxit: corporis palla horridi pars est et ipsa, vestis immiscet cutem. nec causa dirae cladis in medio patet, sed causa tamen est. vixque sufficiens malo nunc ore terram languidus prono premit, 835 nunc poscit undas—unda non vincit malum; fluctisona quaerit litora et pontum occupat: famularis illum retinet errantem manus-

Nunc puppis illum litore Euboico refert Austerque lenis pondus Herculeum rapit. 840 destituit animus membra, nox oculos premit.

o sortem acerbam! fuimus Alcidae pares.

814 vicit E: perimit A

822 cervix CSV: coniunx PT: versus E: vertex Gronovius unus Grotius: funus EA

which history will say I was conquered? Lichas has conquered Hercules? See, another defeat: Hercules slays Lichas! My deeds must be sullied, and this must be my final labour." Hurled towards the stars, he<sup>56</sup> spattered the clouds with a spray of blood. So a shaft leaps skyward when released on command by a Getic hand, or shot by a Cydonian—yet even arrows would fly lower. His body fell into the sea, his head onto rocks: one death in two elements.

"Wait!" he said to us. "My mind is not seized with madness, this evil is deeper than madness or wrath: I am the target of my rage!" Scarcely had he described his affliction when he vented his rage. He rent his own body, plucked and tore at his limbs with his mighty hands. He was trying to take off the garment—the one task in which I have seen Hercules fail. But in trying to tear it off, he tore his limbs too: the robe was part of his rugged body, the garment merged with the skin. The cause of the terrible havoc was not clear to all, yet this was the cause. Scarcely able to endure the pain, now he fell face-down on the ground in weakness, now demanded water—but water did not master the pain. He made for the wave-loud shore and plunged into the sea; the band of servants restrained him as he lurched about. Cruel fate!—we were Alcides' equals.

Now a ship is bringing him back from the shore of Euboea, with a light south wind speeding Hercules' bulky body. His spirit is forsaking his limbs, night pressing on his eyes.

<sup>56</sup> I.e. Lichas' body.

## DEIANIRA

Quid, anime, cessas? quid stupes? factum est scelus. natum reposcit Iuppiter, Iuno aemulum; <ille urbium defensor et victor mali> reddendus orbi est. quod potest reddi, exhibe: eat per artus ensis exactus meos. sic, sic agendum est—tam levis poenas manus tantas reposcit? perde fulminibus, socer, nurum scelestam. nec levi telo manus armetur: illud fulmen exiliat polo, quo, nisi fuisset genitus Alcides tibi, hydram cremasses; pestem ut insolitam feri et ut noverca peius irata malum. emitte telum quale in errantem prius

855 et ipsa populos.

845

850

860

Quid rogas telum deos?
iam parce socero! coniugem Alcidae necem
optare pudeat: haec erit voto manus,
a me petatur. occupa ferrum ocius—
cur deinde ferrum? quidquid ad mortem trahit
telum est abunde. rupe ab aetheria ferar.
haec, haec renatum prima quae poscit diem
Oeta eligatur; corpus hinc mitti placet.—

Phaethonta missum est: perdidi erepto Hercule

levis una mors est—levis, at extendi potest:
abrupta cautes scindat et partem mei ferat omne saxum, pendeant lacerae manus
totumque rubeat asperi montis latus.

Before 844 lacuna recognised by Zwierlein; supplement by Fitch 854 erepto Hercule A: sola Herculem E: in solo Hercule Heinsius 866 placed after 862 by Zwierlein

### DEIANIRA

Why hesitant, why stunned, my spirit? The crime is done! Jove demands back his son, Juno her antagonist; <that great defender of cities and conqueror of evil> ought to be given back to the world. But provide what *can* be given back.<sup>57</sup> The sword must be thrust through my body—yes, this is what must be done. But can so slight a hand lay claim to such weighty restitution? Use your thunderbolts, father-in-law, to destroy your criminal daughter-in-law! And do not arm your hand with a light weapon: the bolt leaping from the sky must be the one you would have used—if Alcides had not been born to you—to incinerate the hydra. Strike me like some unexampled scourge, like an evil worse than the angry stepmother.<sup>58</sup> Launch a weapon like that launched once against the straying Phaethon: I too have ruined nations, <sup>59</sup> by robbing them of Hercules.

Why ask the gods for a weapon? Give your father-in-law some respite! Alcides' wife should be ashamed to *pray* for death. My prayer must be to myself, this hand will serve it. Quick, seize a sword. But then, why a sword? Anything that leads to death is ample as a weapon. I shall leap from a soaring crag. My choice shall be this very Oeta, which first claims the reborn daylight: yes, I shall fling my body from here. Yet a single death is light punishment—light, but it can be prolonged: let the steep cliff rend me and every rock take part of me, let my broken hands hang there, and the whole jagged flank of the mountain be encrimsoned.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> The recompense of her death.

<sup>58</sup> Juno.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Phaethon ruined nations and cities when he lost control of the sun chariot.

867 Eligere nescis, anime, cui telo incubes! utinam esset, utinam fixus in thalamis meis Herculeus ensis: huic decet ferro immori.—

una perire dextera nobis sat est?
coite, gentes, saxa et immensas faces
iaculetur orbis, nulla nunc cesset manus,
corripite tela: vindicem vestrum abstuli.
impune saevi sceptra iam reges gerent,

impune iam nascetur indomitum malum; reddentur arae cernere assuetae hostiam similem colenti. sceleribus feci viam; ego vos tyrannis regibus monstris feris saevisque rapto vindice opposui deis.

880 cessas, Tonantis socia? non spargis facem imitata fratrem et mittis ereptam Iovi meque ipsa perdis? laus tibi erepta inclita est, ingens triumphus: aemuli, Iuno, tui mortem occupavi.

#### NUTRIX

Quid domum impulsam trahis? erroris est hic omne quodcumque est nefas. haud est nocens quicumque non sponte est nocens.

#### DEIANIRA

Quicumque fato ignoscit et parcit sibi, errare meruit: morte damnari placet.

#### NUTRIX

Nocens videri, qui mori quaerit, cupit.

885 est hic E: istic A

O my spirit, you are inept in choosing a weapon to fall on! I wish, I wish there was a sword of Hercules' lodged in my bedchamber; that would be a fitting blade for me to die upon. But is it enough for me to be killed by a single hand? Gather, you nations! The whole world must hurl rocks and firebrands without number, no hand must be idle now: seize your weapons! I have stolen your defender. Now cruel kings will wield their sceptres in safety, now some invincible scourge will be born in safety. Altars will be restored that regularly see victims resembling the worshippers. 60 I have made a path for crimes; I have exposed you all to tyrants, kings, monsters, wild animals, and cruel gods by removing your defender. Are you slow to act, partner of the Thunderer? Not showering fire in your brother's style, stealing it from Jove, hurling it and destroying me yourself? Glorious renown, a huge triumph has been stolen from you: I have outstripped you, Juno, in killing your antagonist.

## NURSE

Why pull down a house that is already shaken? Such iniquity as exists here is entirely due to error. A person is not guilty unless guilty by intent.

## DEIANIRA

A person who condones his fate and pardons himself *deserved* to make the error. My sentence on myself is death.

#### NURSE

One who seeks to die wants to look guilty.

 $^{60}\,\mathrm{A}$  reference to human sacrifice such as was practiced by Busiris.

DEIANIRA

890 Mors innocentes sola deceptos facit.

NUTRIX

Titana fugies?

DEIANIRA

Ipse me Titan fugit.

NUTRIX

Vitam relinques?

DEIANIRA

Miseram, ut Alciden sequar.

NUTRIX

Superest et auras ille caelestes trahit.

DEIANIRA

Vinci Hercules cum potuit, hinc coepit mori.

NUTRIX

895 Natum relinques fataque abrumpes tua?

DEIANIRA

Quamcumque natus sepelit haec vixit diu.

NUTRIX

Virum sequeris?

DEIANIRA

Praegredi castae solent.

NUTRIX

Si te ipsa damnas, scelere te misera arguis.

#### DEIANIBA

Only death establishes the innocence of those that were duped.

NURSE

You will run from the Titan?61

DEIANIRA

The Titan himself runs from me.

NURSE

You will leave your life?

DEIANIRA

This wretched life, yes, to follow Alcides.

NURSE

He still survives and breathes the air of heaven.

DETANIRA

From the moment he became vincible, he began to die.

NURSE

Will you leave your son and break off your own destiny?

DEIANIRA

A woman buried by her son has had a long life.

NURSE

You will follow your husband?

DEIANIBA

Chaste wives go before.

NURSE

If you sentence yourself, you show yourself guilty of crime, poor woman.

 $^{61}$  I.e. leave the daylight. Deianira's answer suggests that the Sun avoids the sight of her because of her guilt.

## DEIANIRA

Nemo nocens sibi ipse poenas irrogat.

#### NUTRIX

900 Multis remissa est vita quorum error nocens, non dextra fuerat. fata quis damnat sua?

#### DEIANIRA

Quicumque fata iniqua sortitus fuit.

#### NUTRIX

Hic ipse Megaram nempe confixam suis stravit sagittis atque natorum indolem, Lernaea flectens tela furibunda manu; ter parricida factus ignovit tamen sibi, non furori: fonte Cinyphio scelus sub axe Libyco tersit et dextram abluit. quo, misera, pergis? cur tuas damnas manus?

## DEIANIRA

910 Damnat meas devictus Alcides manus: placet scelus punire.

#### NUTRIX

Si novi Herculem, aderit cruenti forsitan victor mali, dolorque fractus cedet Alcidae tuo.

#### DEIANIRA

Exedit artus virus, ut fama est, hydrae; 915 immensa pestis coniugis membra abstulit.

907 non furori E: nam furoris A

899 irrogat A: abrogat E

905 flectens A: figens E

### DEIANIRA

No guilty person imposes punishment on himself.

## NURSE

Many whose guilt lay in their mistake, not their act, have been allowed to live. Who passes sentence on his own fate?

### DEIANIRA

Everyone that has drawn an unjust fate.

#### NURSE

He himself, you see, shot and killed Megara and their fine children with his arrows, directing his Lernaean shafts with crazed hands. Though a filicide thrice over he nevertheless forgave himself—not his madness: he washed away the crime in the Cinyphian spring beneath the Libyan sky, and purified his right hand. What are you trying to do, poor woman? Why condemn *your* hands?

### DEIANIRA

It is Alcides' overthrow that condemns my hands. I am resolved to punish the crime.

## NURSE

If I know Hercules, he will perhaps arrive victorious over that bloody scourge; pain will be broken and submit to your Alcides.

#### DETANIRA

But the hydra's venom has wasted his body, they say; that myriad scourge<sup>62</sup> has destroyed my husband's limbs.

62 An allusion to the hydra's multiple heads.

#### NUTRIX

Serpentis illi virus enectae autumas haud posse vinci, qui malum vivum tulit? elisit hydram, dente cum fixo stetit media palude victor effuso obrutus artus veneno. sanguis hunc Nessi opprimet, qui vicit ipsas horridi Nessi manus?

### DEIANIRA

Frustra tenetur ille qui statuit mori: proinde lucem fugere decretum est mihi. vixit satis quicumque cum Alcide occidit.

#### NUTRIX

925 Per has aniles ecce te supplex comas atque ubera ista paene materna obsecro: depone tumidas pectoris laesi minas, mortisque dirae expelle decretum horridum.

#### DEIANIRA

Quicumque misero forte dissuadet mori, 930 crudelis ille est: interim poena est mori, sed saepe donum; pluribus veniae fuit.

#### NUTRIX

Defende saltem dexteram, infelix, tuam, fraudisque facinus esse, non nuptae, sciat.

#### DEIANIRA

Defendar illic: inferi absolvent ream. a me ipsa damnor, purget has Pluton manus. stabo ante ripas, immemor Lethe, tuas et umbra tristis coniugem excipiam meum.

931 veniae\* fuit EA: venia obfuit Grotius

935

#### NURSE

You reckon the venom of the slaughtered serpent cannot be conquered by one who endured the living scourge? He crushed the hydra, standing victoriously in the midst of the marsh, with its fangs fixed in him and his body smothered with the flowing poison! Shall Nessus' blood overpower one who conquered the savage Nessus' own hands?

### DEIANIRA

It is useless to restrain a person committed to dying. Accordingly my decision is to flee the light. One who dies with Alcides has lived long enough.

#### NURSE

See, by this old woman's hair and these breasts, virtually your mother's, I supplicate and beseech you: renounce these swelling threats coming from your wounded heart, and banish this fearful purpose of dread death.

## DETANIRA

Anyone who chances to dissuade the wretched from dying acts cruelly. Sometimes death is a punishment, but often a gift; for many it means forgiveness.

#### NUBSE

At least vindicate your action, ill-fated woman: let him know the deed arose from treachery, not his wife.

## DEIANIRA

I shall be vindicated *there*: those below will absolve me at my trial. I condemn myself; let Pluto absolve these hands. O Lethe of oblivion, I shall stand before your banks and wait as a sad shade to greet my husband.

Sed tu, nigrantis regna qui torques poli, para laborem, scelera quae quisque ausus est hic vincet error: Iuno non ausa Herculem est 940 eripere terris: horridam poenam para. Sisyphia cervix cesset et nostros lapis impellat umeros; me vagus fugiat latex meamque fallax unda deludat sitim; merui manus praebere turbinibus tuis, 945 quaecumque regem Thessalum torques rota; effodiat avidus hinc et hinc vultur fibras: vacat una Danais: has ego explebo vices. laxate, manes! recipe me comitem tibi, Phasiaca coniunx: peior haec, peior tuo 950 utroque dextra est scelere, seu mater nocens seu dira soror es: adde me comitem tuis. Threicia coniunx, sceleribus; natam tuam, Althaea mater, recipe, nunc veram tui 955 agnosce prolem—quid tamen tantum manus

Claudite Elysium mihi, quaecumque fidae coniuges nemoris sacri lucos tenetis. si qua respersit manus viri cruore nec memor castae facis stricto cruenta Belias ferro stetit, in me suas agnoscat et laudet manus: in hanc abire coniugum turbam libet—sed et illa fugiet turba tam diras manus.

Invicte coniunx, innocens animus mihi, scelesta manus est. pro nimis mens credula, pro Nesse fallax atque semiferi doli!

940 vincet E: vicit A

vestrae abstulerunt?

948 vacat Raphelengius: vacet EA

960

But you who rack the realm of the dark world, prepare me some suffering. This mistake will surpass the crimes dared by anyone; even Juno did not dare rob the world of Hercules. So prepare some fearful punishment. Let Sisyphus' neck rest, and his stone push down on my shoulders. Let the inconstant water flee, the fraudulent stream delude my thirst.<sup>63</sup> I deserve to surrender my hands to the spinning of the wheel that racks the Thessalian king. Let a greedy vulture on each side root out my guts. One Danaid is missing: I shall fill her role. Make room, you shades! Take me as your companion, wife from Phasis: this hand is worse than either of your crimes, whether as guilty mother or monstrous sister.64 Let me accompany your crimes, Thracian wife. Receive your daughter, mother Althaea, and recognise your true child now. Yet did your hands destroy anything as great?

Bar Elysium to me, you loyal wives who dwell in the groves of the sacred wood. But each wife that stained her hands with her husband's blood, dismissed chaste love and stood with drawn sword as a bloodstained Beliad, should recognise and praise her own hands in mine. I want to join this group of wives—but even that group will shun such

monstrous hands.

O invincible husband, my spirit is innocent, but my hand bears the crime. Oh for my credulous mind, oh for Nessus' deceit and half-bestial guile! In trying to take you

63 This is Tantalus' punishment; next mentioned are Ixion's wheel and Titvos' vultures.

<sup>64</sup> The wife from Phasis is Medea, who killed her children and brother; the Thracian wife is Procne, who killed her son; Althaea was responsible for her son Meleager's death.

auferre cupiens paelici eripui mihi. recede, Titan, tuque quae blanda tenes in luce miseros vita: cariturae Hercule 970 lux vilis ista est. exigam poenas tibi reddamque vitam—fata an extendo mea mortemque, coniunx, ad tuas servo manus? virtusne superest aliqua et armatae manus intendere arcum tela missurum valent? 975 an arma cessant teque languenti manu non audit arcus? si potes letum dare, animosa coniunx dexteram expecto tuam. mors differatur: frange ut insontem Lichan, alias in urbes sparge et ignotum tibi 980 immitte in orbem; perde ut Arcadiae nefas et quidquid aliud cessit-at ab illis tamen, coniunx, redisti.

## HYLLUS

Parce iam, mater, precor, ignosce fatis; error a culpa vacat.

## DEIANIRA

Si vera pietas, Hylle, quaerenda est tibi,
iam perime matrem! pavida quid tremuit manus?
quid ora flectis? haec erit pietas scelus.
ignave dubitas? Herculem eripui tibi.
haec, haec peremit dextra, cui debes patri
avum Tonantem. maius eripui decus,
quam luce tribui. si tibi ignotum est nefas,

969 cariturae\* A: caritura E 970 exigam . . . tibi A: exigat . . . sibi E 977 animosa A: animose E 987 eripui A: eripuit E 990 quam Heinsius: quam in EA

from my rival, I wrested you from myself! Depart, Titan, and life that holds the wretched in the beguiling sunlight: for one facing life without Hercules, that light has no value. I shall exact recompense on your behalf, and pay with my life. Or should I prolong my lifespan and reserve my death for your hands, husband? Have you some strength left, are your hands once armed capable of drawing a bow to fire arrows? Or do weapons fail you, and the bow not heed your feeble-handed efforts? If you can bestow death, I await your hand as a courageous wife; my death must be postponed. Crush me like the innocent Lichas; scatter me abroad into other regions, hurl me into some world unknown to you; destroy me like the Arcadian monster of and all your other conquests—but from them, husband, you came back.

## HYLLUS

Stop now, mother, I beg you; forgive your fate! A mistake involves no guilt.

#### DEIANIRA

If you want to pursue true devotion, Hyllus, you must kill your mother now! Why does your hand tremble with fear? Why do you look away? This crime will be an act of devotion. Are you uncertain and fainthearted? I have robbed you of Hercules! This very hand killed the father through whom you have the Thunderer as grandfather. I have robbed you of a greater glory than I gave you by birth. If villainy is unknown to you, learn it from your mother.

65 The Erymanthian boar.

a matre disce. seu tibi iugulo placet mersisse ferrum, sive maternum libet invadere uterum, mater intrepidum tibi praebebit animum. non erit tantum scelus a te peractum: dextera sternar tua, sed mente nostra. natus Alcidae times? ita nulla perages iussa, nec franges mala referens parentem? dexteram intrepidam para.

1000 patet ecce plenum pectus aerumnis: feri.

Scelus remitto, dexterae parcent tuae Eumenides ipsae: verberum crepuit sonus. quaenam ista torquens angue vibrato comam temporibus atras squalidis pinnas quatit?

1005 quid me flagranti, dira, persequeris face, Megaera? poenas poscis Alcidae? dabo. iamne inferorum, diva, sedere arbitri? sed ecce apertas carceris video fores. quis iste saxum immane detritis gerit

iam senior umeris? ecce iam victus lapis quaerit relabi. membra quis praebet rotae? hic ecce pallens dira Tisiphone stetit, causam reposcit. parce verberibus, precor, Megaera, parce, sustine Stygias faces:

1015 scelus est amoris.

995

Sed quid hoc? tellus labat

 $^{997-999a}$  The text printed is that of E, with referes corrected to referens (Bentley). As text includes the interpolated line 998: ita nulla peragas iussa, nec peragens mala / erres per orbem, si qua nascetur fera / referas parentem.

1003 vibrato *Peiper*: vipereo *EA* 1007 diva *A*: dira *E* 

Whether you decide to plunge your sword in my throat, or wish to assault your mother's womb, your mother will offer you unshrinking courage. Such a terrible crime will not be done wholly by you: it will be your hand that strikes me down, but my will. Alcides' son afraid? So will you not carry out orders or crush evils after your father's style? Prepare your hand fearlessly!<sup>66</sup> See, my sorrowful breast is open: strike!

I release you from the crime, the Eumenides themselves are going to spare your right hand. There is the sound of their cracking whips! Who is this whose hair writhes with quivering snakes, who flails the black wings at her fetid temples? Why do you pursue me with that blazing torch, dread Megaera? Demanding retribution for Alcides? I shall pay it. Are the underworld's judges already seated, goddess? But look, I see the prison doors open. Who is that man, now old, carrying a huge rock on his grazed shoulders? See, though mastered the boulder is already trying to roll back. Who surrenders his body to the wheel? See here, dread Tisiphone stands white-faced and demands my account of myself. Spare your lashes, I pray, Megaera, spare them, hold off your Stygian torches: my crime is one of love.

But what is this? The ground is trembling, the palace

<sup>66</sup> A's text of 997–999, with the interpolated line 998, seems to mean: "May you carry out no orders, nor wander through the world carrying out evils, but may you evoke your father whenever some wild beast arises—with this proviso: that you prepare your hand fearlessly."

<sup>67</sup> She again alludes to the punishments of Sisyphus and Ixion.

et aula tectis crepuit excussis. minax unde iste coetus? totus in vultus meos decurrit orbis, hinc et hinc populi fremunt, totusque poscit vindicem mundus suum. iam parcite, urbes! quo fugam praeceps agam? mors sola portus dabitur aerumnis meis. testor nitentis flammeam Phoebi rotam superosque testor: Herculem in terris adhuc moritura linquo.

#### HYLLUS

Fugit attonita, ei mihi.

1025 peracta iam pars matris est: statuit mori;
nunc nostra superest, mortis auferre impetum.
o misera pietas! si mori matrem vetas,
patri es scelestus; si mori pateris tamen,
in matre peccas: urget hinc illinc scelus.

1030 inhibenda tamen est; pergam et eripiam neci.

#### CHORUS

Thressae sub Rhodopes iugis aptans Pieriam chelyn Orpheus, Calliopae genus, aeternum fieri nihil.

Illius stetit ad modos torrentis rapidi fragor, oblitusque sequi fugas amisit liquor impetum; et dum fluminibus mora est.

defecisse putant Getae Hebrum Bistones ultimi.

Verum est quod cecinit sacer

1040

1035

buildings shaking and rattling. Where has this threatening crowd come from? The whole world is rushing to confront me, peoples are clamouring on every side, the whole earth demands its defender. Stop now, you nations! Where can I flee in haste? The only haven granted my troubles will be death. Witness bright Phoebus' fiery chariot, witness the gods above: in going to my death I leave Hercules still here on earth.

#### HYLLUS

Alas, she has rushed off in despair. Mother's part is concluded, she has decided to die; now mine remains, to thwart her impulse to die. Unhappy devotion! If you prevent your mother's death, you are culpable towards your father; yet if you allow her death, you offend against your mother. Wrongdoing threatens on each side. Yet she must be stopped; I shall go ahead and save her from suicide.

## CHORUS

The holy man sang true to his Pierian lyre below Rhodope's heights in Thrace —Orpheus, Calliope's child that nothing is made for ever.

At the strains of his music the roar of the whirling torrent stopped; forgetting to chase in flight the waters lost their headway; and as the rivers tarried the Getae, far into Bistonia, thought the Hebrus had failed.

1045	advexit volucrem nemus et silva residens venit; aut si qua aëra pervolat auditis vaga cantibus ales deficiens cadit.
1050	abrumpit scopulos Athos Centauros obiter ferens, et iuxta Rhodopen stetit laxata nive cantibus; et quercum fugiens suam
1055	ad vatem properat Dryas. ad cantus veniunt tuos ipsis cum latebris ferae, iuxtaque impavidum pecus sedit Marmaricus leo,
1060	nec dammae trepidant lupos et serpens latebras fugit tunc oblita veneni. Quin per Taenarias fores manes cum tacitos adît
1065	maerentem feriens chelyn, cantu Tartara flebili et tristes Erebi deos vicit, nec timuit Stygis iuratos superis lacus. haesit non stabilis rota
1070 1071 1081	victo languida turbine; increvit/Tityi iecur, dum cantus volucres tenet; et vinci lapis improbus

The woodland brought winged creatures, perched in the trees they came; but those flying in the open veered at the sound of his songs with faltering wings, and fell. Athos tore its crags free, carrying Centaurs along, and stopped near Rhodope, its snows melted by song. Dryads escaped from their oaks and hurried to hear the bard. Wild beasts came to your songs with their very hiding places; close to unterrified cattle sat the Marmaric lion: deer were not panicked by wolves, and serpents abandoned their lairs, for once forgetting their venom.

He even approached the silent shades through Taenarus' gates, plucking his mournful lyre.
With his tearful song he vanquished Tartarus and the sombre gods of Erebus, and braved the pools of Styx, the oath of heaven.
The restless wheel stayed put, inert, its spinning quelled;
Tityos' liver grew as the vultures were held by song; and the shameless stone could at last

1082	et vatem potuit sequi.
1075	tunc primum Phrygius senex
	undis stantibus immemor
	excussit rabidam sitim
1078	nec pomis adhibet manus.
1072	audis tu quoque, navita:
10.2	infermi ratis aequoris
1074	nullo remigio venit.
1079	sic cum blanda per inferos
1080	
	Orpheus carmina funderet,
1083	consumptos iterum deae
	supplent Eurydices colos.
1085	sed dum respicit immemor
	nec credens sibi redditam
	Orpheus Eurydicen sequi,
	cantus praemia perdidit:
	quae nata est iterum perit.
1090	Tunc solamina cantibus
	quaerens flebilibus modis
	haec Orpheus cecinit Getis:
	leges in superos datas
	et qui tempora digerens
1095	quattuor praecipitis deus
	anni disposuit vices;
	nulli non avidi colus
	Parcas stamina nectere:

1072–1074 placed after 1078 by Richter; 1081–1082 placed after 1071 by Peiper

1079 blanda per *Fitch*: inquirens *E*: linqueret *A* 1095 praecipitis *A*: praecipites *E* 

be mastered and follow the bard.68 For the first time then the old Phrygian, heedless of now still waters, shook off his rabid thirst. did not stretch his hands to the fruit. Boatman, you heard too: the ship of the underworld sea travelled without being rowed. When Orpheus poured such enchanting songs through the underworld, the goddesses filled again Eurydice's spent distaff.69 But in looking back, unmindful, not believing Eurydice restored and behind him, Orpheus lost the reward for his songs; reborn, she perished once more.

Then looking for solace in song
Orpheus in tearful measures
sang these themes to the Getae:
laws are established for heaven,
even for the god who arranges
the seasons, and sets in order
the headlong year's four changes;
the Parcae spin the greedy
distaff's threads for all;

 $<sup>^{68}</sup>$  The reference to Sisyphus' "shameless stone" echoes an Homeric phrase. Below, the old Phrygian is Tantalus, and the boatman Charon.

 $<sup>^{69}</sup>$  I.e. the Fates (called the Parcae below, 1098) replenished her life thread.

1100	quod natum est iterum mori. vati credere Thracio devictus iubet Hercules. Iam, iam legibus obrutis
	mundo cum veniet dies,
	australis polus obruet
1105	quidquid per Libyam iacet
	et sparsus Garamas tenet;
	arctous polus obruet
	quidquid subiacet axibus
	et siccus Boreas ferit.
1110	amisso trepidus polo
	Titan excutiet diem.
	caeli regia concidens
	ortus atque obitus trahet,
	atque omnes pariter deos
1115	perdet mors aliqua et chaos;
	et Mors fata novissima
	in se constituet sibi.
	Quis mundum capiet locus?
	discedet via Tartari,
1120	fractis ut pateat polis?
	an quod dividit aethera
	a terris spatium sat est
	et mundi nimium malis?
	quis tantum capiet nefas
1125	fati, quis superus locus
	pontum Tartara sidera
	regna unus capiet tria?

 $^{1099}$ iterum Fitch: poteritEA  $^{1125}$  fatirecc.: fatum A: fratrum E  $\,$  superus Ascensius: superis EA

what is born, dies once more. Hercules' overthrow bids us believe the Thracian bard.

Soon, when all laws are buried, when the day comes for the cosmos, the southern skies will bury all that lies in Libya's compass and is held by the sparse Garamantes; the northern skies will bury all that lies beneath the pole and is flailed by parching Boreas. In fear, with the firmament lost, the Titan will jettison daylight. The foundering palace of heaven will drag down East and West; Chaos and death of a kind will destroy all gods together; and Death will assign itself the final fate as its own.

What place will receive the cosmos? Will the path to Tartarus part to make room for the fractured skies? Or is the space that divides heaven from earth sufficient, bigger than the ruined cosmos? What place in heaven will hold such fate-wrought havoc—what single place will hold three realms, Tartarus, sea, and stars?

Sed quis non modicus fragor aures attonitas movet? est est Herculeus sonus.

## HERCULES

Converte, Titan clare, anhelantes equos, emitte noctem, pereat hic mundo dies quo morior, atra nube inhorrescat polus: obsta novercae! nunc, pater, caecum chaos reddi decebat, hinc et hinc compagibus 1135 ruptis uterque debuit frangi polus; quid parcis astris? Herculem amittis, pater. nunc partem in omnem, Iuppiter, specta poli, ne quis Gyges Thessalica iaculetur iuga et fiat Othrys pondus Encelado leve. 1140 laxabit atri carceris iam iam fores Pluton superbus, vincula excutiet patri caelumque reddet. ille qui pro fulmine tuisque facibus natus in terris eram, ad Styga revertor. surget Enceladus ferox 1145 mittetque quo nunc premitur in superos onus. regnum omne, genitor, aetheris dubium tibi

#### CHORUS

Non vana times, nate Tonantis: nunc Thessalicam Pelion Ossam premet, et Pindo congestus Athos

mors nostra faciet. antequam spolium tui caelum omne fiat, conde me tota, pater, mundi ruina, frange quem perdis polum.

1139 Gyges West: gigas EA (cf. 167)

1150

But what intemperate clamour strikes and astounds our ears? The sound of Hercules!

[He is carried in on a litter by servants]

# ACT 4

#### HERCULES

Bright Titan, turn around your panting horses, release the night! Let the world lose this day of my death, let heaven be roiled with black clouds: block my stepmother's view! Now, father, blind chaos should be restored; both poles should be smashed, the firmament shattered from end to end. Why spare the stars? You are losing Hercules, father. Now, Jupiter, look to every quarter of heaven, lest some Gyges hurl Thessalian peaks, and Othrys prove a light weight for Enceladus. Proud Pluto will shortly open the doors of his black prison, strike off his father's 70 chains and restore him to heaven. I, the one born on earth in lieu of your fiery thunderbolt, am returning to the Styx. Fierce Enceladus will arise and hurl at the gods the burden that now oppresses him. My death, father, will put the entire realm of the sky at risk for you. Before you are completely despoiled of the heavens, hide me, father, in the utter ruin of the cosmos, smash the sky that you are losing.

### CHORUS

Your fears are not empty, son of the Thunderer. Now Ossa in Thessaly will bear the weight of Pelion, and Athos piled on Pindus

<sup>70</sup> Saturn.

nemus aetheriis inseret astris;
vincet scopulos inde Typhoeus
et Tyrrhenam feret Inarimen;
feret Aetnaeos inde caminos
scindetque latus montis aperti
nondum Enceladus fulmine victus.

iam te caeli regna sequuntur.

#### HERCULES

Ego qui relicta morte, contempta Styge, per media Lethes stagna cum spolio redî quo paene lapsis excidit Titan equis, ego quem deorum regna senserunt tria,

1165 morior; nec ullus per meum stridet latus transmissus ensis aut meae telum necis saxum est nec instar montis abrupti lapis aut totus Othrys, non truci rictu gigas Pindo cadaver obruit toto meum:

1170 sine hoste vincor, quodque me torquet magis (o misera virtus!) summus Alcidae dies nullum malum prosternit; impendo, ei mihi, in nulla vitam facta. pro mundi arbiter superique quondam dexterae testes meae,

1175 pro cuncta tellus, Herculis vestri placet mortem perire? dirus o nobis pudor, o turpe fatum: femina Herculeae necis auctor feretur! morior Alcides quibus! invicta si me cadere feminea manu

voluere fata perque tam turpes colos mea mors cucurrit, cadere potuissem (ei mihi!)

1181 potuissem A: potuisset E ei mihi Lipsius: mihi EA

will poke its trees among heaven's stars. Then Typhon will prevail and lift the crags of Tyrrhene Inarime;<sup>71</sup> Enceladus, still not quelled by the lightning, will lift the forges of Etna then and rend the gaping mountain's flank. Heaven's realm is following you already.<sup>72</sup>

### HERCULES

I who left the world of death, who scorned the Styx and returned straight through Lethe's pools with my spoil, at sight of which the Titan was almost thrown by his stumbling horses—I, whose presence the gods' three realms have felt—am dying. Yet there is no grating sword thrust through my side; the weapon of my death is not a rock, nor a boulder big as a sheer mountain, nor the whole bulk of Othrys; no fiercely grimacing Giant buried my body beneath the whole of Pindus. I am defeated without an enemy, and as a greater torment—such grief to my valour!— Alcides' last day strikes down no evil; I am not expending my life, alas, on any deeds. O ruler of the universe, and gods above who once witnessed my handiwork, o entire earth: are you resolved that your Hercules' death should be wasted? What a dire disgrace for me, what an ignominious fate: a woman will be called the author of Hercules' death! Alcides dies-at whose hands! If the unvielding fates wished me to fall by a woman's hand, if my death ran on such an ignominious thread, I could have fallen (what

 $<sup>^{71}</sup>$  Beneath which he is pinned, as Enceladus is beneath Mt Etna.

<sup>72</sup> I.e. into ruin.

Iunonis odio; feminae caderem minis, sed caelum habentis. si nimis superis fuit, Scythico sub axe genita domuisset meas

vires Amazon. feminae cuius manu
Iunonis hostis vincor! hinc gravior tui, noverca, pudor est. quid diem hunc laetum vocas? quid tale tellus genuit iratae tibi? mortalis odia femina excessit tua.

1190 adhuc furebas esse te Alcidae imparem:

adhuc furebas esse te Alcidae imparem: victa es duobus. pudeat irarum deos!

Utinam meo cruore satiasset suos Nemeaea rictus pestis, aut centum anguibus vallatus hydram tabe pavissem mea!

utinam fuissem praeda Centauris datus, aut inter umbras vinctus aeterno miser saxo sederem! spolia nunc traxi ultima Fato stupente, nunc ab inferna Styge lucem recepi, Ditis evici moras,

ubique mors me fugit—ut titulo inclitae mortis carerem. pro ferae, victae ferae!
non me triformis sole conspecto canis ad Styga reduxit, non sub Hesperio polo Hibera vicit turba pastoris feri,
non gemina serpens; perdidi mortem, ei mihi,

totiens honestam: titulus extremus quis est!

1183 superis A: superi E 1190 furebas *Gruter*: ferebas *EA* 1197 nunc *Leo*: cum *EA* 1200 titulo *Heinsius*: leto *EA* 1201 mortis E: fortis A: sortis *Leo* 

torment!) to Juno's hatred; my fall would have come through the onslaught of a female, but one who holds heaven. If that was too much for the gods, an Amazon born beneath the Scythian sky could have tamed my strength. But what a woman it is whose hand defeats me, the opponent of Juno! Yet the shame of this is more grievous for you, stepmother! Why do you call this a happy day? Did earth produce anything comparable to serve your anger? A mortal woman has surpassed your hatred. You were still enraged at being unequal to Alcides: now you are bested by two. The gods should be ashamed of their anger!

If only the Nemean scourge had sated its gaping jaws on my blood, or I had fed the hydra with my gore, walled in by its hundred snakes! If only I had been given to Centaurs as pillage, or were seated among the shades, bound pitifully fast to eternal rock! As it is, I dragged forth the remotest spoil (to Fate's amazement), reached the daylight once more from infernal Styx, won past the barriers of Dis, everywhere death has fled from me—so I should lack the distinction of a glorious death. Ah, those wild beasts, the beasts I conquered! The triform hound could not take me back to the Styx when he glimpsed the sun; under western skies the savage herdsman's Spanish throng could not defeat me, nor could the twin serpents. Alas, I have squandered an honourable death so often: and look at my final claim to glory!

 $<sup>^{73}</sup>$  An allusion to the duress in the underworld from which he rescued Theseus.

 $<sup>^{74}</sup>$  I.e. the cattle of Geryon. The twin serpents were sent by Juno against Hercules in his cradle.

## CHORUS

Viden ut laudis conscia virtus non Lethaeos horreat amnes? pudet auctoris, non morte dolet; cupit extremum finire diem vasta tumidi mole gigantis et montiferum Titana pati rabidaeque necem debere ferae. sed tua causa est, miserande, manus, quod nulla fera est nullusque gigas. iam quis dignus necis Herculeae superest auctor nisi dextra tui?

# HERCULES

Eheu quis intus scorpios, quis fervida plaga revulsus cancer infixus meas
1220 urit medullas? aëris quondam capax tumidi specus pulmonis arentes fibras distendit, ardet felle siccato iecur, totumque lentus sanguinem avexit vapor. primam cutem consumpsit, hinc aditum nefas

1225 in membra fecit, abstulit pestis latus, exedit artus penitus et totas malum hausit medullas; ossibus vacuis sedet. nec ossa durant ipsa, sed compagibus discussa ruptis mole collapsa fluunt.

1230 defecit ingens corpus et pesti satis Herculea non sunt membra. pro, quantum est malum quod esse vastum fateor, o dirum nefas!

1214 miserande Bentley: miseranda EA

1216 iam A: nam E 1220 aëris Fitch: sanguinis EA

1221 specus Fitch: iecur EA

1210

### CHORUS

You see how valour is alert to fame and has no dread of Lethe River?

Not grieved by death, but shamed by its source, he longs to end his final day crushed by a maddened, hulking giant, to succumb to a mountain-bearing Titan or owe his demise to a ravening beast.

But your hand is the cause, pitiable man, of the fact that there is no beast, no giant. What fitting source of Hercules' death remains except your own right hand?

### HERCULES

Ah, what scorpion inside me, what crab torn from the torrid zone <sup>75</sup> and embedded in me scorches my vitals? Once capable of taking in air, my hollow lungs as they inhale now strain the dry tissue; my liver burns, its gall dried up, and the smouldering heat has driven off all my blood. The fiendish thing first consumed my skin, and from there made its way into my body; the scourge wasted my flanks, the bane completely devoured my limbs; it drained all the marrow from my bones, and is lodged in their hollows. The bones themselves cannot stay firm, they pull apart as the joints rupture, lose their mass and dissolve. My huge body has become insufficient, the Herculean limbs are not enough for this scourge. Oh how great is the bane that I acknowledge as vast! Oh terrible fiend!

75 I.e. the equatorial zone of the heavens, in which the constellation Cancer lies. Scorpio is traditionally described as "blazing."

En cernite, urbes, cernite ex illo Hercule quid iam supersit. Herculem agnoscis, pater? hisne ego lacertis colla Nemeaei mali 1235 elisa pressi? tensus hac arcus manu astris ab ipsis detulit Stymphalidas? his ego citatam gressibus vici feram radiante clarum fronte gestantem caput? his fracta Calpe manibus elisit fretum? 1240 his tot ferae, tot scelera, tot reges iacent? his mundus umeris sedit? haec moles mei est. haecne illa cervix? has ego opposui manus caelo ruenti? quis mea custos manu trahetur ultra Stygius? ubi vires, pater, 1245 in me sepultae?—quid patrem appello Iovem? quid per Tonantem vindico caelum mihi? iam, iam meus credetur Amphitryon pater. Quaecumque pestis viscere in nostro lates. 1250 procede: quid me vulnere occulto petis? quis te sub axe frigido Pontus Scythes, quae pigra Tethys genuit aut Maurum premens Hibera Calpe litus? o dirum malum! utrumne serpens squalidum crista caput

vibrans, an aliquod et mihi ignotum es malum?
numquid cruore es genita Lernaeae ferae,
an te reliquit Stygius in terris canis?
omne es malum nullumque! quis vultus tibi est?
concede saltem scire quo peream malo;
1260 quaecumque pestis sive quaecumque es fera,

1245f. pater / in me (or parens / in me) Fitch: prius / in me EA: prius / memet Gronovius

1247 mihi A: miser E

1255 es Fitch: est A: line omitted by E

Behold, you nations, behold what now remains of that great Hercules. Do you recognise Hercules, father? Was it with these arms that I crushed and choked the neck of the Nemean menace? Did this hand draw the bow that brought down the Stymphalian birds from the very stars? Was it with these feet that I vanguished the swift beast that displayed a bright head with radiant brows?<sup>76</sup> Was it with these hands that Calpe was cleft, so the sea was forced through it? With these hands that so many beasts, so many crimes, so many kings were felled? On these shoulders that the sky rested? Is this my massive build, this that great neck? Are these the hands I set against heaven's fall? What guardian of Styx will be hauled any more by my hand? Where is my strength, father, now buried within me? But why do I call Jove father? Why lay claim to the heavens by right of the Thunderer? Now truly people will believe Amphitryon my father.

Whatever you are, you scourge hiding in my guts, come forth! Why strike me with a concealed wound? What Scythian Pontus engendered you beneath the chill pole, what sluggish ocean, or Spanish Calpe crowding the Moorish coast? Oh terrible evil! Are you a snake darting its coarse-crested head, or some evil unknown even to me? Were you bred from the blood of the Lernean beast, or left behind on earth by the Stygian hound? You are all evils, and none! What do you look like? At least allow me to know what evil is killing me! Whatever scourge, whatever beast

<sup>76</sup> The Arcadian hind had golden antlers.

palam timere! quis tibi in medias locum fecit medullas? ecce direpta cute viscera manus detexit, ulterior tamen inventa latebra est—o malum simile Herculi!

1265 Unde iste fletus? unde in has lacrimae genas? invictus olim vultus et numquam malis lacrimas suis praebere consuetus (pudet) iam flere didicit. quis dies fletum Herculis, quae terra vidit? siccus aerumnas tuli.

1270 tibi illa virtus, quae tot elisit mala, tibi cessit uni; prima et ante omnes mihi fletum abstulisti. durior saxo horrido et chalybe vultus et vaga Symplegade victus minas infregit et lacrimam expulit.

1275 flentem, gementem, summe pro rector poli, me terra vidit, quodque me torquet magis, noverca vidit. urit ecce iterum fibras, incaluit ardor: unde nunc fulmen mihi?

## CHORUS

Quid non possit superare dolor?
quondam Getico durior Haemo
nec Parrhasio lentior axe
saevo cessit membra dolori,
fessumque movens per colla caput
latus alterno pondere flectit.

1285 fletum virtus saepe resorbet:
sic arctoas laxare nives
quamvis tepido sidere Titan

<sup>1261</sup> timere Wilamowitz: timeri E: timeres A <sup>1274</sup> victus minas Axelson: rictus meos EA

you are, be feared in the open! Who made you a place in the very marrow of my bones? See, my hand tore away the skin and uncovered my guts—yet you found some remoter

hiding place. Oh evil resembling Hercules!77

But why this weeping? Why tears on these cheeks? This face, once invincible and never given to bestowing tears on its troubles, has now learnt—shame on me!—to cry. What day, what land has seen Hercules in tears? I bore my hardships dry-eyed. To you that valour that crushed so many evils has yielded—to you alone. 78 You first, and in front of all, have drawn weeping from me. This face, harder than rugged rock or steel or the shifting Symplegades, has been overcome, abated its threats and forced out tears. By the high ruler of heaven! The earth has seen me crying and groaning, and what torments me more, my stepmother has seen it. Ah! The heat has intensified and burns my tissues again. Where is the thunderbolt to strike me?

# CHORUS

Could anything *not* be conquered by pain? Formerly harder than Getic Haemus, no softer than the Parrhasian pole, he has yielded his limbs to the cruel pain. His neck tosses his weary head and he shifts his weight from side to side. Yet his valour repeatedly chokes back tears: just so, however hot his orb, the Titan does not make bold to melt

78 I.e. the poison.

<sup>77</sup> In finding a way to the remotest places (cf. 33, 1197, 1765).

non tamen audet, vincitque faces solis adulti glaciale iubar.

### HERCULES

- 1290 Converte vultus ad meas clades, pater.
  numquam ad tuas confugit Alcides manus,
  non cum per artus hydra fecundum meos
  caput explicaret; inter infernos lacus
  possessus atra nocte cum Fato steti
- nec invocavi; tot feras vici horridas, reges, tyrannos, non tamen vultus meos in astra torsi. semper haec nobis manus votum spopondit; nulla propter me sacro micuere caelo fulmina. hic aliquid dies
- 1300 optare iussit; primus audierit preces idemque summus. unicum fulmen peto; giganta crede! non minus caelum mihi asserere potui; dum patrem verum puto, caelo peperci. sive crudelis, pater,
- 1305 sive es misericors, commoda nato manum properante morte et occupa hanc laudem tibi.

Vel si piget manusque detrectat nefas, emitte Siculo vertice ardentes, pater, Titanas, in me qui manu Pindum ferant

Ossaque qui me monte proiecto opprimant. abrumpat Erebi claustra, me stricto petat Bellona ferro; mitte Gradivum trucem, armetur in me dirus: est frater quidem,

 $^{1289}$  faces  $E\colon \text{nefas }A$  adulti Zintzerling: adusti EA  $^{1310}$  Ossaque Housman: aut ossa  $E\colon \text{aut te ossa }A$ 

the arctic snows; the sun's full blaze is overpowered by the radiance of the ice.

### HERCULES

Turn your eyes on my destruction, father! Alcides has never fled to your hands: not when the hydra stretched its fertile heads over my body; amidst the infernal pools in the grip of black night I stood with Fate, and did not call upon you; I conquered so many beasts, kings, tyrants, without turning my eyes up to the stars. Always this right hand has guaranteed what I prayed for; no thunderbolts have flashed out of the holy heavens on my account. But this day has bidden me request something. It will be the first to have heard my prayers, and the last. I ask for just one thunderbolt; consider me a giant! I could have laid claim to heaven no less than they; but believing you my true father, I spared the heavens. Whether in callousness or in mercy, father, lend your hand to your son in a speedy death, and appropriate this glory as your own. So

Or if that is repellent, if your hand recoils from such outrage, release the burning Titans from the Sicilian height, 81 father, so they can bear Pindus against me, fling Mt Ossa down on me and crush me. Let Bellona break the bonds of Erebus and attack me with sword drawn; send grim Gradivus, let him put on his dread armour against

 $^{79}$  Jupiter had used his thunderbolts against the giants who attacked heaven.

<sup>80</sup> The "glory" of killing Hercules, which would otherwise accrue to Deianira or Juno.

81 Etna.

sed ex noverca. Tu quoque, Alcidae soror
tantum ex parente, cuspidem in fratrem tuum
iaculare, Pallas. Supplices tendo manus
ad te, noverca: sparge tu saltem, precor,
telum; perire feminae possum manu.
iam fracta, iam satiata quid pascis minas?

1320 quid quaeris ultra? supplicem Alciden vides,
et nulla tellus, nulla me vidit fera

quid quaeris ultra? supplicem Alciden vides, et nulla tellus, nulla me vidit fera te deprecantem. nunc mihi irata quidem opus est noverca: nunc tuus cessat dolor? nunc odia ponis? parcis ubi votum est mori!

O terra et urbes, non facem quisquam Herculi, non arma tradet? tela subtrahitis mihi? ita nulla saevas terra concipiat feras post me sepultum, nec meas umquam manus imploret orbis, si qua nascentur mala nascatur ultor: undique infelix caput

nascatur ultor: undique infelix caput mactate saxis, vincite aerumnas meas. ingrate cessas orbis? excidimus tibi? adhuc malis ferisque suppositus fores, ni me tulisses. vindicem vestrum malis
eripite, populi. tempus hoc vobis datur pensare merita; mors erit pretium omnium.

### ALCMENE

Quas misera terras mater Alcidae petam? ubi natus, ubinam est? certa si visus notat, reclinis ecce corde anhelante aestuat; gemit: peractum est. membra complecti ultimum, o nate, liceat; spiritus fugiens meo

1322 quidem A: pater E

1325

me; he is my brother, true, but by my stepmother. You too, sister to Alcides by his father only: hurl your sharp spear, Pallas, against your brother. I stretch out my hands in supplication to you, stepmother, I pray you: you at least must fire a thunderbolt; I can accept death at a female's hand. When already assuaged and satiated, why continue to feed your hostility? What more do you want? You see Alcides as a suppliant, and no land, no beast, has yet seen me begging you for mercy. Now I need an angry stepmother. Now your rage quits? Now you put aside hatred? You spare me when my prayer is to die!

O earth and its peoples: will no one hand Hercules a torch or arms? Do you keep weapons from me? I pray that no land may breed savage beasts after I am buried, that the world may never appeal to my hands, and that if evils are born, an avenger may be born—on this condition: surround me and stone my ill-fated self to death, vanquish my sufferings. Do you fail me, ungrateful world? Have you forgotten me? You would still be subject to troubles and wild beasts, if you had not borne me. Rescue your champion from his troubles, you nations. You are given this chance to repay my services; death will requite them all.

### ALCMENE

[Entering] What lands must Alcides' wretched mother seek out? Where is my son, where in the world? If my sight is sure, see he lies there, panting and tossing feverishly; he groans: he is finished. Let me embrace your limbs for the last time, my son, and gather your fleeting life-breath

<sup>1330</sup> ultor Peiper: alius A: odium E

<sup>1340</sup> ultimum Bothe: ultima EA

legatur ore: bracchia amplexu cape. ubi membra sunt? ubi illa quae mundum tulit stelligera cervix? quis tibi exiguam tui partem reliquit?

#### HERCULES

Herculem spectas quidem, mater, sed umbram et vile nescioquid mei. agnosce, mater—ora quid flectis retro vultumque mergis? Herculem dici tuum partum erubescis?

#### ALCMENE

Quis feram mundus novam, quae terra genuit? quodve tam dirum nefas de te triumphat? victor Herculeus quis est?

HERCULES

Nuptae iacentem cernis Alciden dolis.

ALCMENE

Quis tantus est qui vincat Alciden dolus?

HERCULES

Quicumque, mater, feminae iratae sat est.

ALCMENE

1355 Et unde in artus pestis aut ossa incidit?

HERCULES

Aditum venenis palla femineis dedit.

ALCMENE

Ubinam ista palla est? membra nudata intuor.

HERCULES

Consumpta mecum est.

1345

with my lips; accept my embracing arms. Where are those limbs? Where that star-bearing neck that supported heaven? Who has left you so small a remnant of yourself?

### HERCULES

It is indeed Hercules you behold, mother, but a shadow and paltry *whatever* of myself. Recognise me, mother—why do you turn your eyes away and cover your face? Do you blush that Hercules is called your offspring?

# ALCMENE

What world, what land has engendered some new beast? What terrible evil can triumph over you? Who is Hercules' conqueror?

### HERCULES

It is through my wife's deceit that you see Alcides laid low.

## ALCMENE

What deceit is great enough to conquer Alcides?

# HERCULES

Any, mother, that suffices a woman's anger.

### ALCMENE

And how did the bane invade your flesh and bones?

### HERCULES

A robe gave access to the woman's poisons.

# ALCMENE

Wherever is this robe? I see bare limbs.

#### HERCULES

It was devoured together with me.

# ALCMENE

Tantane inventa est lues?

### HERCULES

Errare mediis crede visceribus meis,
o mater, hydram et mille cum Lerna feras.
quae tanta nubes flamma Sicanias secat,
quae Lemnos ardens, quae plaga igniferi poli
vetans flagranti currere in zona diem?
in ipsa me iactate, pro comites, freta
mediosque in amnes!—quis sat est Hister mihi

5 mediosque in amnes!—quis sat est Hister mihi? non ipse terris maior Oceanus meos franget vapores; omnis in nostris malis deficiet umor, omnis arescet latex.

Quid, rector Erebi, me remittebas Iovi? decuit tenere. redde me tenebris tuis, talem subactis Herculem ostende inferis. nil inde ducam; quid times iterum Herculem? invade, Mors, non trepida: iam possum mori.

#### ALCMENE

Compesce lacrimas saltem et aerumnas doma, malisque tantis Herculem indomitum refer, mortemque differ: quos soles vince inferos.

### HERCULES

Si me catenis horridus vinctum suis praeberet avidae Caucasus volucri dapem, Scythia gemente flebilis gemitus mihi non excidisset. si vagae Symplegades

1370

1375

 $<sup>^{82}</sup>$  I.e. the fire of Mt Etna.  $^{83}$  A hyperbolic suggestion that the equatorial zone in the heavens is too hot even for the sun, whose path (ecliptic) lies outside that zone in summer.

# ALCMENE

Has such a potent scourge been devised?

#### HERCULES

Believe me, mother, in my very guts there roams the hydra-and a thousand beasts along with Lerna. Is the flame as hot that pierces the clouds of Sicily,82 or the blaze of Lemnos, or the tract of the fiery sky that bars the sun from coursing in its burning zone?83 My comrades, hurl me far into the sea, into the midst of rivers! Yet what Hister can suffice me? Not even Ocean, though vaster than all lands, can quell my fever; against this torment of mine all moisture will fail, all water dry up.

O ruler of Erebus, why did you try to return me to Jove? You should have kept me. Take me back to your darkness, show Hercules in this state to the underworld he conquered! I shall take nothing thence; why do you fear Hercules once more? Attack me, Death, without fear: now I

am capable of dying.

### ALCMENE

At least control your tears and master your suffering! Once more show Hercules unconquered by such ordeals. And postpone your death: as is your custom, vanquish the powers below.

## HERCULES

If the jagged Caucasus offered me, bound in chains, to the greedy vulture to feast on,84 though Scythia might have groaned, no tearful groan would have escaped me. If the wandering Symplegades crushed me between their two

84 He thinks of the torment from which he freed Prometheus.

utraque premerent rupe, redeuntis minas ferrem ruinae. Pindus incumbat mihi atque Haemus et qui Thracios fluctus Athos frangit Iovisque fulmen excipiens Mimas. non ipse si in me, mater, hic mundus ruat superque nostros flagret incensus toros Phoebeus axis, degener mentem Herculis clamor domaret. mille decurrant ferae pariterque lacerent, hinc feris clangoribus aetheria me Stymphalis, hinc taurus minax cervice tota pulset, et quidquid fuit solum quoque ingens; surgat hinc illinc nemus artusque nostros dirus immittat Sinis:

sparsus silebo. non ferae excutient mihi, non arma gemitus, nil quod impelli potest.

### ALCMENE

Non virus artus, nate, femineum coquit, sed dura series operis et longus tibi pavit cruentos forsitan morbos labor.

#### HERCULES

Ubi morbus, ubinam est? estne adhuc aliquid mali in orbe mecum? veniat huc! aliquis mihi intendat arcus—nuda sufficiet manus. procedat agedum!

#### ALCMENE

Vae mihi, sensus quoque excussit illi nimius impulsos dolor. 1407 dolor iste furor est; Herculem solus domat. 1404 Removete quaeso tela et infestas, precor,

1402 vae Fitch: ei E; et A

1385

1390

1395

crags, I would endure the menace of their returning on-slaught. Pindus could bear down on me, and Haemus, and Athos that breaks the waves of Thrace, and Mimas that receives Jove's thunderbolts. Not even if the very heavens should fall upon me, mother, and Phoebus' burning chariot blaze above my couch, would unworthy cries master the spirit of Hercules. Let a thousand beasts together run at me and rend me; let the airborne Stymphalians strike me on this side with their wild cries, and on that side a menacing bull with all the force of his neck—and whatever was prodigious just in itself. On each side let trees spring up, and dread Sinis shoot my limbs skyward; though torn apart, I shall remain silent. No beasts, no weapons, nothing assailable will draw groans from me.

### ALCMENE

It is no woman's poison, my son, that scorches your body, but the arduous round of labours and lengthy toil has perhaps bred bloody diseases in you.

#### HERCULES

Where is disease, where in the world? Is there still some evil on earth with me? Let it approach! Reach me my bow, someone. No, my bare hand will suffice. Let it come on, now!

#### ALCMENE

Alas, even his senses have been overthrown and driven out by excessive pain. Pain causes this madness; it alone can master Hercules. [To attendants] Please remove his weap-

<sup>1403</sup> illi Bentley: ille EA

<sup>1407</sup> placed after 1403 by Zwierlein

1405 rapite hinc sagittas: igne suffuso genae scelus minantur. quas petam latebras anus?—

1408 cur deinde latebras aut fugam vecors petam? obire forti meruit Alcmene manu.

1410 vel scelere pereat, antequam letum mihi ignavus aliquis mandat ac turpis manus de me triumphat.

> Ecce lassatus malis sopore fessas alligat venas dolor, gravique anhelum pectus impulsu quatit.

1415 Favete, superi! si mihi natum inclitum miserae negastis, vindicem saltem, precor, servate terris. abeat excussus dolor, corpusque vires reparet Herculeum novas.

## HYLLUS

Pro lux acerba, pro capax scelerum dies!
1420 nurus Tonantis occidit, natus iacet,
nepos supersum; scelere materno hic perit,
fraude illa capta est. quis per annorum vices
totoque in aevo poterit aerumnas senex
referre tantas? unus eripuit dies

1425 parentem utrumque. cetera ut sileam mala parcamque fatis, Herculem amitto patrem.

### ALCMENE

Compesce voces, inclitum Alcidae genus miseraeque fato similis Alcmenae nepos: longus dolorem forsitan vincet sopor.

1430 —sed ecce, lassam deserit mentem quies redditque morbo corpus et luctum mihi.

1418 novas Axelson: nefas E: suas A

ons, quickly carry those menacing arrows away from here, I pray you: his blazing eyes threaten some crime. What refuge shall an old woman look for? But then, why look for refuge or escape? Folly! Alcmene deserves to die by a valiant hand. Let her even perish by crime, before some coward assigns me death, or some dishonorable hand triumphs over me.

But see, the exhaustion of suffering and pain is binding his weary frame in sleep; his chest heaves and shakes in a laboured rhythm. Show him favour, you gods! If you have denied me my famous son to my sorrow, at least save the world its champion, I pray. Let his pain be driven away, and

the body of Hercules regain strength anew.

## HYLLUS

[Entering] O bitter light, o day disposed to crimes! The Thunderer's daughter-in-law is dead, and his son laid low, while I his grandson survive; he is dying through my mother's crime, she was taken in by deceit. What old man could tell of such sorrows through the passing years, through the whole of his life? One day has stolen both my parents. To say nothing of my other troubles, and not to reproach the fates, I am losing Hercules as my father.

## ALCMENE

Curb your words, glorious son of Alcides, and grandson of unhappy Alcmene with a fate like hers! Perhaps a lengthy sleep will subdue his pain. But see, rest is forsaking his weary mind, returning his body to sickness, and heartache to me.

## HERCULES

Quid hoc? rigenti cernitur Trachin iugo? an inter astra positus evasi genus mortale tandem? quis mihi caelum parat?

te te, pater, iam video; placatam quoque specto novercam. quis sonus nostras ferit caelestis aures? Iuno me generum vocat. video nitentem regiam clari aetheris Phoebique tritam flammea zonam rota.

—cubile video noctis; hinc tenebrae vocant.
 quid hoc? quis axem claudit et ab ipsis, pater,
 deducit astris? ora Phoebeus modo
 afflabat axis, tam prope a caelo fui—
 Trachina video; quis mihi terras dedit?

Oete modo infra steterat ac totus fuit suppositus orbis; tam bene excideras, dolor! cogis fateri—parce et hanc vocem occupa.

Haec, Hylle, dona matris; hoc munus parat!
utinam liceret stipite ingesto impiam

1450 effringere animam, quale Amazonium malum
circa nivalis Caucasi domui latus.
o clara Megara, tune cum furerem mihi
coniunx fuisti? stipitem atque arcus date;
dextra inquinetur, laudibus maculam imprimam,
1455 summus legatur femina Herculeus labor.

# HYLLUS

Compesce diras, genitor, irarum minas: habet, peractum est, quas petis poenas dedit;

<sup>1440</sup> tenebrae vocant *E*: tenebras vocat *A*<sup>1452</sup> clara *EA*: cara *Heinsius* 

#### HERCULES

What is this? Is it Trachis I see with its rugged mountains? Or have I finally escaped the human race and been set among the stars? Who is giving me access to heaven? You, father, I see you now; my stepmother too, in a reconciled mood. What is this heavenly sound that strikes my ears? Juno calls me son-in-law!<sup>85</sup> I can see bright heaven's glittering palace, and the circling track worn by Phoebus' fiery wheels. But now I see the couch of night; darkness calls me away. What is this? Who is closing the firmament, father, and pulling me down from among the stars? Just now Phoebus' horses were breathing on my face, I was so close to heaven! It is Trachis I see. Who has given me the earth? Just now Oeta stood below me, the whole world lay beneath my feet. It was so good to forget you, my pain! You force me to admit—stop, forestall those words!<sup>86</sup>

Hyllus, this is your mother's gift, this the boon she bestows! If only I could crush out her life with blows of my club, just as I tamed the Amazon menace around the flanks of snowy Caucasus. O renowned Megara, were *you* my wife at the time of my madness? [To attendants] Give here my club and my bow. I must stain my right hand and sully my glory, and a woman must be chosen as Hercules' final labour.

# HYLLUS

Stop these terrible threats arising from your anger, father. It's done, all over!<sup>88</sup> She has paid the penalty you demand.

<sup>85</sup> He is to become so through marriage to Hebe.

<sup>86</sup> He was about to admit that the pain is too strong for him.

<sup>87</sup> It should have been Deianira.

 $<sup>^{88}</sup>$  The gladiatorial formula, used also at 1472 and  $Ag\ 901.$ 

sua perempta dextera mater iacet.

#### HERCULES

Caecus dolore es! manibus irati Herculis occidere meruit; perdidit comitem Lichas. saevire in ipsum corpus exanime impetus atque ira cogit. cur minis nostris caret ipsum cadaver? pabulum accipiant ferae.

### HYLLUS

Plus misera laeso doluit; hinc aliquid quoque
detrahere velles. occidit dextra sua,
tuo dolore; plura quam poscis tulit.
sed non cruentae sceleribus nuptae iaces
nec fraude matris: Nessus hos struxit dolos
ictus sagittis qui tuis vitam expulit.
cruore tincta est palla semiferi, pater,
Nessusque nunc has exigit poenas sibi.

### HERCULES

Habet, peractum est! fata se nostra explicant; lux ista summa est. quercus hanc sortem mihi fatidica quondam dederat et Parnassio Cirrhaea quatiens templa mugitu nemus: "Dextra perempti victor, Alcide, viri

olim iacebis; hic tibi emenso freta terrasque et umbras finis extremus datur." nil querimur ultra: decuit hunc finem dari, 1480 ne quis superstes Herculis victor foret.

 $^{1459}$  caecus dolore es  $\it Fitch$ : caeci\* dolores A: recte dolor es E: cecidit dolose  $\it Richter$ 

Mother lies dead, slain by her own hand.

### HERCULES

You are blinded by grief! She deserved to perish at the hands of Hercules in his rage. Lichas has lost a counterpart. Impulse and anger drive me beserk, even against her lifeless body. Why should she be spared my violence even as a corpse? Let wild beasts have her to feed on!

### HYLLUS

The poor woman suffered more pain than the one she harmed; you might even have wanted to lighten it. She died by her own hand, but by reason of your pain. She endured more than you are demanding. But it was no crime of a murderous wife that brought you down, no treachery of my mother's. Nessus was the one that devised this trick, when he was hit by your arrows and breathed his last. The robe was smeared with the blood of that half-beast, father; now Nessus is exacting his recompense.

### HERCULES

It's done, all over! My fate unfolds; this is my final day. This destiny was foretold me long ago by the prophetic oak, the tree that shakes Cirrha's shrine as it resounds on Parnassus: By the hand of a dead man, Alcides, you will one day be laid low, though his victor. This final end is assigned you, following your travels across seas and lands and the world of shadows." I make no further protest. This end was rightly assigned me, so no one should conquer Hercules and live.

<sup>89</sup> The "speaking oak" of Chaonia may here be identified with Apollo's laurel at Delphi (*Oed* 228); or two separate prophecies may be meant.

Nunc mors legatur clara memoranda inclita, me digna prorsus: nobilem hunc faciam diem. caedatur omnis silva et Oetaeum nemus concipiat ignes; Herculem accipiat rogus, sed ante mortem. Tu, genus Poeantium, hoc triste nobis, iuvenis, officium appara: Herculea totum flamma succendat diem.

Ad te preces nunc, Hylle, supremas fero.
est clara captas inter, in vultu genus

1490 regnumque referens, Euryto virgo edita
Iole: tuis hanc facibus et thalamis para.
victor cruentus abstuli patriam lares
nihilque miserae praeter Alciden dedi—
et ipse rapitur. penset aerumnas suas,

1495 Iovis nepotem foveat et natum Herculis;
tibi illa pariat quidquid ex nobis habet.

Tuque ipsa planctus pone funereos, precor, o clara genetrix: vivet Alcides tibi. virtute nostra paelicem feci tuam credi novercam, sive nascenti Herculi nox illa certa est sive mortalis meus pater est. licet sit falsa progenies mei, materna culpa cesset et crimen Iovis, merui parentem: contuli caelo decus, natura me concepit in laudes Iovis

natura me concepit in laudes Iovis. quin ipse, quamquam maximus, credi meus pater esse gaudet. parce iam lacrimis, parens: superba matres inter Argolicas eris.

 $^{1498}$  vivet A: vivit E  $^{1500}$  nascenti Herculi  $\it Viansino:$  nascente hercule A: nascentē herculē E $^{1506}$  maximus  $\it Fitch:$  iuppiter\*  $\it EA$ 

1485

Now I must choose a death that will be glorious, memorable, renowned, and thoroughly worthy of me. I must make this day famous. Let all the woodland be cut, and Oeta's forest be set on fire; let a pyre receive Hercules but before his death. Son of Poeas:90 you must undertake this sad duty for me, young man. Let the flames of Hercu-

les' pyre light up the whole day!

To you I direct my final request now, Hyllus. Among the captives is an illustrious girl, whose face attests her royal birth—the daughter of Eurytus, Iole. Make her your bride in torchlit nuptials. As a bloody conqueror I robbed her of fatherland and home, and gave the poor woman nothing save Alcides. Now he too is taken from her. Let her have some recompense for her sorrows in cherishing Jove's grandson, Hercules' son. If she has conceived a child by me, let her bring it to birth for you.

You too, my famous mother, must put aside laments over my death, I pray you. For you Alcides will be alive. My valour has resulted in my stepmother being thought a mere rival of yours, whether that celebrated night is beyond doubt for Hercules' conception, or whether my father is mortal. My pedigree may be false, an end may be put to my mother's shame and Jove's discredit, 91 yet I have come to deserve his parentage. I have brought heaven renown, nature conceived me for Jove's greater glory. Even he, though almighty, is glad to be thought my father. Stop your tears now, mother: you will be proud among the

91 Both are entailed by the story that Jupiter fathered Hercules on Alcmene.

<sup>90</sup> Philoctetes: he could have arrived with Hercules' bearers at the beginning of the Act.

quid tale Iuno genuit aetherium gerens 1510 sceptrum et Tonanti nupta? mortali tamen caelum tenens invidit, Alciden suum dici esse voluit.

Perage nunc, Titan, vices solus relictus: ille qui vester comes ubique fueram, Tartara et manes peto. hanc tamen ad imos perferam laudem inclitam, quod nulla pestis fudit Alciden palam, omnemque pestem vicit Alcides palam.

### CHORUS

O decus mundi, radiate Titan. cuius ad primos Hecate vapores lassa nocturnae levat ora bigae: 1520 dic sub Aurora positis Sabaeis, die sub occasu positis Hiberis, quique ferventi quatiuntur axe, quique sub plaustro patiuntur Ursae, dic ad aeternos properare manes 1525 Herculem et regnum canis inquieti, unde non umquam remeabit ille. sume quos nubes radios sequantur, pallidus maestas speculare terras et caput turpes nebulae pererrent. 1530 quando, pro Titan, ubi, quo sub axe

1527 remeabit Leo: remeavit EA ille S

ille Schenkl: ullus A: inde E

 $<sup>^{92}</sup>$  This cosmic announcement is adapted by Chapman, Bussy  $D'Ambois\,\rm V.4.99–107:$  "haste thee where the grey-eyed morn per-

mothers of Greece. Has Juno, wife of the Thunderer and wielder of the heavenly sceptre, given birth to anything comparable? Ruling the heavens, she still envied a mortal, and wished Alcides was called her own.

Now you are left, Titan, to carry out your rounds alone; I, who accompanied you everywhere, am making for the shades of Tartarus. Yet I shall bear this glorious renown into the depths, that no scourge openly slew Alcides, and every scourge was openly defeated by Alcides. [Exeunt omnes, Hercules carried on the litter]

### CHORUS

Glory of heaven, radiant Titan, at whose first warming daylight Hecate looses her weary team of night: tell the Sabaeans beside the dawn, tell the Spaniards beside the sunset, and those who are shaken by your blazing chariot or suffer beneath the Bear's own Wain: Hercules is passing quickly to eternal shades, to the kingdom of the unquiet hound, from which he will never return again. 92 Choose such rays as clouds attend, look wanly on the gloomy earth, let bleak fogs drift across your face. When, Titan, where under heaven will you have

fumes / Her Rosy chariot with Sabaean spices; / Fly where the evening from the Iberian vales / Takes on her swarthy shoulders Hecate / Crowned with a grove of oaks; fly where men feel / The burning axletree, and those that suffer / Beneath the chariot of the Snowy Bear; / And tell them all that D'Ambois now is hasting / To the eternal dwellers."

Herculem in terris alium sequeris? quas manus orbis miser invocabit, si qua sub Lerna numerosa pestis 1535 sparget in centum rabiem dracones, Arcadum si quis, populi vetusti, fecerit silvas aper inquietas, Thraciae si quis Rhodopes alumnus durior terris Helices nivosae 1540 sparget humano stabulum cruore? quis dabit pacem populo timenti, si quid irati superi per urbes iusserint nasci? iacet omnibus par, quem parem tellus genuit Tonanti. 1545 planetus immensas resonet per urbes, et comas nullo cohibente nodo femina exertos feriat lacertos: solaque obductis foribus deorum templa securae pateant novercae. 1550 Vadis ad Lethen Stygiumque litus, unde te nullae referent carinae:

vadis ad Letnen Stygiumque litus unde te nullae referent carinae; vadis ad manes miserandus, unde Morte devicta tuleras triumphum. umbra nudatis venies lacertis languido vultu tenuique collo, teque non solum feret illa puppis. non tamen viles eris inter umbras: Aeacon iuxta geminosque Cretas

1558 iuxta Axelson: inter EA

 $<sup>^{93}</sup>$  These allusions are respectively to the Lerman hydra, the Erymanthian boar, and Diomedes.

another Hercules to escort on earth? Whose hands will the hapless world invoke if some prolific scourge near Lerna deploys its rage in a hundred snakes, or if some boar disquiets the forests of Arcadians, that olden folk, or a scion of Rhodope in Thrace, harsher than Helice's snowy land, spatters his stables with human blood?93 Who will bring peace to fearful folk if amidst their cities the gods in anger command some birth? He whom Earth produced as the Thunderer's equal, lies everyone's equal. Through countless cities let blows of grief resound: with hair fully unfastened let women bare and strike their arms. Let the doors of the gods be closed, and only his carefree stepmother's shrines be open.

You fare to Lethe and the Stygian shore, from which no boat will bring you back. Pitiful! You fare to the shades from which you returned in triumph, having conquered Death. You will walk as a ghost with arms stripped bare, with listless face and wasted neck, and that ship will not bear you alone. 94 Yet you will not join the common shades: at Aeacus' side, with the Cretan pair, 95

95 Minos and Rhadamanthus, like Aeacus judges of the dead.

 $<sup>^{94}</sup>$  Though it once carried Hercules as its sole passenger, and almost sank beneath his living weight (Herc 775–777).

facta discernes feriens tyrannos.

1560 Parcite, o dites, inhibete dextras: laudis est purum tenuisse ferrum, dumque regnabas, minimum cruentis in tuas urbes licuisse factis. Sed locum virtus habet inter astra. sedis arctoae spatium tenebis 1565 an graves Titan ubi promit aestus? an sub occasu tepido nitebis, unde commisso resonare ponto audies Calpen? loca quae sereni deprimes caeli? quis erit recepto 1570 tutus Alcide locus inter astra? horrido tantum procul a leone det pater sedes calidoque cancro, ne tuo vultu tremefacta leges 1575 astra conturbent trepidetque Titan. Vere dum flores venient tepenti 1578 et comam silvis revocabit aestas 1579 pomaque autumno fugiente cedent 1577 et comam silvis hiemes recident. 1581 tu comes Phoebo, comes ibis astris. nulla te terris rapiet vetustas: 1580 ante nascetur seges in profundo vel fretum dulci resonabit unda. ante descendet glacialis Ursae sidus et ponto vetito fruetur, 1585 quam tuas laudes populi quiescant.

 $^{1562}$  minimum (nimium PT) cruentis A: minus in procellis E  $^{1563}$  factis Fitch: fatis EA

you will sift men's deeds, chastising tyrants. Forbear, you magnates, stay your hands! Fame lies in keeping the sword unstained, and in curtailing bloody deeds against your peoples throughout your reign.

But valour has place among the stars. Will you take a station in the northern sky or where Titan's torrid heat arises? Or shine far in the balmy west, and listen from there as Calpe resounds to its warring seas? What place will you burden in the cloudless heaven? With Alcides admitted among the stars, what place will be safe? Just let the father seat you far from the fearsome Lion and scorching Crab, lest the stars in terror at your demeanour confound their laws, and the Titan tremble.

While flowers appear in springtime's warmth and summer calls back forest leaves and apples fall as autumn wanes and winter pares back forest leaves, you will be there with the stars and Phoebus. Time will never efface you on earth. Crops will sooner sprout on the deep or seas resound with freshwater waves, sooner the stars of the icy Bear will descend and enjoy the forbidden waters, than the nations will cease to tell your praises.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1577</sup> placed after 1579 by Spika Richter

 $<sup>^{1580}</sup>$  placed after 1581 by

Te, pater rerum, miseri precamur: nulla nascatur fera, nulla pestis, non duces saevos miseranda tellus horreat, nulla dominetur aula qui putet solum decus esse regni semper intensum tenuisse ferrum; si quid in terris iterum timetur, vindicem terrae petimus relictae.

Heu quid hoc? mundus sonat ecce vastum. maeret Alciden pater? an deorum clamor, an vox est timidae novercae, Hercule ac viso fugit astra Iuno? passus an pondus titubavit Atlas? an magis diri tremuere manes, Herculem et visum canis inferorum fugit abruptis trepidus catenis? fallimur: laeto venit ecce vultu quem tulit Poeans umerisque tela gestat et notas populis pharetras,

Effare casus, iuvenis, Herculeos precor, vultuve quonam tulerit Alcides necem.

#### PHILOCTETES

Quo nemo vitam.

 $^{1595}$  vastum Fitch: maestum Watt: word omitted by A (except mundus P): 1564–1606 omitted by E

1590

1595

1600

 $<sup>^{96}</sup>$  Accordingly his approach is as thunderous as Hercules' own (*Herc* 520–523, *HO* 1128–30).

Father of the world, in distress we pray: let no wild beast, no scourge be born; no sorry land fear cruel lords, no palace hold a potentate who thinks the splendour of a throne lies solely in holding the sword ever outstretched; if terror comes again to the earth, we crave a champion for the friendless earth.

What's this? A mighty sound through the world! The father mourning Alcides? Or cries from the gods? Or the voice of the frightened stepmother—

has Juno seen Hercules and fled from the stars? Or Atlas staggering under his weight? Or rather the dread shades trembling in terror and the underworld hound breaking his chains and running in fear at sight of Hercules? We are wrong: Poeas' son is approaching, look, with joyful face, his shoulders bearing the weapons and quiver famed through the world:

he is Hercules' heir. 96

# ACT 5

Pray tell us, young man: what befell Hercules? With what demeanour did Alcides bear death?

PHILOCTETES

Better than anyone ever bore life!

# CHORUS Laetus adeone ultimos

1610 invasit ignes?

## PHILOCTETES

Esse iam flammas nihil ostendit ille. quid sub hoc mundo Hercules immune vinci liquit? en domita omnia.

#### CHORUS

Inter vapores quis fuit forti locus?

#### PHILOCTETES

Quod unum in orbe vicerat nondum malum, 1615 et flamma victa est; haec quoque accessit feris: inter labores ignis Herculeos abît.

#### CHORUS

Edissere agedum, flamma quo victa est modo?

# PHILOCTETES

Ut omnis Oeten maesta corripuit manus, huic fagus umbras perdit et toto iacet 1620 succisa trunco, flectit hic pinum ferox astris minantem et nube de media vocat; ruitura cautem movit et silvam tulit secum minorem. Chaonis quondam loquax stat vasta late quercus et Phoebum vetat,

1625 ultraque totum porrigit ramos nemus:
gemit illa multo vulnere impresso minax
frangitque cuneos; resilit incussus chalybs
vulnusque ferrum patitur et rigidum est parum.
commota tandem cum cadens latam sui

1630 duxit ruinam, protinus radios locus admisit omnis. sedibus pulsae suis

#### CHORUS LEADER

Was he so joyful in confronting the final fire?

#### PHILOCTETES

He showed that even flames are nothing. What has Hercules left immune to conquest under heaven? See, everything has been vanquished!

## CHORUS LEADER

In the midst of burning, what room was there for bravery?

#### PHILOCTETES

The one evil he had not yet conquered in the world, fire, is now conquered too. It has been added to the wild beasts; fire has ended up among the labours of Hercules.

#### CHORUS LEADER

Come now, explain how the flames were conquered.

## PHILOCTETES

The whole sorrowful band set to work on Mt Oeta. At one man's blows a beech tree ceased to give shade, its long trunk lying felled. Another man ferociously overturned a pine tree that towered towards the stars; he called it down out of the clouds. As it began to topple it shook the mountainside and brought lesser timber down with it. A Chaonian oak, prophetic long ago, stood huge and wide, blocking Phoebus' rays and reaching its branches out beyond the entire copse. Battered by many wounds it groaned menacingly, and broke the wedges; steel rebounded when driven against it, iron was damaged and proved too soft. Finally dislodged, it spread its devastation far and wide as it fell. Straightway the whole place was

<sup>1625</sup> totum Raphelengius: totos EA

<sup>1631</sup> omnis E: omnes A

volucres pererrant nemore succiso diem quaeruntque lassis garrulae pinnis domus. iamque omnis arbor sonuit et sacrae quoque sensere quercus horridam ferro manum, nullique priscus profuit luco metus. aggeritur omnis silva et alternae trabes in astra tollunt Herculi angustum rogum—raptura flammas pinus et robur tenax et brevior ilex; summa sed complet rogum populea silva, frondis Herculeae nemus.

At ille, ut ingens nemore sub Nasamonio aegro reclinis pectore immugit leo, fertur. quis illum credat ad flammas rapi? vultus petentis astra, non ignes erat.

ut pressit Oeten ac suis oculis rogum lustravit omnem, fregit impositus trabes. arcus poposcit. "Accipe haec" inquit, "sate Poeante, dona, et munus Alcidae cape. <has en sagittas Dardani sensit domus, > has hydra sensit his igcent Stymphalides

1650 has hydra sensit, his iacent Stymphalides et quidquid aliud eminus vici manu victrice. felix iuvenis has numquam irritas mittes in hostem; sive de media voles auferre volucres nube, descendent aves 1655 et certa praedae tela de caelo fluent,

1655 et certa praedae tela de caelo fluent, nec fallet umquam dexteram hic arcus tuam.

1636 priscus . . . metus Jortin: priscum . . . nemus EA
 1640 summa Bentley: silva EA
 1648 arcus poposcit E: arcumque poscit A
 Lacuna before 1650 suggested by Zwierlein; supplement by
 Zwierlein (has en sagittas) and Fitch

opened to the sun's rays. Driven from their perches, birds flew haphazardly through the brightness left by the tree's felling, chattering and searching for their homes on tired wings. Now every tree resounded; even sacred oaks felt hands that wielded the iron, and no grove was protected by the reverence long accorded it. As every kind of wood was piled up, the alternating layers of trunks raised the pyre skyward—still a meagre pyre for Hercules. There was pine to catch fire, firm-holding oak and the shorter holm oak; but on top, crowning the pyre, were trunks of poplar, the tree that bears Hercules' leaves. <sup>97</sup>

But he was borne along, like some great lion lying sick and roaring with pain in a Nasamonian forest. Yet who would have believed him hurried towards the flames? His expression was that of one heading to the stars, not the fire. Once Oeta bore him, and he had surveyed the whole pyre with his gaze, he was placed upon it—and fractured its beams. Then he called for his bow and arrows. "Receive this gift," he said, "son of Poeas, accept this boon from Alcides. < These arrows were felt by the house of Dardanus, > and felt by the hydra; they felled the Stymphalian birds, and all the other foes I conquered from afar with my victorious hand. Fortunate young man! You will never fire them at an enemy without success. Or, if you would take winged creatures from the very clouds, the birds will fall, for the arrows will secure their prey before gliding from the sky. This bow will never fail your hand. It is practiced in

97 Hercules favoured poplar leaves for his victory wreaths.

<sup>1651</sup> manu Rossbach: malum EA

librare telum didicit et certam dare fugam sagittis; ipsa non fallunt iter emissa nervo tela. tu tantum, precor, accommoda ignes et facem extremam mihi. hic nodus," inquit, "nulla quem cepit manus, mecum per ignes flagret; hoc telum Herculem tantum sequetur. hoc quoque acciperes," ait, "si ferre posses. adiuvet domini rogum." tum rigida secum spolia Nemeaei mali arsura poscit; latuit in spolio rogus.

Ingemuit omnis turba, nec lacrimas dolor cuiquam remisit. mater in luctum furens diduxit avidum pectus, atque utero tenus exerta vastos ubera in planctus ferit; superosque et ipsum questibus pulsans Iovem

implevit omnem voce feminea locum.
"Deforme letum, mater, Herculeum facis;
compesce lacrimas," inquit, "introrsus dolor
femineus abeat. Juno cur laetum diem

1675 femineus abeat. Iuno cur laetum diem te flente ducat? paelicis gaudet suae spectare lacrimas. comprime infirmum iecur, mater: nefas est ubera atque uterum tibi laniare, qui me genuit." et dirum fremens,

qualis per urbes duxit Argolicas canem, cum victor Erebi Dite contempto redît tremente Fato, talis incubuit rogo. quis sic triumphans laetus in curru stetit victor? quis illo gentibus vultu dedit

leges tyrannus? quanta pax habitum tulit! haesere lacrimae, cecidit impulsus dolor nobis quoque ipsis, nemo periturum ingemit; iam flere pudor est. ipsa quam sexus iubet

1660

1665

aiming a shaft, in flighting arrows accurately; the shafts fired from this string do not miss their path. All I ask of you is to furnish me with fire, with the final torch. This knotty club," he said, "that no other hand has held, must burn in the fire with me; it will be the one weapon to accompany Hercules. You would receive it too," he said, "if you could carry it. But let it contribute to its master's pyre." Then he called for the Nemean monster's stiff pelt to be burnt with

him; that trophy covered and hid the pyre.

There were groans of sorrow from the whole company; grief spared no one tears. His mother, passionate to mourn, opened her eager bosom, stripped down to the womb and struck ringing blows on her breasts. Assailing the gods and Jove himself with her laments, she filled the whole place with womanish cries. "You are disfiguring the death of Hercules, mother! Control your tears," he said, "hold in your womanish grief. Why should your weeping gladden this day for Juno? She enjoys watching her rival's tears. Restrain your emotional heart, mother. It is an outrage for you to wound those breasts and that womb that bore me." And with an awesome roar he sank down on the pyre, as forceful as when he led the hound through Argive cities, returning as conqueror of Erebus, in defiance of Dis, while Death trembled. What triumphant conqueror ever stood as joyfully in his chariot? What sovereign ever gave laws to the nations with such an expression? What peace pervaded his demeanour! Tears ceased, grief ebbed and died away in us too, no one lamented his coming death; it seemed shameful now to weep. Even Alcmene

<sup>1661</sup> cepit E: capiet A

<sup>1671</sup> questibus Axelson: vocibus EA

maerere, siccis haesit Alcmene genis, 1690 stetitque nato paene iam similis parens.

#### CHORUS

Nullasne in astra misit ad superos preces arsurus, aut in vota respexit Iovem?

## PHILOCTETES

Iacuit sui securus et caelum intuens quaesivit oculis, arce an ex aliqua pater 1695 despiceret illum. tum manus tendens ait: "Quacumque parte prospicis natum, pater, te te precor, cui nocte commissa dies quievit unus: si meas laudes canit utrumque Phoebi litus et Scythiae genus

1700 et omnis ardens ora quam torret dies, si pace tellus plena, si nullae gemunt urbes nec aras impias quisquam inquinat, si scelera desunt, spiritum admitte hunc, precor, in astra, non me noctis infernae locus

1705 nec maesta nigri regna conterrent Iovis, sed ire ad illos umbra, quos vici, deos, pater, erubesco. nube discussa diem pande, ut deorum vultus ardentem Herculem spectet: licet tu sidera et mundum neges

ultro, pater, cogere. si voces dolor abstulerit ullas, pande tunc Stygios lacus et redde fatis. approba natum prius:

1716 noverca cernat quo feram flammas modo. ut dignus astris videar, hic faciet dies.

 $^{1697}$  te te precor Richter: te te pater E: iste est pater A  $^{1704}$  noctis Heinsius: mortis EA

herself, though her sex bade her mourn, broke off and stood dry-eyed, a mother who now almost resembled her son.

## CHORUS LEADER

Did he not direct prayers to the heavenly gods before the flames, or look to Jove in appeal?

## PHILOCTETES

He lay there with no concern for himself. But gazing at heaven he scanned to see whether his father was looking down on him from some height. Then, stretching out his hands, he spoke. "Father, for whom one day slept while night was joined to night: from whatever quarter you look upon your son, I pray to you. If my praises are sung by both of Phoebus' coasts and the Scythian race and the whole region scorched by blazing daylight; if peace fills the earth, if no cities groan and no one defiles altars with sacrilege, if there are no crimes, I pray you admit this spirit of mine to the stars. It is not that I fear the place of infernal night, the gloomy realm of dark Jove, but I feel it shameful, father, to go as a shade to those gods I conquered. Disperse the clouds and unfold the day, so the gazing gods can watch the burning of Hercules. Then, though you deny me heaven's stars, you will be compelled, father, against your will. If pain wrests any cries from me, then show me the Stygian lakes and return me to death. Yes, demonstrate your son's qualities first! Let my stepmother see how I endure the flames. This day will ensure that I am recognised as deserv-

<sup>1708</sup> vultus\* EA: coetus Heinsius

<sup>1716</sup> placed after 1712 by Fitch, after 1718 by Gronovius

leve est quod actum est; Herculem hic, genitor, dies 1715 inveniet aut damnabit."

Haec postquam edidit,
1717 flammas poposcit. "Hoc age, Alcidae comes,
non segnis" inquit "corripe Oetaeam facem.
quid dextra tremuit? num manus pavida impium

1720 scelus refugit? redde iam pharetras mihi, ignave iners enervis! en nostros manus quae tendat arcus! quid sedet pallor genis? animo faces invade quo Alciden vides vultu iacere. respice arsurum, miser!

vocat ecce iam me genitor et pandit polos; venio, pater"—vultusque non idem fuit. tremente pinum dextera ardentem intuli. refugit ignis et reluctantur faces et membra vitant, sed recedentem Hercules

insequitur ignem. Caucasum aut Pindum aut Athon ardere credas: nullus erumpit sonus, tantum ingemescit ignis. o durum iecur!
 Typhon in illo positus immanis rogo gemuisset ipse, quique convulsam solo
 imposuit umeris Ossan Enceladus ferox.

Ast ille medias inter exsurgens faces, semustus ac laniatus, intrepidum tuens, "Nunc es parens Herculea: sic stare ad rogum te, mater" inquit, "sic decet fleri Herculem."

inter vapores positus et flammae minas immotus, inconcussus, in neutrum latus correpta torquens membra adhortatur, monet, gerit aliquid ardens. omnibus fortem addidit

1721 enervis Bentley: inermis EA

ing the stars. What I have achieved is slight; this day, father, will reveal Hercules—or else condemn him."

After uttering these words he called for the fire. "Do it, comrade of Alcides! Grasp the Oetean torch without hesitation. Why does your hand tremble? Can it be shunning the task in fear, as an unholy crime? Return my quiver to me, idle, inert, impotent man! Look at the hand that is to bend my bow! Why has pallor settled on your cheeks? You see Alcides' countenance as he lies here: grasp the torch with the same spirit! Wretched man, think of the one who is about to burn! See, my father is summoning me now, and opening heaven. I come, father!" And his countenance was transformed. With my hand trembling I thrust in the burning pinewood. The flames recoiled, the brands resisted and avoided his limbs, but Hercules pursued the fire when it retreated. You would have thought it was the Caucasus or Pindus or Athos that was blazing. No sound burst from him, only the fire groaned. O tough heart! If placed on that pyre, even monstrous Typhon would have groaned, or the one who tore Ossa from the earth and set it on his shoulders, ferocious Enceladus.

Then, rising up amidst the brands, though half-burnt and lacerated, he looked out fearlessly and spoke: "Now you are Hercules' parent: this is how you should stand at my pyre, mother, and how Hercules should be mourned!" Enveloped by the heat and the menacing flames, yet unmoved, unshaken, not twisting onto either side with his burning limbs, he gave encouragement and counsel, and remained active, all ablaze. He strengthened the courage

animum ministris: urere ardentem putes.

1745 stupet omne vulgus, vix habent flammae fidem:
tam placida frons est, tanta maiestas viro.
nec properat uri; cumque iam forti datum
leto satis pensavit, igniferas trabes
hinc inde traxit: minima quas flamma occupat
1750 totas in ignes vertit, et quîs plurimus
exundat ignis repetit intrepidus ferox.
tunc ora flammis implet: ast illi graves
luxere barbae; cumque iam vultum minax
appeteret ignis, lamberent flammae caput,
1755 non pressit oculos.

Sed quid hoc? maestam intuor sinu gerentem reliquias magni Herculis, crinemque iactans squalidum Alcmene gemit.

#### ALCMENE

Timete, superi, fata: tam parvus cinis Herculeus, huc huc ille decrevit gigas! o quanta, Titan, in nihil moles abît! anilis, heu me, recipit Alciden sinus. hic tumulus illi est: ecce vix totam Hercules complevit urnam. quam leve est pondus mihi, cui totus aether pondus incubuit leve!

Ad Tartara olim regnaque, o nate, ultima rediturus ibas: quando ab inferna Styge

1750 totas *Gronovius*: totasque *EA* 1762 tumulus *EA*: cumulus *Axelson* 

illi A: ille E

of all his attendants: you would think him burning while being burnt! Probable the Hames were scarcely thought real, so calm was his brow, so great the hero's majesty. He did not hasten the burning, but when he judged that the demands of a courageous death had been fulfilled, he dragged together the fiery beams: the ones least caught by the flames he moved fully into the fire, and then, fierce and unafraid, gathered those from which the fire poured most strongly. Then he thrust his face full into the flames. His heavy beard blazed up; but as the menacing fire attacked his face and the flames licked around his head, he did not close his eyes.

[Alcmene approaches carrying Hercules' funerary urn] But what is this? I see a woman of sorrows bearing in her bosom the remains of Hercules; Alcmene tosses her ash-

filled hair<sup>99</sup> and laments.

## ALCMENE

Fear doom, you gods! The ashes of Hercules are so small, that giant is diminished to this! O Titan, what vastness has vanished into nothing! An old woman's bosom, alas, has room enough for Alcides. *This* is that great one's tomb: see, Hercules has scarcely filled the urn full. How light a weight he is for me, though the whole heaven rested as a light weight on him!

Once you would go to Tartarus' distant realm, son, with the prospect of return. When will you come once more

99 Mourners poured dust and ashes over their heads.

<sup>98</sup> This phrase plays on *urere* to burn (transitive) and *ardere* to burn (intransitive). It could be glossed in several ways, e.g. "you would think he created the fire while suffering it," or (taking *ardentem* metaphorically) "you would think him afire to burn."

remeabis iterum? non ut et solitum trahas rursusque Theseus debeat lucem tibi sed quando solus? mundus impositus tuas 1770 compescet umbras, teque Tartareus canis inhibere poterit? quando Taenarias fores pulsabis? aut quas mater ad fauces agar qua mors aditur? vadis ad manes iter habiturus unum.

Quid diem questu tero? quid misera duras vita? quid lucem hanc tenes? 1775 quem parere rursus Herculem possum Iovi? quis te parentem natus, Alcmene, suam tantus vocabit? o nimis felix, nimis, Thebane conjunx: Tartari intrasti loca florente nato, teque venientem inferi 1780 timuere forsan, quod pater tanti Herculis, vel falsus, aderas. quas petam terras anus, invisa saevis regibus (si quis tamen rex est relictus saevus)? ei miserae mihi! quicumque caesos ingemunt nati patres, 1785 a me petent supplicia, me cuncti obruent: si quis minor Busiris aut si quis minor Antaeus urbes fervidae terret plagae, ego praeda ducar; si quis Ismarios greges Thracis cruenti vindicat, carpent greges 1790 mea membra diri. forsitan poenas petet

1767 solitum E: spolium A
me . . . alcmenen (or -am) EA

1792 exurget Bentley: uretur EA

irata Iuno, totus exsurget dolor; secura victo tandem ab Alcide vacat.

 $^{1777}$  te . . . Alcmene Bentley:  $^{1789}$  ismarios A: ismarius E

from the Stygian world below? Not so as to drag the usual trophy<sup>100</sup> with you, or so Theseus may owe the daylight to you a second time; but when will you come by yourself? Shall the overburden of the cosmos confine your shade,<sup>101</sup> will the hound of Tartarus be able to detain you? When will you pound at the gates of Taenarus? Or what yawning tunnel must your mother approach that gives access to death? You fare to the shades, with the propect of a single journey.

But why waste the day in lament? Why does my wretched life endure? Why cling to the light? What second Hercules can I bear to Jove? What son of such might, Alcmene, will call you his mother? Oh so fortunate, so fortunate, my Theban husband:102 you entered the domain of Tartarus while our son thrived, and those below perhaps trembled at your arrival, at the presence of mighty Hercules' father, even if falsely so called. What country shall I head for, an old woman hated by cruel kings-if indeed any cruel king survives? What wretchedness! Every son that mourns his slain father 103 will seek satisfaction from me, they will all overwhelm me. If some young Busiris or young Antaeus is terrorizing the peoples of the torrid region, I shall be led away as his plunder; if someone avenges the Ismarian herds of the bloodthirsty Thracian, 104 his monstrous herds will tear at my limbs. Perhaps angry Juno will seek revenge, with her rage arising in full force. Alcides' defeat leaves her confident and unpreoccupied at

<sup>100</sup> Cerberus. 101 Since mundus can also mean "the heavens," the phrase glances at their being "imposed" on Hercules formerly without overwhelming him.

<sup>102</sup> Amphitryon.

<sup>103</sup> I.e. slain by Hercules.

<sup>104</sup> Diomedes.

paelex supersum. quanta supplicia expetet 1795 ne parere possim! fecit hic natus mihi uterum timendum.

Quae petam Alcmene loca? quis me locus, quae regio, quae mundi plaga defendet aut quas mater in latebras agar, ubique per te nota? si patriam petam laresque miseros, Argos Eurystheus tenet. marita Thebas regna et Ismenon petam, thalamosque nostros, in quibus quondam Iovem dilecta vidi? pro nimis felix, nimis, si fulminantem et ipsa sensissem Iovem! utinam meis visceribus Alcides foret exsectus infans! nunc datum est tempus, datum est videre natum laude certantem Iovi, ut hoc daretur, scire quid fatum mihi

Quis memor vivit tui,

o nate, populus? omne iam ingratum est genus.
petam Cleonas? Arcadum an populos petam,
meritisque terram nobilem quaeram tuis?
hic dira serpens cecidit, hic ales fera,
hic sus cruentus, hic tua fractus manu
qui te sepulto possidet caelum leo:
si grata terra est, populus Alcmenen tuam
defendat omnis. Thracias gentes petam

<sup>1794</sup> quanta *Axelson*: magna *Courtney*: a qua *E*: de qua *A* <sup>1809</sup> vivit *Koetschau*: vivet *A*: 1807–10 *omitted by E* <sup>1814</sup> sus *Zwierlein*: rex *EA* 

1800

1805

eripere posset.

last, while I her rival survive. What punishments she will demand to prevent my bearing children! This son has made my womb a source of danger for me.

What country shall Alcmene make for? What place, what region, what tract of the earth will protect me? What hiding place can your mother find, now she is known everywhere through you? If I make for my native land and my unhappy home—Eurystheus holds Argos. Shall I make for Thebes and the Ismenos, my husband's realm, and that marriage chamber in which I once beheld Jove as my lover? Oh fortunate, so fortunate, if I too had felt the lightning of Jove! I wish that Alcides had been cut from my womb as an infant! But as it is, time was granted me, granted to see my son vying with Jove in glory—so that this too could be granted, to know what fate could steal from me.

What nation still remembers its debt to you, my son? The whole race is already lacking in gratitude. Shall I make for Cleonae? Or make for the communities of Arcadia, seek out the land made famous by your beneficial deeds? Here the monstrous serpent fell, here the fierce birds, here the bloodied boar; here your hands crushed the lion that now occupies heaven while you are buried below. <sup>106</sup> If the land is grateful, all its people should protect your Alcmene. Shall I make for the tribes of Thrace, the peoples

105 "I too" like Semele, another mortal woman impregnated by Jupiter; when she was killed later by the lightning, the infant Bacchus was rescued from her womb. 106 These references are to the hydra of Lerna, the birds of Stymphalus, the boar of Erymanthus and the lion of Nemea, near Cleonae. Stymphalus and Erymanthus are in Arcadia, the other places in the Argolid.

Hebrique populos? haec quoque est meritis tuis defensa tellus; stabula cum regno iacent. 1820 hic pax cruento rege prostrato data est ubi enim negata est?

Quod tibi infelix anus quaeram sepulcrum? de tuis totus rogis contendat orbis. reliquias magni Herculis quis populus aut quae templa, quae gentes rogant? quis, quis petit, quis poscit Alcmenes onus? quae tibi sepulcra, nate, quis tumulus sat est? hic totus orbis: fama erit titulus tibi.

Quid, anime, trepidas? Herculis cineres tenes! complectere ossa; reliquiae auxilium dabunt, erunt satis praesidia, terrebunt tuae reges vel umbrae.

## PHILOCTETES

Debitos nato quidem compesce fletus, mater Alcidae incliti. non est gemendus nec gravi urgendus nece, virtute quisquis abstulit fatis iter. aeterna virtus Herculem fleri vetat; fortes vetant maerere, degeneres iubent.

## ALCMENE

Sedabo questus vindice amisso parens terrae atque pelagi, quaque purpureus dies utrumque clara spectat Oceanum rota?

1831b-1836 attributed to Philoctetes by A, to Hyllus by E, to the Chorus tentatively by Herrmann 1837-1839 There may be a lacuna in this sentence; Zwierlein suggests loss of two half-lines beginning qua between pelagi and quaque in 1838.

1825

1830

of the Hebrus? This land too was defended by your worthy deeds; the stables lie overthrown with the ruler. <sup>107</sup> Here peace was bestowed by the downfall of the bloodstained king—indeed, when was it ever withheld?

What tomb shall an ill-starred old woman try to find for you? The whole world should compete for your ashes. What nation, what temples, what tribes desire the remains of great Hercules? Who asks for, who demands Alcmene's burden? What tomb, my son, what burial mound is sufficient for you? This whole world! And fame will be your epitaph.

Why are you anxious, my spirit? You hold the ashes of Hercules! Clasp his bones; his remains will give aid, they will be protection enough; even your shade will frighten

kings.

## PHILOCTETES

Mother of glorious Alcides; hold back your tears, deserved as they are by your son. One who by his valour has denied doom access is not to be mourned nor weighed down with the heaviness of death. His deathless valour forbids weeping for Hercules; the brave forbid mourning, the ignoble require it.

#### ALCMENE

Shall I quiet my laments as a mother, after losing the one who protected land and sea, where the gleaming sunlight looks on both oceans<sup>109</sup> from its bright chariot? How many

<sup>107</sup> Diomedes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> I.e. the urn containing her son's ashes.

<sup>109</sup> I.e. in the far east and far west, implying "and everywhere in between" (cf. line 2).

1840 quot misera in uno condidi natos parens! regno carebam, regna sed poteram dare. una inter omnes terra quas matres gerit votis peperci, nil ego a superis petî incolume nato: quid dare Herculeus mihi non poterat ardor, quod deus quisquam mihi 1845 negare poterat? vota in hac fuerant manu; quidquid negaret Iuppiter, daret Hercules. quid tale genetrix ulla mortalis tulit? deriguit aliqua mater, ut toto stetit succisa fetu, bisque septenos greges 1850 deplanxit una: gregibus aequari meus quot ille poterat! matribus miseris adhuc exemplar ingens derat: Alcmene dabo. cessate, matres, pertinax si quas dolor 1855 adhuc iubet lugere, quas luctus gravis in saxa vertit: cedite his cunctae malis. Agedum senile pectus, o miserae manus,

Agedum senile pectus, o miserae manus, pulsate.—et una funeri tanto sat est grandaeva anus defecta, quod totus brevi iam quaeret orbis? expedi in planctus tamen defessa quamquam bracchia. invidiam ut deis lugendo facias, advoca in planctus genus.

Flete, Alcmenae magnique Iovis plangite natum, cui concepto lux una perît noctesque duas contulit Eos; ipsa quiddam plus luce perît.

 $^{1845}\,\mathrm{quod}$  deus quisquam Axelson: qui<br/>s deus quicquam A: quisquam E

1860

sons have I, his wretched mother, laid to rest in this one son? I held no throne, but had power to grant thrones. Alone of all mothers on earth I refrained from prayers, asked nothing of the gods, while my son lived. Could not Alcides' ardour grant me anything that any god could deny me? The answer to my prayers lay in this hand; whatever Jove would deny me, Hercules would grant me. Has any mortal mother ever given birth to anything like him? There was a mother that grew rigid with grief, 110 when she stood with her whole brood cut away, one mother mourning a twice sevenfold flock. But that son of mine could equal so many such flocks! For sorrowful mothers there was no great exemplar as yet: I Alcmene shall provide one. Cease, you mothers still compelled to grieve by persistent pain, or turned to stone by your weight of grief: all must yield place to these sorrows of mine.

Come sad hands, pound this old breast. And can a single, ancient, failing old woman suffice for so great a death, which the whole world will soon be mourning? Yet free your arms, however weary, for blows of sorrow. To arouse rancour against the gods through your grieving, summon the whole race to join your lament.<sup>111</sup>

Weep, rain blows

for the son of Alcmene and great Jove, for whose conception one day perished and dawn's deferment merged two nights; something more than even the day has perished.

110 Niobe.

 $<sup>^{111}</sup>$  Alcmene now shifts into an apaests, a metre associated with keening.

1870	totae pariter plangite gentes, quarum saevos ille tyrannos iussit Stygias penetrare domos populisque madens ponere ferrum. fletum meritis reddite tantis;
1875	totus, totus personet orbis. fleat Alciden caerula Crete, magno tellus cara Tonanti; centum populi bracchia pulsent. nunc Curetes, nunc Corybantes
1880	arma Idaea quassate manu: armis illum lugere decet. nunc, nunc funus plangite verum: iacet Alcides non minor ipso, Creta, Tonante.
1885	flete Herculeos, Arcades, obitus, nondum Phoebe nascente genus; iuga Parthenii Nomiaeque sonent feriatque gravis Maenala planctus: magno Alcidae poscit gemitum
1890	stratus vestris saetiger agris alesque sequi iussa sagittas totum pinnis furata diem. flete, Argolicae, flete, Cleonae: hic terrentem moenia quondam vestra leonem

 $^{1885}$ Nomiaeque Fitch: Nemeaeque\* EA  $^{1890}$ pinnis furata Birt: pinnis velata EA: pinna velante Heinsius

<sup>112 &</sup>quot;Idaean" refers to two mountains called Ida, one on Crete

Rain blows together, all you nations whose cruel tyrants he commanded to enter the house of Styx, and drop the swords soaked in their peoples' blood. Pay tears as tribute to his great service; let all, yes all the world resound. Weep for Alcides, Crete, you sea-blue land beloved of the mighty Thunderer, let your hundred peoples beat their arms. Now, Curetes, now, Corybantes, brandish weapons in Idaean hands: weapons are suited for mourning him. Now strike blows for a genuine death. 112 Alcides is dead, who matched, o Crete, the very Thunderer. Weep for Hercules' death, you Arcadians, a lineage from before the birth of Phoebe; let the heights of Nomia and Parthenius resound, and heavy blows strike Maenalus. You owe mourning to great Alcides, since he slew the bristling boar in your fields, and made the birds, whose wings entirely stole the daylight, yield to his arrows. Weep, Argive Cleonae, weep: the lion that here once terrorized your city walls

where Jupiter was brought up, the other in the Troad, the region from which the Corybantes came. The Curetes were famous for clashing their shields, particularly at the birth of Jupiter on Crete. Cretans claimed that Jupiter also died on the island—falsely, according to others: hence "a genuine death" here.

1895	fregit nostri dextera nati. date, Bistoniae, verbera, matres, gelidusque sonet planctibus Hebrus; flete Alciden, quod non stabulis nascitur infans
1900	nec vestra greges viscera carpunt. fleat Antaeo libera tellus et rapta fero plaga Geryonae. mecum miserae plangite, gentes: audiat ictus utraque Tethys.
1905	Vos quoque, mundi turba citati, flete Herculeos, numina, casus: vestrum Alcides cervice meus mundum, superi, caelumque tulit, cum stelligeri vector Olympi
1910	pondere liber spiravit Atlas. ubi nunc vestrae, Iuppiter, arces? ubi promissi regia mundi? nempe Alcides mortalis obît, nempe sepultus.
1915	totiens telis facibusque tuis ille pepercit, quotiens ignis spargendus erat. in me saltem iaculare facem Semelenque puta! Iamne Elysias, o nate, domos,
1920	iam litus habes, ad quod populos Natura vocat? an post raptum Styx atra canem praeclusit iter,

 $^{1913}$  totiens Richter: quotiens EA

was crushed by the right hand of my son. Scourge yourselves, Bistonian mothers, let cold Hebrus resound with blows; weep for Alcides, since now no infant is born for the stables and no beasts tear flesh of your flesh. 113 The land freed from Antaeus must weep, and the region saved from wild Geryon. Rain blows of sorrow with me, you nations: let either Ocean hear their beat.

You too, you host of the whirling heavens, must weep for the fall of Hercules: your celestial world, you gods on high, was borne on the neck of my Alcides, when the usual bearer of starry Olympus, Atlas, breathed easy, freed of his burden. Where are your lofty heights now, Jove? Where is the promised palace in heaven? Clearly Alcides is dead and buried, clearly a mortal.

And yet, whenever you would have needed to shower fire, he saved you from using your lightning bolts. Hurl the lightning at me, at least, and think me Semele!

Have you reached Elysium, my son, have you reached the shore to which whole throngs are summoned by Nature? Or has the black Styx barred your way since you stole the hound—

<sup>113</sup> Again a reference to Diomedes' man-eating horses.

teque in primo limine Ditis fata morantur? quis nunc umbras, nate, tumultus manesque tenet? fugit abducta navita cumba et Centauris Thessala motis ferit attonitos ungula manes anguesque suos hydra sub undas territa mersit teque labores, o nate, timent? fallor, fallor vesana furens, nec te manes umbraeque timent: non Argolico rapta leoni fulva pellis contecta iuba laevos operit dira lacertos vallantque feri tempora dentes; donum pharetrae cessere tuae telaque mittet iam dextra minor. vadis inermis, nate, per umbras,

#### HERCULES

1940 Quid me tenentem regna siderei poli caeloque tandem redditum planctu iubes sentire fatum? parce: iam virtus mihi in astra et ipsos fecit ad superos iter.

ad quas semper mansurus eris.

#### ALCMENE

Unde sonus trepidas aures ferit? unde meas inhibet lacrimas fragor? agnosco agnosco, victum est chaos. a Styge, nate, redis iterum mihi

1925

1930

1935

do the Fates detain you at the outer threshold of the realm of Dis? What kind of commotion grips the shades now, my son? Has the oarsman taken his boat and fled? Are the Centaurs of Thessaly bolting away, trampling the panicked shades with their hooves? Has the hydra plunged its snaky heads underwater in fright? Are your labours in fear of you, my son? —I am wrong, wrong, crazy, insane! The shades and ghosts do not fear you now. No more does the pelt you stripped from the Argive lion, with its mantle of a tawny mane, make a fearsome shield for your left arm, nor its savage fangs fence round your brows. Your quiver now has gone as a gift, and a lesser hand will shoot your arrows. You walk unarmed among the ghosts, my son, where you will stay forever.

#### HERCULES

[Appearing above, unseen at first by Alcmene] Now I have reached the realms of the starry sky and have finally been granted my place in heaven, why do you force me by your mourning to taste death? Refrain! My valour has paved a way for me now to the stars and the very gods.

## ALCMENE

Whence is that sound that strikes my affrighted ears—that shout that forbids my weeping? *Now* I recognise: he has conquered chaos! Son, you return from the Styx once more to me,

fractaque non semel est mors horrida; vicisti rursus noctis loca puppis et infernae vada tristia. 1950 pervius est Acheron iam languidus, an remeare licet soli tibi. nec te fata tenent post funera? an tibi praeclusit Pluton iter et pavidus regni metuit sibi? 1955 certe ego te vidi flagrantibus impositum silvis, cum plurimus in caelum fureret flammae metus: arsisti certe: cur ultima 1960 non tenuere tuas umbras loca? quid timuere tui manes, precor?

#### HERCULES

umbra quoque es Diti nimis horrida?

Non me gementis stagna Cocyti tenent, nec puppis umbras furva transvexit meas; iam parce, mater, questibus: manes semel umbrasque vidi. quidquid in nobis tui mortale fuerat, ignis evictum tulit; paterna caelo, pars data est flammis tua. proinde planctus pone, quos nato paret genetrix inerti; luctus in turpes eat; virtus in astra tendit, in mortem timor. praesens ab astris, mater, Alcides cano: poenas cruentus iam tibi Eurystheus dabit; curru superbum vecta transcendes caput.

 $^{1949}$  noctis A: mortis E  $^{1951}$  an Fitch: et EA  $^{1967}$  evictum Heinsius: evictus E: invictus A

crushing grim death for a second time; again you have conquered the region of darkness and the gloomy waters of the underworld vessel. Is Acheron sluggish and crossable now, 114 or is return possible only for you—even after death can the fates not hold you? Or was it that Pluto barred your way in, fearing for his realm, scared for himself? Surely with these very eyes I saw you laid on the blazing timber, as fiery terror raged powerfully towards the heavens; surely you burnt there: why could the final dwelling not hold your ghost? I pray you, what was it about you that frightened the shades? Is even your ghost too daunting for Dis?

## HERCULES

The pools of wailing Cocytus do not hold me, nor did the dark vessel ferry me across. Refrain now from lamenting, mother: it was only once that I saw the shades and ghosts. All that was yours and mortal in me has been mastered and taken by the fire; my father's part has been assigned to heaven, your part to the flames. So put aside mourning, such as a mother would undertake for a lacklustre son; grief should be spent on the ignoble; valour heads to the stars, cowardice to death. Coming from the stars in very presence, mother, I Alcides prophesy: the bloodthirsty Eurystheus will soon be punished to your satisfaction; you will ride in triumph above his proud head. Now I must

 $<sup>^{114}</sup>$  Normally Acheron's violent current prevents the shades from escaping over it (*Herc* 714).

1975 me iam decet subire caelestem plagam: inferna vici rursus Alcides loca.

#### ALCMENE

Mane parumper—cessit ex oculis, abît, in astra fertur. fallor, an vultus putat vidisse natum? misera mens incredula est. 1980 es numen et te mundus aeternum tenet: credo triumphis. regna Thebarum petam novumque templis additum numen canam.

#### CHORUS

Numquam Stygias fertur ad umbras inclita virtus. vivite fortes, nec Lethaeos saeva per amnes vos fata trahent; sed cum summas exiget horas consumpta dies, iter ad superos gloria pandet.

Sed tu, domitor magne ferarum orbisque simul pacator, ades! nunc quoque nostras aspice terras, et si qua novo belua vultu quatiet populos terrore gravi, tu fulminibus frange trisulcis; fortius ipso genitore tuo fulmina mitte.

1984 vivite A: vivint E

1985

1990

## HERCULES ON OETA

ascend to the heavenly regions. Alcides has once more conquered the underworld.

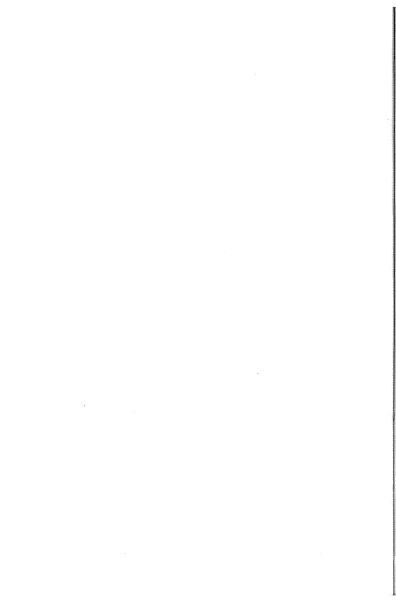
## ALCMENE

Stay a little while! He has vanished from my sight, left me, set out for the stars. Am I deceived, or do my eyes reckon they saw my son? My poor mind cannot believe it. You *are* a god, the heavens hold you forever. I believe in your triumph. I shall make for the kingdom of Thebes, and proclaim this new god that joins their temples.

### CHORUS

Never does glorious valour pass to the Stygian shades. Live, all, with courage, and the cruel fates will then not haul you over Lethe River. No: when the final hour is imposed at the end of your days, glory will open a path to heaven.

But you, great conqueror of beasts and bringer of peace to the world, be with us! Continue to show regard for our earth, and if some new and strange-faced monster shakes the nations with grievous fear, crush it with the three-forked lightning bolts; hurl the lightning more valiantly than your very father.



## INTRODUCTION

## Background

Octavia and her younger sibling Britannicus were the children of the emperor Claudius by his wife Messalina. Promiscuous and increasingly unstable, Messalina was executed in A.D. 48 (when Octavia was perhaps 9) for going through a public marriage ceremony with one of her lovers, Gaius Silius, though married to the emperor. Soon thereafter Claudius took to wife his niece Agrippina, who persuaded him to adopt her son from a previous marriage and give him the Claudian name Nero; being three years older than Britannicus, Nero now took precedence over him. Agrippina had already arranged the recall of the leading man of letters, Seneca (exiled in 41 through Messalina's intrigues), to take on the thankless role of tutor to her son. Also through Agrippina's influence, Octavia was betrothed to Nero, and married to him in 53, when she was perhaps 14 and he 15.

The following year Claudius died: it was generally believed that Agrippina had poisoned him with a dish of mushrooms, in order to bring Nero to the throne. Britannicus died in 55, almost certainly poisoned on Nero's orders. Agrippina initially exercised power through her son, but he became increasingly resentful of her attempts to

control him, and had her murdered in dramatic fashion in 59 (see *Octavia* 309–376).

Hated with good reason by his wife Octavia, Nero took the ex-slave Acte as his mistress in 55. Later she was gradually displaced in his affections by the noblewoman Poppaea Sabina. In 62, as this play narrates, Nero divorced Octavia and married Poppaea; shortly afterwards, on trumped-up charges of adultery and treason, Octavia was exiled to the island of Pandataria and put to death.

Poppaea herself was to die in 65, allegedly as a result of a kick from Nero while she was pregnant. In the same year Seneca was ordered by the emperor to commit suicide for supposed involvement in the Pisonian conspiracy. Three years later, with the legions and the praetorian guard in revolt, Nero fled from his palace and died ignominiously.

## Summary

Scene. Octavia and her Nurse lament her plight and the destruction of her family. The Nurse urges submissiveness toward Nero for safety's sake, but Octavia cannot overcome her repugnance toward him.

Ode. The chorus of citizens recalls how the Roman people long ago deposed tyrants; as a parallel to those tyrants' crimes, they recount how Agrippina was murdered on Nero's orders.

Scene. Seneca regrets his recall from peaceful exile, and charts the increase in human wickedness, which has now reached a zenith. On cue, Nero appears, ordering two executions. Seneca argues that Nero would be more secure by showing mercy and thereby gaining popularity, but Nero

insists that power must be maintained by terror and ruthlessness. Seneca warns that the people will not tolerate Nero's plan to divorce Octavia and marry Poppaea; Nero spurns the advice and sets the morrow as the wedding day.

Scene. Agrippina's ghost appears early on the wedding day to blight the marriage and prophesy Nero's downfall.

Scene. Octavia leaves the palace, hoping but doubting that she can survive the divorce.

*Ode.* The chorus decides to protest violently against Poppaea's preferment.

Scene. Next morning, Poppaea recounts an ill-omened dream she has just had; her Nurse attempts to interpret it favourably.

*Ode.* A secondary chorus of Poppaea's supporters likens her beauty to that of mythical paragons.

Scene. A messenger reports that the people are overthrowing statues of Poppaea and planning to attack the palace.

*Ode.* The secondary chorus warns that the rioters cannot hope to overcome the power of the Love god.

Scene. An enraged Nero determines to punish the riot by burning the city and beggaring the masses. He upbraids the Prefect for merely quelling the uprising, and orders him to deport and execute Octavia as its supposed instigator.

Ode. The people's support can doom those it favours.

Scene. A lyric interchange between Octavia, who resigns herself to death, and the chorus, which recall the fates of

other women of her family, and comments on Rome's destruction of its own.

## Comment

Octavia has great intrinsic interest as the only play surviving from antiquity on a Roman historical subject. We know that other plays on Roman subjects (legendary or historical) were composed from roughly 200 B.C. to A.D. 100, but because information about them is scanty, we cannot say how closely Octavia resembles any of them in ethos, style, or structure. It seems likely, however, that such plays often dealt with Roman identity and nationhood in the context of defining events, as Octavia does. The term praetexta is sometimes used in antiquity as a label for such an historical play, and it will be used so here for convenience. But the label should not be taken to conjure up a well-defined distinct genre of drama: it denotes that the chief characters of the play wore the toga praetexta of leading Roman citizens (as distinct e.g. from the Greek-style dress of mythological plays), but it specifies nothing about the form of such plays.

In fact drama in antiquity was too vigorous and manifold to fit into a system of well-separated types. To illustrate this point, there is some overlap between the terms praetexta and tragoedia (tragedy), and tragoedia in turn can have the general sense of "a high-style play on serious themes" or the more specific sense of "a play embodying a fall into disaster." Octavia is clearly a tragedy in the latter sense. Octavia's story is tragic in itself: deprived of her mother, father, and brother by violence, married while young to a brute, she paradoxically loses her life because of

the people's love and support, which enrages her husband against her. So there is nothing artificial, as has been alleged, about this casting of historical material in the form of tragic drama. Historical figures as well as mythical ones fall into tragic paradigms: witness Aeschylus' *Persians*, Shakespeare's *Richard II*, and (more controversially) Marlowe's *Edward II*. Consequently the echoes in *Octavia* of Sophocles' plays about young, childless tragic heroines—Electra in the opening scene, Antigone in the closing scene—are natural and unforced.¹ Such echoes deepen the archetypal tragic pattern of life and its constituents (here specifically daylight and marriage) becoming inverted and death-oriented.

Octavia's tragedy is presented as the outcome not just of Nero's brutality but of a long series of transgressions (recounted in the first scene) going back to Messalina's disastrous folly. In this respect too Octavia resembles Antigone, whose tragic family history is similarly recalled in her prologue and orients her inevitably towards death. The tragic viewpoint of *Octavia* is broadened still further by Seneca's soliloquy (377–434), which sees human evil as growing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Compare Oct 929–946 with Soph. Antig. 806–882 and 944–987. Nor would it have seemed artificial that Octavia should explicitly compare her situation with Electra's, as she does at lines 57–71. Contemporary audiences were keenly aware of the relevance of Greek myths to Rome, and especially to the imperial family (see introduction to Thyestes). Indeed a blurring of the division between Greece and Rome, stage and reality, can be seen in the fact that Nero acted many tragic roles onstage, sometimes in a mask made to resemble his own features. After his matricide he spoke of himself as hounded Orestes-like by the Furies.

from a primal violation of humans' relationship with the original mother, Earth herself.

Octavia dramatises not only the individual tragedy of the young empress but also its impact on the people of Rome; Nero's tyranny effectively links the two topics. The play's primary chorus represents ordinary Roman citizens. Already appalled at the murders of Britannicus and Agrippina, the citizens rise up in a futile attempt to reinstate the discarded Octavia, upon which Nero decides to burn the city to punish them. This gives the chorus a much more active, participatory role than it has in any Senecan tragedy, or indeed in most Greek tragedies. Such a role is in keeping with republican Roman traditions. Roman national consciousness was indelibly republican, taking as its defining event the expulsion of the kings in 510 B.C. and the establishment of a constitution designed to avoid absolutism. These very events had been dramatised in Accius' praetexta Brutus, named for the leader of the uprising against the Tarquins: at least one scene of that play is echoed in Octavia, while the expulsion of the Tarquins is recalled in the first choral ode, and serves as a paradigm for the uprising against Nero.

Republican traditions, however, had been eroded as Rome grew into an empire in which military might was all-important and lay in the hands of an emperor. Indeed, the ineffectiveness of the people as a political force had become evident in the second century B.C. in the events surrounding the Gracchi, which are recalled at the end of *Octavia* (882–886) as a parallel to the present failure. Because the citizens are so closely involved in the play's plot, *Octavia* could be seen in part as a tragedy of the Roman

people. Its final line, "Rome revels in her citizens' blood," links the empress' fall with that of ordinary citizens.

But despite the failure of the uprising, the strong presence of a witnessing, reacting, participating community means that the overall impression left by the play is less bleak—at least to this reader, though others may respond differently—than that of the authentic Senecan tragedies. The people, like Octavia herself, represent something like moral normalcy; there still exists a fund of decency, loyalty, and traditional values. For this reason, and because Nero is presented as an aberration, a monster, destined soon to fall, there is a sense (absent from the Senecan plays) that right order could conceivably restore itself. That order would include the ideal described in the play by Seneca: a benign emperor, concerned for the interests and wellbeing of the people, and in turn deserving their loyalty.

In connection with the issue of the emperor's proper role it is intriguing to observe how the play represents the historical relationship between Seneca and Nero.<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of Nero's reign Seneca, as his chief advisor and minister, had published an essay On Clemency (De Clementia), which was intended to commit the new emperor to a benign use of his unlimited power: the essay is an important intertext for much of the Seneca–Nero scene in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Did such a meeting as that dramatised by the play ever take place? Tacitus recounts that early in 62 Seneca asked Nero for permission to retire (Annals 14.53–56). Permission was denied, but Seneca thereafter spent little time in Rome, pleading ill health or philosophical studies. If Tacitus is right, Seneca is unlikely to have spoken to Nero either about the exiles' execution or about Octavia's divorce.

Octavia. In the essay Seneca holds up Augustus as an exemplar of mercy, but with strong qualifications about his early career. By transferring these qualifications from Seneca to Nero in his major speech (492–532), Octavia makes it appear that Nero has a better grasp of the practicalities of power, while Seneca's speech (472–491) seems impractically idealistic by comparison. Nevertheless the scene as a whole clearly presents Seneca's views in a highly favourable light, and condemns the ruthlessness which it attributes to Nero.

The essay On Clemency envisages an ideal of political harmony, with citizens grateful for the peace granted by the emperor, and reciprocally granting him their loyal support. But it has no room for even the most modified libertarianism; all initiative is the the hands of the omnipotent emperor. This position is hardly compatible with the suggestion made by "Seneca" in Oct 572–587 that the emperor should be prepared to accommodate the people's wishes. It looks as if the author, though basically aligned with Seneca, saw the essay's emphasis on the emperor's unlimited power as dangerous. He therefore rewrote history by modifying the philosopher's position. His purpose was perhaps to distance the memory of Seneca from absolutism, and at the same time to attach his great prestige to a more balanced political position.

What of the play's portrayal of Nero? According to the historian Tacitus, Nero was manipulated by his praetorian prefect into executing Plautus and Sulla, and by Poppaea into exiling Octavia after her divorce (*Annals* 14.57–63). The dramatist, by contrast, makes Nero solely responsible for these decisions. He also removes the feyness of character that appears in Tacitus' account, and portrays Nero as a

standard tyrant. Some critics see him as the play's dominant character, and view the play as really Nero's play. But this Nero lacks the dark fascination of some of Seneca's criminals; he is neither a force of nature like Medea, nor a connoisseur of power and cruelty like Atreus. The play's sympathies are fully aligned with Octavia and the Roman people, and against the emperor whom it portrays as their oppressor.

## Dramaturgy

For dramatic purposes the author compresses the historical events, which must have occupied several weeks, into three days: Day 1 dawns as Octavia wakes and the play begins, Day 2 (the day of the wedding) starts before dawn with the appearance of Agrippina's ghost (593), and Day 3 begins as Poppaea wakes from her nightmare (690). This is the sole surviving play from antiquity that diverges so overtly from the "unity of time." It seems likely, however, that there were precedents in earlier *praetextae*: Accius' *Brutus*, for example, covered a sequence of events that could not plausibly be represented as occupying a single day.

The author fashions the play's three days into a triptych in which the day of the wedding is at the centre while Day 3 mirrors Day 1, with the Poppaea–Nurse scene on Day 3 matching the Octavia–Nurse scene of Day 1, and Nero–Prefect matching Nero–Seneca.<sup>3</sup> These mirror scenes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In this interest in symmetrical structural design, the play differs from the Senecan dramas. The author's liking for symme-

could be dramatically effective if staged in such a way as to

bring out the parallels and differences.

The scenes of Day 3 are much shorter than their counterparts of Day 1—appropriately so, since Poppaea and the Prefect are not as significant for the play as Octavia and Seneca. From the beginning of Day 2, in fact, the drama proceeds by a sequence of short, intercut scenes which give the impression of a crisis developing and breaking. This dramaturgy is different from that of Seneca's plays, and could not be fitted into their five-act structure. It may have had precedents in *praetextae*, for it provides an effective means of dramatising highly charged and swiftly moving events: for a roughly similar effect one might compare the battlefield scenes of Euripides' *Rhesus* or Shakespeare's *Henry V*.

Despite the author's obvious debts to Seneca (see under "Sources"), it is noteworthy that he takes care to avoid post-classical (i.e. post-fifth-century) dramatic techniques found in Seneca. He has no asides, no entrance monologues with other characters "frozen" onstage, no entrances of new characters without preparatory announcement. No more than two speakers take part in any one conversation. There are no spectacular scenes like the murders of *Hercules*, the sacrifices of *Oedipus*, or the conjuration of *Medea*. Remarkably, Poppaea's wedding is entirely absent from the scenes of Day 2, and covered only by the Nurse's description of it the following day (697–

try extends into the details of composition: for example, the anapaestic sequence 57–99 is almost concentric in its distribution of lines, while the following speeches of Octavia and the Nurse are of equal length (37 lines each).

709):<sup>4</sup> contrast the wedding procession onstage in *Medea*. Though the scenes of Octavia's departure, first from the palace and later from Rome, could have provided opportunities for spectacle or for dramatic confrontations, their focus is rather on Octavia's state of mind. All this suggests a deliberate pursuit of classical restraint and decorum, in conscious divergence from Senecan dramaturgy.

Setting

The opening scenes of Day 1 and Day 3 are specified as set inside and outside the imperial bedchamber. Other scenes can be inferred from their content to take place elsewhere in the palace, others again in front of the palace. The final scene of Octavia's departure is set at a dock: since the citizens of the chorus are still present, the Roman audience might think of the Tiber dock just a few hundred yards from the palace, though this is not specified.<sup>5</sup>

Such fluidity of setting, combined with a lack of specificity (or at least consistent specificity) about the location, is comparable with the treatment of dramatic space in several of Seneca's dramas (*Tro, Phoen, Med, Pha*).

## Authorship

Octavia is transmitted among Seneca's plays, but in the A manuscripts only, not in E. For a variety of reasons most

<sup>4</sup> It has been suggested that the wedding was represented by a processional scene after line 646 or 668. One wonders, however, whether the magnificence of such a procession would not have counteracted the play's consistent alignment of sympathy with Octavia.

 $^5$  In fact Octavia was first sent to live in Campania under house arrest, then taken from there to Pandataria some days later.

scholars now believe that it was not written by Seneca, though some maintain Senecan authorship.

Despite obvious similarities to the first eight plays of the corpus, the style of Octavia is plain in comparison, lacking in rhetorical vigour, in bite and verbal pyrotechnics. This plainness is due in part to the subject matter: it would not do to put high-style compound adjectives such as incestificus and luctificus (Phoen 223, Med 577) into the mouths of near contemporaries. Yet the real Nero, at least according to Suetonius, had a piquant verbal style (Last Words: qualis artifex pereo, "What an artist is lost here!"); except for the good pun on clementia/dementia (496) there is little indication of it here, and indeed little sense of the connection between power over words and power over people. The play's language, in fact, is somewhat impoverished. The author overworks obviously "tragic" adjectives such as saevus, dirus, ferus, miserandus; he also courts monotony by repeatedly ending trimeters with disyllabic personal adjectives and pronouns such as meus, tuus, suus, mihi, tibi. In metre there are small but significant idiosyncracies: final -o is shortened scarcely at all, and the frequency of hiatus and double spondee in the second metra of anapaestic dimeters is much higher than in the Senecan plays.6

Another argument against Senecan authorship is that

Here as elsewhere the play simplifies and foreshortens historical events.

 $^6$  On the relative frequency of long and shortened final -o see AJPhil 102 (1981) 303. In anapaests Oct allows double spondee in the second metron twice as frequently as Seneca; and there are more instances of second-metron hiatus in  $Oct\ (9)$  than in all the Senecan plays together (7).

the play appears to allude to events subsequent to Seneca's death in A.D. 65. Agrippina's ghost prophesies a series of events, seemingly in correct chronological order, from the construction of Nero's Golden House after the Great Fire of 64 to the death of Nero in 68 (lines 624–631). Poppaea's dream (lines 718–733), though less explicit, appears designed to foreshadow, for an audience with knowledge of the events of 62–68, the deaths of Poppaea herself, her former husband and their son, and Nero, in that order. Naturally the prophecy and dream do not go into great detail: otherwise they would have looked too much like hindsight from 68 or later, rather than foresight from 62 (the play's dramatic date). Because of this vagueness, supporters of Senecan authorship argue that the prophecy and dream represent good guesswork on Seneca's part.

## Date

Probably, then, the play was written after Nero's death in June 68. It is unlikely to have been written later than the 90's A.D., when the vogue for Seneca's work was diminishing and memories of Octavia fading. It is also unlikely to have been written in the reign of the dictatorial Domitian (emperor 81–96); although *praetextae* and other dramas were occasionally vehicles for political protest against tyranny at Rome, the tone of *Octavia* seems more elegiac than defiant or militant.

Indeed, considerations of relevance and interest suggest that the play was composed while the memory of Nero's reign and partisan feelings about it were still strong. It has been argued that the play's popularism, albeit qualified, may echo the slogans and ideology of the rebellion against Nero, the short reign of Galba, and the start of

Vespasian's reign, which would point to composition between mid-68 and 70. Likewise the condemnation of extravagant expenditure (*luxuria*, lines 426–428, 433–434, 624–628), irrelevant to the plot, may reflect the policy of parsimony instituted by Galba and Vespasian.

## Sources

The author borrows freely from Seneca's phrasing and thought, both in the tragedies and in the prose works. No less than three of his scenes (Octavia–Nurse, and the two scenes involving Nero) use elements from Senecan passion-restraint scenes (see vol. 1 p. 17): the Nero–Prefect scene is particularly reminiscent of the Atreus–Assistant scene in *Thyestes*, while the debate between Nero and Seneca on the uses of power has much in common with Act 2 of *Trojan Women*, as well as with *On Clemency*. Like Seneca himself, the writer models much of his phrasing on Ovid, and to a lesser extent on Vergil.

How much the author owes to tragedies or *praetextae* by other authors we cannot say, because of the loss of almost all that material. We can, however, glimpse an allusion in the Poppaea–Nurse scene to a scene in Accius' *Brutus*, in which an ominous dream was recounted and in-

terpreted.

The play's account of historical events bears similarities to that of the historian Tacitus in Book 14 of his *Annals*, written early in the second century A.D. If the suggested date of *Octavia* is correct, the dramatist cannot have drawn on Tacitus. Indeed the opposite may be the case: Tacitus' account of Octavia's exile (14.64), with its tragic tone and its anonymous group of sympathetic onlookers recalling

the similar fates of other imperial women, may well be indebted to our play (see particularly lines 932–957). No doubt there was a spate of partisan accounts of Nero's reign soon after his death; probably the author himself also had a good knowledge of the events as a contemporary.

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## DRAMATIS PERSONAE

OCTAVIA, daughter of the emperor Claudius, wife of Nero
NURSE of Octavia
SENECA, philosopher, advisor to Nero
NERO, emperor of Rome
PREFECT of the Guard
Ghost of AGRIPPINA, mother of Nero
NURSE of Poppaea
POPPAEA, mistress then wife of Nero
MESSENGER
CHORUS of Roman citizens
Secondary CHORUS of Poppaea's supporters

## Scene

Inside and outside the imperial palace at Rome; later at a nearby dock (see Introduction).

OCTAVIA

Iam vaga caelo sidera fulgens Aurora fugat; surgit Titan radiante coma mundoque diem reddit clarum. age, tot tantis onerata malis, repete assuetos iam tibi questus, atque aequoreas vince Alcyonas, vince et volucres Pandionias: gravior namque his fortuna tua est.

Semper genetrix deflenda mihi, prima meorum causa malorum, tristes questus natae exaudi, si quis remanet sensus in umbris. utinam ante manu grandaeva sua mea rupisset stamina Clotho, tua quam maerens vulnera vidi oraque foedo sparsa cruore! o lux semper funesta mihi! tempore ab illo

This play is found in A but not in E.

5

10

### OCTAVIA

[Alone in her bedchamber]

Now Dawn's brilliance sweeps the wandering stars from the sky; Titan arises radiance-crowned and returns bright daylight to the world. Come then, with so many weighty troubles, renew the laments that are now your habit; outdo the halcyons of the sea, 1 outdo Pandion's winged daughters, for your fortune is more grievous than theirs.

O mother for whom I must always weep, starting point and source of my troubles, hear your daughter's sad laments, if any perception is left in the shades. I wish the age-old spinner Clotho had snapped my life thread with her hand before I saw through tears your wounds, your face horribly sprayed with blood. O daylight that always means death to me! Ever since that time

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Index under Alcyone.

20 lux est tenebris invisa magis. tulimus saevae iussa novercae, hostilem animum vultusque truces. illa, illa meis tristis Erinys thalamis Stygios praetulit ignes, teque extinxit, miserande pater, 25 modo cui totus paruit orbis, ultra Oceanum cuique Britanni terga dedere, ducibus nostris ante ignoti 30 iurisque sui. coniugis, heu me, pater, insidiis oppresse iaces, servitque domus cum prole tua capta tyranno.

#### NUTRIX

Fulgore primo captus et fragili bono
fallacis aulae quisquis attonitus stupet,
subito latentis ecce Fortunae impetu
modo praepotentem cernat eversam domum
stirpemque Claudi, cuius imperio fuit
subiectus orbis, paruit liber diu
Oceanus et recepit invitus rates.
en qui Britannis primus imposuit iugum,
ignota tantis classibus texit freta,
interque gentes barbaras tutus fuit

et saeva maria, coniugis scelere occidit;

45 mox illa nati: cuius extinctus iacet

the daylight has been more hateful than darkness. I have borne my cruel stepmother's commands, her hostile spirit and grim looks.

She was the dismal Erinys that lit my marriage chamber with Stygian torches; and she quenched your light, piteous father, by whom the whole world had been ruled, and before whom Britons across the ocean had turned and fled, though previously beyond the control or ken of our armies' leaders.

By your own wife's treachery, poor father, you lie destroyed, and your house and offspring are enslaved and captive to a tyrant.

### NURSE

[Alone, outside the bedchamber] Are people captivated and awestruck by the glittering first impression, the unstable boon, of a beguiling throne? They should look at the results of lurking Fortune's sudden onslaught—behold the overthrow of Claudius' house, just now supremely powerful, and of his offspring! The whole world was subject to his sway; Ocean, free for so long, obeyed him and reluctantly received his ships. See, the man who first imposed the yoke on the Britons, who covered unknown straits with vast fleets and passed safely through barbaric tribes and savage seas, fell through his own wife's wickedness! Then she fell through her son's; poisoned by him, his brother² lies dead,

 $^2$  Britannicus, both stepbrother and brother by adoption to Nero. The use of terms of relationship here underlines the destruction of the Claudian house and the impietas involved.

frater venenis, maeret infelix soror
eademque coniunx nec graves luctus valet
ira coacta tegere crudelis viri.
secreta repetit semper, atque odio pari
50 ardent mariti, mutua flagrant face.
animum dolentis nostra solatur fides
pietasque frustra: vincit immitis dolor
consilia nostra nec regi mentis potest
generosus ardor, sed malis vires capit.
55 heu quam nefandum prospicit noster timor
scelus, quod utinam numen avertat deum.

#### OCTAVIA

O mea nullis aequanda malis fortuna, licet repetam luctus, Electra, tuos! tibi maerenti caesum licuit flere parentem, scelus ulcisci vindice fratre, tua quem pietas hosti rapuit texitque fides; me crudeli sorte parentes raptos prohibet lugere timor fratrisque necem deflere vetat, in quo fuerat spes una mihi totque malorum breve solamen. nunc in luctus servata meos magni resto nominis umbra.

<sup>49</sup> secreta repetit Fitch: secreta refugit recc.: quem secreta refugit A, unmetrically

50 ardent *Peiper*: ardens *A* 52 vincit *Bücheler*: mittit *A*

flagrant Peiper: flagrat A

60

65

while his ill-starred sister-wife mourns and cannot conceal her deep grief, though obliged to do so by her cruel husband's anger. She always hurries back into seclusion; wife and husband equally burn strongly with a fire of mutual hatred. Out of loyalty and devotion I try to console her grieving spirit, but in vain; her bitter pain prevails over my advice, and the noble ardour of her mind cannot be ruled, but draws strength from her troubles. Oh, what an unspeakable crime my fear foresees! May the power of the gods avert it!

### OCTAVIA

No other troubles can match this fate of mine, not though I call to mind your griefs, Electra. In your time of sorrow you were able to weep for your slain father and avenge that crime, championed by your brother, who was rescued and hidden from the foe by your loyal devotion. But I am prevented by fear from mourning the loss of my parents, cruelly taken, forbidden to weep for my murdered brother, in whom had lain my only hope, my short-lived solace in so many woes. Now, surviving solely to mourn, I am left, the shadow of a mighty name.

## NUTRIX

Vox en nostras perculit aures tristis alumnae: cesset thalamis inferre gradus tarda senectus?

### **OCTAVIA**

Excipe nostras lacrimas, nutrix, testis nostri fida doloris.

## NUTRIX

Quis te tantis solvet curis, miseranda, dies?

## OCTAVIA

Qui me Stygias mittet ad umbras.

#### NUTRIX

Omina quaeso sint ista procul.

#### OCTAVIA

Non vota meos tua nunc casus, sed fata regunt.

#### NUTRIX

Dabit afflictae meliora deus tempora mitis; tu modo blando vince obsequio placata virum.

#### OCTAVIA

Vincam saevos ante leones tigresque truces fera quam saevi corda tyranni!

75

80

## NURSE

Ah! The voice of my sorrowing child strikes my ears. Must I be slow to enter her room through tardy old age?

[She enters the bedchamber]

## OCTAVIA

Oh nurse, be receptive to my tears, you faithful witness to all my pain.

### NURSE

Pitiful one, what day will free you from such sorrows?

### OCTAVIA

The day that sends me to the Stygian shades.

## NURSE

I pray that omen will be turned aside!

#### OCTAVIA

It is not your prayers any more, but doom that rules my lot.

#### NURSE

After affliction a kindly god will grant better times. You must just calmly win your husband by sweet submission.

## OCTAVIA

I shall sooner win cruel lions over and brutal tigers than the fierce heart of this cruel tyrant!

odit genitos sanguine claro, spernit superos hominesque simul, nec fortunam capit ipse suam, quam dedit illi per scelus ingens infanda parens.
licet ingratum dirae pudeat munere matris hoc imperium cepisse, licet tantum munus morte rependat, feret hunc titulum post fata tamen femina longo semper in aevo.

## NUTRIX

Animi retine verba furentis, temere emissam comprime vocem.

## OCTAVIA

Toleranda quamvis patiar, haud umquam queant 100 nisi morte tristi nostra finiri mala. genetrice caesa, per scelus rapto patre, orbata fratre, miseriis luctu obruta. maerore pressa, coniugi invisa ac meae subjecta famulae, luce non grata fruor, 105 trepidante semper corde—non mortis metu, sed sceleris: absit crimen a fatis meis. mori iuvabit. poena nam gravior nece est videre tumidos et truces miserae mihi vultus tyranni, iungere atque hosti oscula, 110 timere nutus cuius obsequium meus haud ferre posset fata post fratris dolor

90

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Acte, Nero's former mistress.

He hates those born of noble blood, sneers at gods and humans alike, and cannot cope with his own good fortune, bestowed upon him through dreadful crime by his monstrous parent.

Despite the ingrate's shame at receiving imperial power as the gift of his dire mother, despite his repaying so great a gift with death, yet she, a woman, will always bear that posthumous claim to fame through the ages.

## NURSE

Do not give your angry spirit voice; stifle such rashly uttered words.

#### OCTAVIA

However much I might put up with what must be endured, my troubles could never end except in my unhappy death. With my mother killed and my father wickedly taken, bereft of my brother, overwhelmed with misery and grief, burdened with sorrow, hated by my husband, and subordinate to my own slavewoman, I take no pleasure in the light of day. My heart trembles always—with fear not of death, but of villainy. As long as no evil is involved in my doom, to die will be welcome. For it is suffering worse than death to see this tyrant's haughty black looks against my poor self, to share kisses with my enemy, to fear his very nod. I could not have endured submitting to him in my pain after the

<sup>4</sup> The phrase could have a second meaning, perhaps unintended by Octavia, viz. a reference to the trumped-up *crimen* or charge of adultery that was used to justify her banishment.

scelere interempti, cuius imperium tenet et sorte gaudet auctor infandae necis.

Ouam saepe tristis umbra germani meis offertur oculis, membra cum solvit quies et fessa fletu lumina oppressit sopor! modo facibus atris armat infirmas manus oculosque et ora fratris infestus petit, modo trepidus idem refugit in thalamos meos; persequitur hostis atque inhaerenti mihi violentus ensem per latus nostrum rapit. tunc tremor et ingens excutit somnos pavor renovatque luctus et metus miserae mihi.

Adice his superbam paelicem, nostrae domus spoliis nitentem, cuius in munus suam Stygiae parentem natus imposuit rati; quam, dira post naufragia, superato mari, ferro interemit saevior pelagi fretis.

quae spes salutis, post nefas tantum, mihi?
inimica victrix imminet thalamis meis
odioque nostri flagrat et pretium stupri
iustae maritum coniugis captat caput.
Emergere umbris et fer auxilium tuae
natae invocanti, genitor, aut Stygios sinus
tellure rupta pande, quo praeceps ferar.

## NUTRIX

Frustra parentis invocas manes tui, miseranda, frustra, nulla cui prolis suae

133 captat A: poscit Gronovius

criminal slaying of my brother; for he holds *his* power and enjoys *his* position, while responsible for his unspeakable murder!

How often my real brother's sad shade appears to my sight, when my body relaxes in rest and sleep subdues my eyes, wearied with weeping! Sometimes he arms his feeble hands with black torches, and furiously attacks his brother's face and eyes. Sometimes in terror he takes refuge in my bedroom; his enemy pursues him and stabs him violently, thrusting the sword through my side as he clings tightly to me. Then trembling and panic drive off sleep, and renew the grief and fear in my sad heart.

Add to all this his arrogant mistress,<sup>5</sup> glittering with spoils taken from my house. As a favour to her, the mother was set on a Stygian ship by her own son, and then, after the dreadful shipwreck, after surviving the sea, she was assassinated by that son, crueller than the sea's waves.<sup>6</sup> After such an outrage, what hope of safety is there for me? My victorious enemy has designs on my marriage; she burns with hatred for me, and as the price of adultery she keeps asking my husband for the head of his lawfully wedded wife. Come forth from the shades and bring help in response to your daughter's appeal, father! Or else rend the earth and open the Stygian depths, so I can plunge headlong into them.

## NUBSE

It is futile to invoke your father's spirit, poor girl, futile! No concern for his offspring remains with him among

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Poppaea.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> These events are described more fully in lines 310–376.

manet inter umbras cura: qui nato suo
praeferre potuit sanguine alieno satum,
natamque fratris coniugem pactus sibi
toris nefandis flebili iunxit face.
hinc orta series facinorum: caedes, doli,
regni cupido, sanguinis diri sitis;
mactata soceri concidit thalamis gener

mactata soceri concidit thalamis gener victima, tuis ne fieret hymenaeis potens. pro facinus ingens! feminae est munus datus Silanus et cruore foedavit suo patrios penates, criminis ficti reus.

intravit hostis, ei mihi, captam domum dolis novercae, principis factus gener idemque natus, iuvenis infandi ingeni, capaxque scelerum, dira cui genetrix facem accendit et te iunxit invitam metu.

Tantoque victrix facta successu ferox ausa imminere est orbis imperio sacri. quis tot referre facinorum formas potest et spes nefandas feminae et blandos dolos regnum petentis per gradus scelerum omnium? tunc sancta Pietas extulit trepidos gradus, vacuamque Erinys saeva funesto pede intravit aulam, polluit Stygia face sacros penates, iura naturae furens fasque omne rupit. miscuit coniunx viro

141 gnatamque *Heinsius*: genitamque *A* captus *A* 156 sacri *A*: sacro *Gronovius* 

pactus Peiper:

155

 $<sup>^7</sup>$  By adopting Nero, who then took precedence over Britannicus by age.  $$^8$  Agrippina was the daughter of Claudius'

the shades. He was even capable of setting another's seed above his own son! And he betrothed his brother's daughter to himself and took her to bride—an illicit union, a disastrous marriage. That began a series of crimes: murder, treachery, lust for the throne, thirst for sacrilegious blood. The son-in-law fell as a victim sacrificed to his father-in-law's bridal bed, to prevent his gaining power through marriage to you. What a monstrous crime! A present was made of Silanus to a woman; accused on a trumped-up charge, he stained the house gods of his fathers with his own blood. Then, alas, the foe entered the captured house; through your stepmother's schemes he became both son-in-law and son to the emperor—a young man of unspeakable character and aptitude for crime, whose dire mother lit the torch and made you his reluctant, fearful bride.

In triumph, and truculent as a result of such success, she dared to pursue the dominion of the hallowed world. Who could recount the many forms of evil, the woman's criminal ambition and fawning treachery, as she sought the throne through a series of crimes of every kind? That was when holy Righteousness departed with trembling steps; once the palace was empty, cruel Erinys entered on deadly feet, defiled the sacred house gods with her Stygian torch, and frantically broke nature's laws and all standards of right. The wife mixed deadly potions for her husband, and

brother Germanicus. Marriage between an uncle and niece had previously been forbidden as incestuous.

<sup>9</sup> Silanus had been betrothed to Octavia, and thus was Claudius' prospective son-in-law. The betrothal was broken off, and Silanus disgraced, through the machinations of Agrippina. Silanus committed suicide on the very day of Agrippina's marriage to Claudius.

venena saeva, cecidit atque eadem sui mox scelere nati. tu quoque extinctus iaces, deflende nobis semper, infelix puer, modo sidus orbis, columen Augustae domus, Britannice, heu me, nunc levis tantum cinis
et tristis umbra; saeva cui lacrimas dedit etiam noverca, cum rogis artus tuos dedit cremandos, membraque et vultus deo similes volanti saeviens flamma abstulit.

OCTAVIA

Extinguat et me, ne manu nostra cadat!

NUTRIX

175 Natura vires non dedit tantas tibi.

OCTAVIA

Dolor ira maeror miseriae luctus dabunt.

NUTRIX

Vince obsequendo potius immitem virum.

**OCTAVIA** 

Ut fratrem ademptum scelere restituat mihi?

NUTRIX

Incolumis ut sis ipsa, labentem ut domum genitoris olim subole restituas tua.

OCTAVIA

Expectat aliam principis subolem domus; me dira miseri fata germani trahunt.

<sup>173</sup> saeviens Baehrens: fervens A, unmetrically After 173 CS leave a space of 30 lines, P of 26 lines

then she herself fell by her own son's crime. You too lie dead, ill-fated boy for whom we must ever weep, once the world's bright star and bulwark of the Augustan house, Britannicus, but now, alas, no more than light ash and a sorrowful shade. Even your cruel stepmother bestowed tears on you, when she gave your body to the pyre for cremation, and those limbs and face that resembled the winged god<sup>10</sup> were consumed by the raging flames.<sup>11</sup>

## OCTAVIA

He must destroy me too, or he will fall by my hand.

## NURSE

Nature has not given you such strength.

## OCTAVIA

Pain, anger, sorrow, misery, grief will give it.

## NURSE

Instead you should use submissiveness to win over your unkind husband.

#### OCTAVIA

So he can restore the brother he wickedly stole from me?

### NURSE

So you yourself can be safe, and so you can one day restore your father's failing house with children of your own.

### OCTAVIA

The emperor's house awaits other children. <sup>12</sup> I am dragged down by my poor brother's terrible doom.

 $^{10}$  Cupid.  $\,^{11}$  Between 173 and 174 some lines have been lost, in which the topic turned back to Nero.

12 Poppaea was now pregnant by Nero.

NUTRIX

Confirmet animum civium tantus favor.

OCTAVIA

Solatur iste nostra, non relevat mala.

NUTRIX

185 Vis magna populi est.

OCTAVIA Principis maior tamen.

NUTRIX

Respiciet ipse coniugem.

OCTAVIA
Paelex vetat.

NUTRIX

Invisa cunctis nempe.

OCTAVIA Sed cara est viro.

NUTRIX

Nondum uxor est.

OCTAVIA
Iam fiet, et genetrix simul.

NUTRIX

Iuvenilis ardor impetu primo furit,
190 languescit idem facile nec durat diu
in Venere turpi, ceu levis flammae vapor;
amor perennis coniugis castae manet.
violare prima quae toros ausa est tuos
animumque domini famula possedit diu,

#### NURSE

The citizens' firm support for you should strengthen your heart.

## OCTAVIA

It consoles me in my troubles, but it does not lessen them.

## NURSE

The people's power is great.

OCTAVIA

But the emperor's greater.

NURSE

He himself will show regard for his wife.

OCTAVIA

His mistress forbids it.

NURSE

She is hated by all, you see.

OCTAVIA

But dear to her husband.

NURSE

She is not yet a wife.

OCTAVIA

Soon she will be, and a mother too.

## NURSE

Young men's ardour is wild in its first onset, but it readily wanes, and does not persist long in an illicit affair, like the heat of a feeble flame; whereas love for a chaste wife remains and endures. The very woman who first dared to dishonour your marriage bed—the servant who long commanded her master's heart—is now fearful, you see, of

195 iam metuit eadem nempe praelatam sibi subiecta et humilis, atque monumenta extruit quibus timorem falsa testatur suum. et hanc levis fallaxque destituet deus volucer Cupido; sit licet forma eminens, opibus superba, gaudium capiet breve. 200 Passa est similes ipsa dolores regina deum, cum se formas vertit in omnes dominus caeli divumque pater, 205 et modo pinnas sumpsit oloris, modo Sidonii cornua tauri, aureus idem fluxit in imbri. fulgent caelo sidera Ledae. patrio residet Bacchus Olympo, 210 deus Alcides possidet Heben nec Iunonis iam timet iras. cuius gener est qui fuit hostis. vicit sapiens tamen obsequium coniugis altae pressusque dolor: 215 sola Tonantem tenet aetherio secura toro maxima Iuno, nec mortali captus forma deserit altam Iuppiter aulam.

 $^{195\text{b}}$  nempe praelatam sibi assigned to Octavia by Ritter: part of Nurse's speech in A  $^{197}$  falsa  $\delta\eta$ : fassa C

 $<sup>^{13}</sup>$  The reference is to Acte. A surviving inscription (CIL XI 1414) records the dedication of a monument to the goddess Ceres

the woman favoured above her, subdued and humble; and she is building monuments that testify to her fear now she is disappointed. This one too will be deserted by that fickle, untrustworthy god, the winged Cupid; though outstanding in beauty and arrogant in her wealth, the delight she enjoys will be brief.

Similar pains were borne by the very queen of the gods, when the lord of heaven, the father divine, changed himself into manifold shapes put on once the wings of a swan, once the horns of a bull at Sidon. once poured down in a shower of gold.14 Leda's stars now shine in the sky, Bacchus has a place on his father's Olympus, and Alcides is a god with Hebe to wife, no longer the target of Juno's anger, now son-in-law, though once her foe. Yet wise compliance, suppression of pain, brought victory for the wife on high: the sole, unchallenged mate of the Thunderer on his heavenly couch is mighty Juno; mortal beauty no longer entices Jove to abandon his palace on high.

by a freedwoman of the imperial household named Acte—perhaps the selfsame woman. 14 As a swan Jove mated with Leda, two of whose offspring (Castor and Pollux) are now "Leda's stars" (208), i.e. Gemini; as a bull with Europa, as a golden shower with Danae. He fathered Bacchus and Alcides/Hercules (209–210) on other mortal women, Semele and Alcmene.

220

tu quoque, terris altera Iuno, soror Augusti coniunxque, graves vince dolores.

## OCTAVIA

Iungentur ante saeva sideribus freta et ignis undae, Tartaro tristi polus, lux alma tenebris, roscidae nocti dies. 225 quam cum scelesti coniugis mente impia mens nostra, semper fratris extincti memor. utinam nefandi principis dirum caput obruere flammis caelitum rector paret, qui saepe terras fulmine infesto quatit mentesque nostras ignibus terret sacris 230 novisque monstris; vidimus caelo iubar ardens cometen pandere infesta face, qua plaustra tardus noctis alterna vice regit Bootes, frigore Arctoo rigens. 235 en ipse diro spiritu saevi ducis polluitur aether: gentibus clades novas minantur astra, quas regit dux impius. non tam ferum Typhona neglecto Iove irata Tellus edidit quondam parens; haec gravior illo pestis, hic hostis deum 240 hominumque templis expulit superos suis civesque patria, spiritum fratri abstulit,

fruiturque vita noxiam atque animam trahit!

245 Pro summe genitor, tela cur frustra iacis invicta totiens temere regali manu?

hausit cruorem matris-et lucem videt

<sup>232</sup> infesta face Fitch: infestam facem A

You too, a second Juno on earth, Augustus' sister<sup>15</sup> and wife, must conquer your grievous pain.

## OCTAVIA

Cruel seas will unite with stars, fire with water, heaven with gloomy Tartarus, kindly light with darkness, day with dewy night, before my mind, with its constant memory of my dead brother, will unite with my wicked husband's unrighteous mind. If only heaven's ruler, who often shakes the earth with storming thunderbolts, and frightens our minds with supernatural fires and strange portents, would plan to heap fire on the monstrous head of this evil emperor! We have seen a comet's menacing flames spread their blazing radiance through the heavens, where each successive night the Wain is driven by slow Bootes, stiff with arctic cold. Look, how the very sky is tainted with the menace breathed by this savage leader: the stars threaten new disasters for the nations ruled by his unrighteousness. Not such a savage was Typhon, born once in anger by mother Earth in Jove's despite; this scourge is graver than that, this foe of gods and men has expelled divinities from their temples and citizens from their fatherland, robbed his brother of life, drained his mother's blood—and he still sees the light of day, is blessed with life and draws his pestilential breath! O father on high, why does your royal hand so often hurl your invincible bolts uselessly, at random?

<sup>15</sup> Augustus was a title of successive emperors, here Nero.

<sup>233</sup> alterna Heinsius: aeterna Avantius: aeternae\* A

in tam nocentem dextra cur cessat tua? utinam suorum facinorum poenas luat Nero insitivus, Domitio genitus patre, orbis tyrannus, quem premit turpi iugo morumque vitiis nomen Augustum inquinat!

## NUTRIX

Indignus ille, fateor, est thalamis tuis; sed cede fatis atque fortunae tuae, alumna, quaeso, neve violenti move iram mariti. forsitan vindex deus existet aliquis, laetus et veniet dies.

## OCTAVIA

Gravi deorum nostra iam pridem domus urgetur ira, prima quam pressit Venus furore miserae dura genetricis meae, quae nupta demens nupsit incesta face, oblita iusti coniugis, legum immemor. usto soluta crine, succincta anguibus ultrix Erinys venit ad Stygios toros, raptasque thalamis sanguine extinxit faces; incendit ira principis pectus truci caedem in nefandam: cecidit infelix parens, heu, nostra ferro meque perpetuo obruit extincta luctu; coniugem traxit suum natumque ad umbras, prodidit lapsam domum.

#### NUTRIX

270 Renovare luctus parce cum fletu pios,

<sup>261</sup> iusti *recc*.: nostri *A* <sup>262</sup> usto *Fitch*: illo *A* 

250

255

260

Why does your right hand not act against one who is so guilty? If only he might be punished for his crimes, this spurious Nero, <sup>16</sup> really Domitius' son, tyrant of the world, which he oppresses and degrades, as he tarnishes the name Augustus with his depravity!

### NURSE

I admit he is not worthy to share your marriage bed. But I beg you, dear child, submit to your fate and fortune; do not stir up your violent husband's anger. Perhaps some god will appear to take vengeance, and a day of joy will come.

### OCTAVIA

Our house has long been burdened with the gods' heavy anger. The first to afflict it was cruel Venus, using the madness of my poor mother, who made an insane, unholy marriage while already married, oblivious to her rightful husband and heedless of the law. With her scorched hair loosened, girded with snakes, the vengeful Erinys attended those Stygian nuptials, stole the torches from the marriage chamber and quenched them in blood. She fired the emperor's heart to commit sacrilegious murder in his fierce anger. <sup>17</sup> My unhappy mother fell, alas, to the sword, and by her death she engulfed me in everlasting grief. She dragged down her husband and son to the shades; she put our fallen house into jeopardy.

### NURSE

Forbear from renewing your laments, your tears of devo-

 $^{16}$  Nero was a name of the Claudian gens, received by the future emperor when he was adopted by Claudius.

 $^{17}\, \rm I.e.$  to execute Messalina (actually put to death on the orders of Claudius' freedman secretary Narcissus).

manes parentis neve sollicita tuae, graves furoris quae sui poenas dedit.

#### CHORUS

Quae fama modo venit ad aures! utinam falso credita perdat frustra totiens iactata fidem, 275 nec nova conjunx nostri thalamos principis intret, teneatque suos nupta penates Claudia proles; edat partu pignora pacis, qua tranquillus gaudeat orbis 280 servetque decus Roma aeternum. fratris thalamos sortita tenet maxima Iuno: soror Augusti sociata toris cur a patria pellitur aula? 285 sancta quid illi prodest pietas divusque pater? quid virginitas castusque pudor? Nos quoque nostri sumus immemores

post fata ducis, cuius stirpem prodimus aevo suadente metum. vera priorum virtus quondam Romana fuit verumque genus Martis in illis sanguisque viris. illi reges

290 metum Wilamowitz: metu A

tion—and do not disturb the spirit of your mother, who has paid a heavy penalty for her madness.

#### CHORUS

What a rumour has just now reached our ears! I pray it prove baseless, lose all credence, though idly bandied about so often. May no new wife enter our emperor's marriage chamber; may Claudius' daughter keep her own hearth and home and marriage, and bear in childbed pledges of peace, so the world can enjoy untroubled times, and Rome maintain her undying glory. Mighty Juno is her brother's appointed, established spouse: then why is the sister and marriage partner of Augustus driven from her father's palace? What help to her is her unstained goodness, her deified father, her maidenhood, her chastity?

Even we are disloyal to the memory of our dead leader: our age encourages fear, and so we betray his offspring.

True Roman manliness was found in our ancestors once; the true heredity and blood of Mars was in those men.

It was they who drove

	hac expulerant urbe superbos,
295	ultique tuos sunt bene manes,
	virgo dextra caesa parentis,
	ne servitium paterere grave et
	improba ferret praemia victrix
	dira libido.
300	te quoque bellum triste secutum est,
	mactata tua, miseranda, manu,
	nata Lucreti,
	stuprum saevi passa tyranni.
	dedit infandi sceleris poenas
305	cum Tarquinio Tullia coniunx,
	quae per caesi membra parentis
	egit saevos impia currus
	laceroque seni
	violenta rogos nata negavit.
	Haec quoque nati videre nefas
310	saecula magnum,
	cum Tyrrhenum rate ferali
	princeps captam fraude parentem
	misit in aequor.
	properant placidos linquere portus
	iussi nautae,
315	resonant remis pulsata freta;

 $300\ and\ 296-299\ placed,$  in that order, after  $303\ by\ Baehrens$ :  $296-300\ deleted\ by\ Richter$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Virginia: the tradition says she was killed by her own father to save her from the designs of the tyrannical decemvir Appius Claudius. The scandal led ultimately to the overthrow of the decemvirate (board of ten with supreme power).

proud kings out of this city, and later avenged your spirit well and truly, maiden slain by your father's hand18 to prevent you from suffering grievous slavery, and monstrous lust from gaining its shameless prize in triumph. Civil war ensued from your death too, daughter of Lucretius, when you died by your own hand, pitiful woman, after suffering the brutal tyrant's lust. 19 Along with Tarquin, Tullia his wife was punished for unspeakable crime: cruelly, unnaturally, she drove her chariot over her slaughtered father's body, and refused the torn old man (savage daughter) a funeral pyre.20

This epoch has likewise seen an enormous outrage by a son, when the emperor deceived his mother and sent her out on the Tyrrhene Sea in a death-bound ship.
On command, the sailors hasten to leave the calm of the harbour.
The sea resounds to the slap of oars,

19 Lucretia was raped by Sextus Tarquinius, son of Tarquin "the Proud," Rome's last king. Her subsequent suicide led to the expulsion of the Tarquins from Rome.

<sup>20</sup> Tullia had encouraged Tarquin the Proud to murder the reigning king, her father Servius Tullius, and take the throne.

	fertur in altum provecta ratis,
	quae resoluto robore labens
	pressa dehiscit sorbetque mare.
	tollitur ingens clamor ad astra
320	cum femineo mixtus planctu.
	mors ante oculos dira vagatur;
	quaerit leti sibi quisque fugam:
	alii lacerae puppis tabulis
	haerent nudi fluctusque secant,
325	repetunt alii litora nantes;
	multos mergunt fata profundo.
	Scindit vestes Augusta suas
	laceratque comas
	rigat et maestis fletibus ora.
330	postquam spes est nulla salutis,
	ardens ira, iam victa malis,
	"Haec" exclamat
	"mihi pro tanto munere reddis
	praemia, nate?
	hac sum, fateor, digna carina,
335	quae te genui, quae tibi lucem
000	atque imperium nomenque dedi
	Caesaris amens.
	Exere vultus Acheronte tuos
	poenisque meis pascere, coniunx:
340	ego causa tuae, miserande, necis
010	natoque tuo funeris auctor
	en, ut merui,
	ferar ad manes inhumata tuos,
	obruta saevis aequoris undis."
345	feriunt fluctus ora loquentis,
0.40	icitum nuclus ora loquenus,

the vessel stands out into the deep.
Then the ship's timbers open, it collapses, splits under pressure and drinks the sea in.
A deafening outcry mounts to heaven, mingled with women's lamentation.
Before their eyes prowls fearsome death, everyone for himself looks to escape: some, stripped of everything, cling to planks from the broken ship and face the waves; others try to swim back to shore; many are fated to drown in the deep.

The lady Augusta<sup>21</sup> rends her clothes, tears her hair and drenches her face with tears of anguish. After all hope of safety is gone, burning with anger, undone by disaster, she cries, "Is this the reward you pay me for my great service to you, my son? I admit I have earned such a vessel as this, I who bore you, who gave you the light, and, in my folly, imperial power and the name of Caesar. Raise your eyes from Acheron and feast them on my punishment, husband! I, the cause of your pitiful murder and source of death for your son-behold, as I deserve, shall fare unburied to face your shade, overwhelmed by the cruel waves of the sea." The surf buffets her mouth as she speaks,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Agrippina had been given this title as wife of the emperor.

ruit in pelagus rursusque salo pressa resurgit; pellit palmis cogente metu freta, sed cedit fessa labori. mansit tacitis in pectoribus spreta tristi iam morte fides: multi dominae ferre auxilium pelago fractis viribus audent; bracchia quamvis lenta trahentem voce hortantur manibusque levant. Quid tibi saevi fugisse maris profuit undas? ferro es nati moritura tui. cuius facinus vix posteritas, tarde semper saecula credent. furit ereptam pelagoque dolet vivere matrem impius ingens geminatque nefas, ruit in miserae fata parentis patiturque moram sceleris nullam. missus peragit iussa satelles: reserat dominae pectora ferro. caedis moriens illa ministrum rogat infelix, utero dirum condat ut ensem: "Hic est, hic est fodiendus" ait

"ferro, monstrum qui tale tulit."

cum supremo mixtam gemitu

349 freta set Bücheler: fata et A

post hanc vocem

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she is plunged in the sea; although engulfed, she rises again and flails the surface with her arms, impelled by fear—but the effort tires and defeats her. Still there remains in people's hearts an unspoken allegiance that scorns grim death. Many make bold to render help to their lady, despite being weakened by the sea; although she drags her leaden arms, they rally her with cries, support her with their hands.

But what was the good of making your escape from the cruel sea's waves? You are doomed to die by the sword of your son, whose deed posterity will scarcely believe and every age will be slow to credit. He is furious and troubled that his mother still lives, saved from the sea, and renews his unnatural villainy, spurs on with his wretched mother's death, tolerates no delay in the crime. An attendant is sent and carries out orders: he opens the lady's breast with the sword. Dying, the ill-starred woman asks the agent of her murder to bury that heinous sword in her womb. "This is what you must stab," she said, "with the steel: it brought forth such a monster." After these words, mixed with a final groan,

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animam tandem per fera tristem vulnera reddit.

### SENECA

Quid, impotens Fortuna, fallaci mihi blandita vultu, sorte contentum mea alte extulisti, gravius ut ruerem edita receptus arce totque prospicerem metus? melius latebam procul ab invidiae malis remotus inter Corsici rupes maris, ubi liber animus et sui iuris mihi semper vacabat studia recolenti mea. o quam iuvabat, quo nihil maius parens Natura genuit, operis immensi artifex, caelum intueri, solis et cursus sacros mundique motus, noctis alternas vices orbemque Phoebes, astra quem cingunt vaga,

390 lateque fulgens aetheris magni decus!

Qui si senescit, tantus in caecum chaos casurus iterum, nunc adest mundo dies supremus ille, qui premat genus impium caeli ruina, rursus ut stirpem novam generet renascens melior, ut quondam tulit iuvenis, tenente regna Saturno poli. tunc illa virgo, numinis magni dea, Iustitia, caelo missa cum sancta Fide, terra regebat mitis humanum genus. non bella norant, non tubae fremitus truces,

non bella norant, non tubae fremitus truces non arma gentes, cingere assuerant suas muris nec urbes; pervium cunctis iter, communis usus omnium rerum fuit;

she yielded her sorrowing spirit at last through her cruel wounds.

#### SENECA

Why, wilful Fortune, smiling on me with your deceiving face—why, when I was content with my lot, did you raise me on high, so that once admitted to this lofty eminence I could fall more heavily, and look out on so many terrors? I was better off when hidden far from envy's mischief, out of the way amidst Corsica's sea crags, where my mind was free and sovereign and always at liberty for me to pursue my studies. Oh what a delight it was to gaze at the greatest creation of Mother Nature, architect of this measureless fabric—the heavens, the holy paths of the sun, the movements of the cosmos, the recurrence of night and the circuit traced by Phoebe, with the wandering stars around her, and the far-shining glory of the great firmament!

If the heavens are growing old, doomed despite their immensity to fall back into blind chaos, we are now approaching that final day which will crush this sacrilegious race beneath the collapsing sky. That will allow a reborn and better cosmos to bring forth once again a new progeny, such as it bore in youth when Saturn held the throne of heaven. In those days that virgin goddess of great power, Justice, descended with holy Faithfulness from heaven, and ruled the human race mildly on earth. The nations knew no wars, no grim trumpet's blare, no weapons, nor the practice of surrounding cities with walls; travel was open to all, everything was held in common; and the glad

<sup>377</sup> impotens Siegmund: me potens A

<sup>387</sup> cursus recc.: currus A

et ipsa Tellus laeta fecundos sinus 405 pandebat ultro, tam piis felix parens et tuta alumnis.

Alia sed suboles minus conspecta mitis. tertium sollers genus novas ad artes extitit, sanctum tamen; mox inquietum, quod sequi cursu feras auderet acres, fluctibus tectos gravi extrahere pisces rete vel calamo levi, decipere volucres crate vel <posito vagas> tenere laqueo, premere subiectos iugo tauros feroces, vomere immunem prius sulcare terram, laesa quae fruges suas <summisit aegre, quasque habet largas opes>

Sed in parentis viscera intravit suae deterior aetas: eruit ferrum grave aurumque, saevas mox et armavit manus. partita fines regna constituit, novas

interior alte condidit sacro sinu.

420 extruxit urbes, tecta defendit sua aliena telis aut petît praedae imminens. neglecta terras fugit et mores feros hominum, cruenta caede pollutas manus, Astraea virgo, siderum magnum decus.

425 cupido belli crevit atque auri fames totum per orbem; maximum exortum est malum luxuria, pestis blanda, cui vires dedit roburque longum tempus atque error gravis.

Collecta vitia per tot aetates diu 430 in nos redundant; saeculo premimur gravi,

407 lacuna between mitis and tertium suspected by Richter

410

412bis

earth opened her fertile bosom without coercion, a mother blessed and unharmed by nurslings who so revered her.

But a second breed appeared, of less gentle character. A third race arose, inventive of new arts, yet reverent; but then a restless race, that ventured to pursue wild beasts in the chase, to draw fish from their shelter in the waves with heavy nets or light rods, to trick birds into wickerwork traps or set snares to hold the vagrants fast, to subject fierce bulls to the weight of the yoke, and to furrow with the plough the previously unscathed earth; when injured she <put forth> her crops <grudgingly, and the lavish resources> within her she hid deep in her sacred bosom.

But a worse generation delved into the body of its own parent, rooted out heavy iron and gold, and soon made weapons for its cruel hands. It assigned boundaries and established kingdoms, built cities for the first time, defended its homes or attacked others', bent on plunder. Away from the earth where she was scorned, from the savagery of humans, from hands polluted with bloody slaughter, fled the virgin Astraea, great glory of the stars. Lust for war and hunger for gold grew throughout the world; and the great evil arose of extravagant excess, a seductive curse, given strength and force by the lengthening years and grave moral blindness.

The vices accumulated over time, over so many ages, are flooding out over *us*; we are burdened by an oppres-

<sup>412 (</sup>posito vagas) Peiper: calamo aut levi (from 411) A

<sup>413</sup> vomere G (in margin), recc.: vulnere A

<sup>414</sup> lacuna identified and supplement proposed by Zwierlein

<sup>420</sup> sua Bücheler: suis A

quo scelera regnant, saevit impietas furens, turpi libido Venere dominatur potens, luxuria victrix orbis immensas opes iam pridem avaris manibus, ut perdat, rapit.

Sed ecce, gressu fertur attonito Nero trucique vultu. quid ferat mente horreo.

#### NERO

Perage imperata: mitte, qui Plauti mihi Sullaeque caesi referat abscisum caput.

### PRAEFECTUS

Iussa haud morabor: castra confestim petam.

#### SENECA

440 Nihil in propinquos temere constitui decet.

#### NERO

Iusto esse facile est cui vacat pectus metu.

## SENECA

Magnum timoris remedium clementia est.

#### NERO

Extinguere hostem maxima est virtus ducis.

#### SENECA

Servare cives maior est patriae patri.

#### NERO

445 Praecipere mitem convenit pueris senem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Sulla was Nero's brother-in-law as husband of Antonia, Claudius' daughter by his second wife; Plautus was more distantly related through Augustus. Both had been exiled as alleged threats to Nero's position.

<sup>23</sup> The title Pater patriae had been taken by Nero, as by previ-

sive era in which crime reigns, unrighteousness runs mad, lust rules, gaining power through sexual degradation, and triumphant extravagance has long been plundering the world's immense resources with greedy hands, in order to squander them.

But see, Nero is approaching with agitated steps and a grim expression. I shudder to think of his intentions.

#### NERO

Discharge your orders! Send someone to kill Plautus and Sulla and bring me their severed heads.

### PREFECT

I shall not delay your orders, but head for the camp forthwith. [Exit]

#### SENECA

No decision against one's kin<sup>22</sup> should be taken hastily.

## NERO

It is easy to be just when your heart is free of fear.

#### SENECA

Mercy is a great antidote to fear.

#### NERO

The greatest virtue in a leader is to destroy an enemy.

### SENECA

A greater virtue for the Father of the Country is to safe-guard citizens' lives. $^{23}$ 

### NERO

A soft old man should be teaching boys.

ous emperors except Tiberius: for the implication read into it here cf. Seneca's On Clemency 1.14.

SENECA

Regenda magis est fervida adulescentia.

NERO

Aetate in hac satis esse consilii reor.

SENECA

Ut facta superi comprobent semper tua?

NERO

Stulte verebor, ipse cum faciam, deos.

SENECA

450 Hoc plus verere quod licet tantum tibi.

NERO

Fortuna nostra cuncta permittit mihi.

SENECA

Crede obsequenti parcius: levis est dea.

NERO

Inertis est nescire quid liceat sibi.

SENECA

Id facere laus est quod decet, non quod licet.

NERO

455 Calcat iacentem vulgus.

SENECA

Invisum opprimit.

NERO

Ferrum tuetur principem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> He had deified his predecessor Claudius.

### SENECA

Guidance is needed even more for a young man's vehemence.

#### NERO

I think my time of life has judgment enough.

#### SENECA

Enough that the gods always approve of your deeds?

#### NERO

I should be foolish to fear the gods, when I myself create them  $^{124}$ 

### SENECA

You should fear all the more because you have so much power.

#### NERO

My good fortune gives me licence to do anything.

### SENECA

Do not put such trust in her compliance: she is a fickle goddess.

#### NERO

It is spineless not to understand what one can do.

## SENECA

Praise lies in doing what one should, not what one can.

## NERO

The mob tramples on a supine ruler.

### SENECA

But overthrows a hated one.

#### NERO

Steel is the emperor's protection.

SENECA

Melius fides.

NERO

Decet timeri Caesarem.

SENECA At plus diligi.

NERO

Laudent necesse est . . .

SENECA

Quidquid exprimitur grave est.

NERO

iussisque nostris pareant.

SENECA

Iusta impera.

NERO

460 Statuam ipse.

SENECA

Quae consensus efficiat rata.

NERO

Destrictus ensis faciet.

SENECA

Hoc absit nefas!

NERO

An patiar ultra sanguinem nostrum peti, inultus et contemptus ut subito opprimar? exilia non fregere summotos procul

458 laudent Ferri: metuant A

SENECA

Loyalty a better one.

NERO

It befits Caesar to be feared.

SENECA

But more to be loved.

NERO

They have to praise me-

SENECA:

Anything compelled is irksome.

NERO:

—and obey my orders.

SENECA

Then give just commands.

NERO

I shall determine what they are.

SENECA

In such a way that general approval will ratify them.

NERO

The drawn sword will ratify them!

SENECA

No to such outrage!

NERO

Am I to go on tolerating attempts to shed my blood, and in consequence suffer a sudden overthrow, unavenged and despised? Exile in far-off places has not broken Plautus

- Plautum atque Sullam, pertinax quorum furor armat ministros sceleris in caedem meam, absentium cum maneat etiam ingens favor in urbe nostra, qui fovet spes exulum. tollantur hostes ense suspecti mihi,
   invisa coniunx pereat et carum sibi
- 470 invisa coniunx pereat et carum sibi fratrem sequatur. quidquid excelsum est cadat!

#### SENECA

Pulchrum eminere est inter illustres viros, consulere patriae, parcere afflictis, fera caede abstinere, tempus atque irae dare,

- orbi quietem, saeculo pacem suo.
  haec summa virtus, petitur hac caelum via.
  sic ille patriae primus Augustus parens
  complexus astra est, colitur et templis deus.
  illum tamen Fortuna iactavit diu
- 480 terra marique per graves belli vices, hostes parentis donec oppressit sui. tibi numen incruenta summisit suum et dedit habenas imperi facili manu nutuque terras maria subiecit tuo.
- 485 invidia tristis, victa consensu pio, cessit; senatus, equitis accensus favor; plebisque votis atque iudicio patrum
- 489 electus orbem spiritu sacrum regis.
- 488 tu pacis auctor, generis humani arbiter,
- 490 patriae parens: quod nomen ut serves petit suosque cives Roma commendat tibi.

sacrum Leo: sacra A

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>489</sup> placed before 488 by Frassinetti

and Sulla: with fanatical persistence they are arming their henchmen to murder me, since despite their absence they still have great popularity in our city—that is what nurtures their hopes in exile. These suspected enemies of mine must be removed by the sword; my hated wife must die, and follow the brother she holds dear. Everything that stands high must fall!

#### SENECA

It is a glorious thing to be preeminent among illustrious men, to watch over the fatherland, spare the downtrodden, refrain from savage slaughter, give anger time to cool, and grant tranquillity to the world and peace to one's own time. This is the highest virtue, this is the path to heaven. This was how that first August<sup>25</sup> Father of the Country gained the stars, and is worshipped in shrines as a god. Yet Fortune had long tossed him about over land and sea through the grievous chances of war, until he crushed his father's enemies. To you she provided her divine support without bloodshed, accommodatingly handed you the reins of empire, and made land and sea subject to the nod of your head. Sour ill-will vanished, overpowered by a collective sense of devotion: there was an outburst of enthusiasm from senators and equestrians. Chosen by the wishes of the common people and the judgment of the Fathers, 26 you rule the hallowed world by your spirit; you are provider of peace, arbiter of the human race, Father of the Country. Rome asks you to maintain that title, and she entrusts her citizens to your care.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Augustus is both a title and an adjective.

<sup>26</sup> The Senate.

#### NERO

Munus deorum est, ipsa quod servit mihi Roma et senatus, quodque ab invitis preces humilesque voces exprimit nostri metus. servare cives principi et patriae graves, claro tumentes genere, quae dementia est, cum liceat una voce suspectos sibi mori iubere? Brutus in caedem ducis, a quo salutem tulerat, armavit manus; invictus acie, gentium domitor, Iovi aequatus altos saepe per honorum gradus, Caesar nefando civium scelere occidit.

Quantum cruoris Roma tunc vidit sui, lacerata totiens! ille qui meruit pia virtute caelum, divus Augustus, viros quot interemit nobiles, iuvenes senes, sparsos per orbem, cum suos mortis metu fugerent penates et trium ferrum ducum, tabula notante deditos tristi neci! exposita rostris capita caesorum patres videre maesti, flere nec licuit suos, non gemere dira tabe polluto foro, stillante sanie per putres vultus gravi.

Nec finis hic cruoris aut caedis stetit. 515 pavere volucres et feras saevas diu tristes Philippi, sorpsit et Siculum mare

> 501 altos A: alto Zwierlein 516 sorbsit Heinsius: hausit A

495

500

505

#### NEBO

It is through the generosity of the gods that Rome herself and the Senate are at my service, and that prayers and humble words are wrung from the unwilling by fear of me. To safeguard citizens who are troublesome to emperor and country, puffed up by noble ancestry—what madness is that, when one can order the death of suspects with a single word? Brutus armed himself to slay the very leader who had granted him life;<sup>27</sup> undefeated in battle, conqueror of nations, raised to the level of Jove through a continual series of high honours, Caesar fell through an unspeakable crime committed by citizens.

Then what quantities of her own blood Rome saw, being wounded so often! He who earned a place in heaven by his virtues and sense of duty, the deified Augustus—how many noblemen he killed, young and old! They had scattered throughout the world in fear for their lives, in flight from their own homes and from the swords of the three leaders;<sup>28</sup> a notice board listed those consigned to the horror of death! Sorrowing fathers saw the heads of the slain exposed on the Rostra, yet they could not weep for their own kin, nor lament in a forum polluted with horrible gore, as foul putrescence trickled down the rotting faces.

And this was not the end of blood and slaughter. Grim Philippi long feasted birds and savage beasts, and the seas around Sicily often swallowed fleets and men as they

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Brutus was pardoned by Julius Caesar after the battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.), but was one of his assassins in 44 B.C.

 $<sup>^{28}\,\</sup>mathrm{The}$  Triumvirate of Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus; they published proscription lists of those to be killed.

classes virosque saepe caedentes suos; concussus orbis viribus magnis ducum. superatus acie puppibus Nilum petit fugae paratis, ipse periturus brevi. 520 hausit cruorem incesta Romani ducis Aegyptus iterum; non leves umbras tegit. illic sepultum est impie gestum diu civile bellum, condidit tandem suos iam fessus enses victor hebetatos feris 525 vulneribus, et continuit imperium metus. armis fideque militis tutus fuit, pietate nati factus eximia deus, post fata consecratus et templis datus. 530

Nos quoque manebunt astra, si saevo prior ense occuparo quidquid infestum est mihi, dignaque nostram subole fundaro domum.

#### SENECA

Implebit aulam stirpe caelesti tuam generata divo, Claudiae gentis decus, sortita fratris more Iunonis toros.

#### NERO

Incesta genetrix detrahit generi fidem,

522 non M. Müller: nunc A

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Philippi is used by the poets to designate both the battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C., Caesar vs. Pompey) and that of Philippi proper (42 B.C., Octavian and Antony vs. Brutus and Cassius): hence "long." Between 43 and 36 B.C. Sicily was used as a base by Pompey's son Sextus, who fought several naval battles around its coasts against the forces of Octavian.

butchered their own people.<sup>29</sup> The warlords' mighty forces shook the world. The one defeated in battle made for the Nile with ships he had readied for flight, himself soon doomed to perish. Incestuous Egypt drank the blood of a Roman leader a second time;<sup>30</sup> they are no insubstantial ghosts she shrouds! There was buried the civil war whose fighting had been so long and inhuman. At last the weary victor cached his swords, blunted by dealing savage wounds; what maintained his power was fear. It was his soldiers' arms and loyalty that kept him safe, and his son's<sup>31</sup> exceptional devotion that made him a god, hallowed him after death and set him in our shrines.

The stars will be my destiny too, if I use the cruel sword to strike preemptively at all that is hostile to me, and make my house secure through worthy offspring.

#### SENECA

Your house will be filled with children of heavenly descent by one who is the daughter of a god, the glory of the Claudian clan, who like Juno has been granted her brother's marriage bed.

#### NERO

But the line is uncertain as a result of her mother's promis-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> The second is Antony, who when defeated at Actium fled to Egypt and committed suicide there; the first was Pompey the Great. "Incestuous" alludes to the sister-brother marriages of the Egyptian royal house, including Cleopatra's successive marriages to her brothers Ptolemy XIII and XIV.

<sup>31</sup> Viz. Tiberius, his adopted son.

animusque numquam coniugis iunctus mihi.

## SENECA

Teneris in annis haud satis clara est fides, pudore victus cum tegit flammas amor.

#### NERO

Hoc equidem et ipse credidi frustra diu, manifesta quamvis pectore insociabili vultuque signa proderent odium mei, tandem quod ardens statuit ulcisci dolor. dignamque thalamis coniugem inveni meis
 genere atque forma, victa cui cedet Venus Iovisque coniunx et ferox armis dea.

#### SENECA

Probitas fidesque coniugis, mores pudor placeant marito. sola perpetuo manent subiecta nulli mentis atque animi bona; florem decoris singuli carpunt dies.

#### NERO

Omnes in unam contulit laudes deus, talemque nasci fata voluerunt mihi.

#### SENECA

Recedet a te (temere ne credas) amor.

553 recedet Bothe: recedat A

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> According to the historian Tacitus, the justification given by Nero for his divorce of Octavia was her alleged sterility. But the play strongly hints that Octavia had refused sexual relations with Nero (e.g. line 287).

cuity; and my wife's heart has never been one with mine.32

#### SENECA

Allegiance is not really evident in the tender years, when love is quelled by modesty and hides its warmth.

### NERO

Indeed, for a long time I too held that futile belief, though her face and her uncongenial heart gave clear signs revealing her hatred for me—for which my burning resentment has finally decide to retaliate. And I have found a wife whose ancestry and beauty make her worthy of marriage to me—one to whom Venus would concede victory, and Jove's wife, and the fierce warrior goddess.<sup>33</sup>

### SENECA

A wife's probity and fidelity, character and modesty should be what pleases her husband. The only enduring qualities are those of mind and spirit, which are under no external control; the flower of beauty is diminished by each passing day.

#### NERO

God has brought together every distinction in this one woman; the Fates willed that such a paragon should be born for me.

#### SENECA

Love will forsake you; do not have blind faith!

 $^{\rm 33}$  Pallas. These three goddesses competed for beauty in the Judgment of Paris.

#### NERO

Quem summovere fulminis dominus nequit, 555 caeli tyrannum, saeva qui penetrat freta Ditisque regna, detrahit superos polo?

### SENECA

Volucrem esse Amorem fingit immitem deum mortalis error, armat et telis manus arcuque sacras, instruit saeva face genitumque credit Venere, Vulcano satum. vis magna mentis blandus atque animi calor Amor est; iuventa gignitur, luxu otio nutritur inter laeta Fortunae bona. quem si fovere atque alere desistas, cadit brevique vires perdit extinctus suas.

#### NEBO

Hanc esse vitae maximam causam reor, per quam voluptas oritur; interitu caret cum procreetur semper humanum genus Amore grato, qui truces mulcet feras. hic mihi iugales praeferat taedas deus iungatque nostris igne Poppaeam toris!

### SENECA

Vix sustinere possit hos thalamos dolor videre populi, sancta nec pietas sinat.

## NERO

Prohibebor unus facere quod cunctis licet?

#### SENECA

575 Maiora populus semper a summo exigit.

560

565

#### NERO

You mean the tyrant of heaven, who cannot be banished by the lord of the thunderbolt, who penetrates the cruel seas and the realm of Dis, and draws down gods from the sky?<sup>34</sup>

### SENECA

It is human wrongheadedness that fancies winged Love as an implacable god, arms his holy hands with bow and arrows, equips him with a cruel torch, and believes him to be Venus' son by Vulcan. A powerful impulse in the mind, a seductive warmth in the heart—that is what Love is. It is generated by youth, and fostered by leisure and high living amidst Fortune's genial bounty. If you stop cherishing and nurturing it, it fades, and is soon quenched and loses its strength.

#### NERO

I think it the chief source of life, the fount of pleasure. The human race is preserved from extinction by being constantly engendered through enchanting Love, who charms even wild beasts. May this god carry torches to herald my marriage, and his fire bring Poppaea to share my bed!

#### SENECA

The people's displeasure could scarcely bear to see such a marriage; their reverence and devotion would not allow it.

#### NERO

Shall I alone be forbidden to do what all may do?

### SENECA

The people always demand more from the greatest.

<sup>34</sup> I.e. to visit human loves; the "tyrant" is Amor/Cupid.

NERO

Libet experiri, viribus fractus meis an cedat animis temere conceptus furor.

SENECA

Obsequere potius civibus placidus tuis.

NERO

Male imperatur, cum regit vulgus duces.

SENECA

580 Nihil impetrare cum valet, iuste dolet.

NERO

Exprimere ius est, ferre quod nequeunt preces?

SENECA

Negare durum est.

NERO

Principem cogi nefas.

SENECA

Remittat ipse.

NERO

Fama sed victum feret.

SENECA

Levis atque vana.

NERO

Sit licet, multos notat.

SENECA

585 Excelsa metuit.

577 furor Avantius: favor A

## NERO

I should like to discover whether this rashly conceived madness will be forgotten, once it is broken by my power.

### SENECA

Better defer graciously to your citizens.

#### NERO

Poor governance, when the commons rule their leaders!

### SENECA

When they cannot win any concessions, they are justly aggrieved.

#### NERO

Is it just to extort what they cannot gain by appeals?

#### SENECA

To say no is harsh.

#### NERO

To coerce the emperor is outrageous.

### SENECA

Let him yield of his own accord.

#### NERO

But rumour will say he was beaten.

### SENECA

It is idle and empty.

NERO

Maybe, but it stigmatizes many.

#### SENECA

It fears the great.

### NERO

Non minus carpit tamen.

#### SENECA

Facile opprimetur. merita te divi patris aetasque frangat coniugis, probitas pudor.

### NERO

Desiste tandem, iam gravis nimium mihi, instare! liceat facere quod Seneca improbat. et ipse populi vota iam pridem moror

cum portet utero pignus et partem mei. quin destinamus proximum thalamis diem.

### AGRIPPINA

Tellure rupta Tartaro gressum extuli, Stygiam cruenta praeferens dextra facem thalamis scelestis: nubat his flammis meo 595 Poppaea nato iuncta, quas vindex manus dolorque matris vertet ad tristes rogos. manet inter umbras impiae caedis mihi semper memoria, manibus nostris gravis adhuc inultis: reddita est meritis meis 600 funesta merces puppis et pretium imperi nox illa qua naufragia deflevi mea. comitum necem natique crudelis nefas deflere votum fuerat: haud tempus datum est lacrimis, sed ingens scelere geminavit nefas. 605

After 590 Lacuna recognised by Zwierlein  $^{600}$  est Bücheler: et A

<sup>35</sup> The gist of the missing line(s) was presumably that the

#### NERO

But carps nonetheless.

#### SENECA

It will easily be crushed. You should be swayed by your obligations to your deified father, by your wife's youth, her probity and modesty.

## NERO

Enough, stop pressing the point! You are trying my patience now. Let me act in a way that Seneca disapproves. Indeed I have been delaying the people's wishes for some time . . .  $^{35}$  since she is carrying in her womb a token and portion of myself. Come, let us set tomorrow as the day for the wedding. [Exeunt]

[Time: towards dawn of the next day]

## GHOST OF AGRIPPINA

Bursting through the earth I have made my way from Tartarus, bearing a Stygian torch in my bloody hand to herald this iniquitous wedding. Let Poppaea marry my son by the light of these flames, which my hand of vengeance, my anger as a mother, will turn to funeral fires. Even amidst the dead the memory of that unnatural murder remains with me always, and burdens my still unavenged shade: the payment rendered for my services was that lethal ship; the reward for imperial power, that night on which I wept over my shipwreck. I would have wished to weep over my companions' deaths and my cruel son's villainy, but no time was given for tears: he renewed his great villainy with more

people are eager for an heir to the throne, and will therefore support Nero's marriage to Poppaea.

perempta ferro, foeda vulneribus sacros intra penates spiritum effudi gravem erepta pelago—sanguine extinxi meo nec odia nati: saevit in nomen ferus 610 matris tyrannus, obrui meritum cupit, simulacra, titulos destruit memores mei totum per orbem, quem dedit poenam in meam puero regendum noster infelix amor.

Extinctus umbras agitat infestus meas flammisque vultus noxios coniunx petit, 615 instat, minatur, imputat fatum mihi tumulumque nati, poscit auctorem necis. iam parce: dabitur, tempus haud longum peto. ultrix Erinys impio dignum parat letum tyranno, verbera et turpem fugam 620 poenasque quîs et Tantali vincat sitim, dirum laborem Sisyphi, Tityi alitem Ixionisque membra rapientem rotam. licet extruat marmoribus atque auro tegat superbus aulam, limen armatae ducis 625servent cohortes, mittat immensas opes

Parthi cruentam, regna divitias ferant, veniet dies tempusque quo reddat suis 630 animam nocentem sceleribus, iugulum hostibus, desertus ac destructus et cunctis egens.

exhaustus orbis, supplices dextram petant

Heu, quo labor, quo vota ceciderunt mea!

 $<sup>^{607}</sup>$  intra  $\beta$ : inter  $\delta$ 

<sup>611</sup> memores mei Grotius: mortis metu A

crime. Dispatched by the sword, befouled by wounds, amidst the sanctities of my home I gave up my labouring spirit, just rescued from the sea. Yet my blood did not quench my son's hatred. The fierce tyrant rages against his mother's name, wants my services obliterated, throws down the statues and inscriptions that bear my memory throughout the world—the world that my ill-starred love gave him as a boy to rule, to my own harm.

My spirit is hounded fiercely by my dead husband; he thrusts burning brands at my guilty face, looms over me, threatens me, blames me for his death and his son's grave, and demands his murderer. 36 Wait—he will be provided, I need only a little time! The avenging Erinys is planning a worthy death for that unnatural tyrant: lashes, and shameful flight, and torments to surpass the thirst of Tantalus, Sisyphus' dreadful labour, the vulture of Tityos, and the wheel that spins Ixion's limbs. Though he may pile up a palace of marble and cover it with gold<sup>37</sup> in his arrogance, though armed squadrons guard their commander's door, though the depleted world sends him its immense resources, though Parthians seek to kiss his bloody hand in supplication, though kingdoms bring him their riches, there will come a day and time when he will pay for his crimes with his guilty spirit and pay his enemies with his throat, deserted and thrown down and utterly destitute.

Oh, how far my labours and prayers have fallen! How

<sup>36</sup> The son is Britannicus, his murderer Nero. Probably Agrippina sees or imagines Claudius' ghost before her (cf. Medea's vision at Med 958-966); or she may mean that Claudius attacks her in the underworld. 37 A prophetic reference to Nero's lavish Golden House, begun in A.D. 64.

quo te furor provexit attonitum tuus
et fata, nate, cedat ut tantis malis
635 genetricis ira, quae tuo scelere occidit!
utinam, antequam te parvulum in lucem edidi
aluique, saevae nostra lacerassent ferae
viscera: sine ullo scelere, sine sensu innocens
meus occidisses; iunctus atque haerens mihi
640 semper quieta cerneres sede inferum
proavos patremque, nominis magni viros—
quos nunc pudor luctusque perpetuus manet
ex te, nefande, meque quae talem tuli.

Quid tegere cesso Tartaro vultus meos, 645 noverca coniunx mater infelix meis?

#### OCTAVIA

Parcite lacrimis
urbis festo laetoque die,
ne tantus amor nostrique favor
principis acres suscitet iras,
vobisque ego sim causa malorum.
non hoc primum pectora vulnus
mea senserunt;
graviora tuli.
dabit hic nostris finem curis
vel morte dies.
non ego saevi cernere cogar
coniugis ora,

 $^{640}$  quieta . . . sede recc.: quietam . . . sedem A

650

far your wild madness and your destiny have brought you, son—to a point where your mother's anger fades before such disasters, though she died by your crime. I wish that before I brought you into the light as a tiny baby and suckled you, wild beasts had ripped apart my womb! You would have died my innocent child, free of crime and consciousness; clinging close to me in a peaceful corner of the underworld, you would have gazed forever on your father and forefathers, men of great name—but now doomed to everlasting shame and grief by you (so evil!) and by me who bore such a son.

Why am I slow to hide my face in Tartarus, I who blight my kin as stepmother, wife, and mother?

[Time: later that morning]

### OCTAVIA

Weep no more<sup>38</sup> on this festive, joyful day for the city, lest so much love and support for me arouse the emperor's bitter anger and bring you trouble for my sake. This wound is not the first my heart has felt: I have born worse things before. This day will grant an end to my cares, be it by death.

I shall not be forced to look at the face of my brutal husband,

 $^{38}$  She is addressing her attendants, or (less probably) the citizens who speak at 669.

non invisos intrare mihi thalamos famulae; soror Augusti, non uxor ero. absint tantum tristes poenae letique metus. —scelerum diri, miseranda, viri potes hoc demens sperare mem

potes hoc demens sperare memor? hos ad thalamos servata diu victima tandem funesta cades.

Sed quid patrios saepe penates respicis udis confusa genis? propera tectis efferre gradus, linque cruentam principis aulam.

#### CHORUS

En illuxit suspecta diu 670 fama totiens jactata dies: cessit thalamis Claudia diri pulsa Neronis, quos iam victrix Poppaea tenet, cessat pietas dum nostra gravi compressa metu segnisque dolor. 675 ubi Romani vis est populi, fregit claros quae saepe duces, dedit invictae leges patriae, fasces dignis civibus olim, iussit bellum pacemque, feras 680 gentes domuit, captos reges carcere clausit?

677 claros A: diros M. Müller

660

nor enter the hateful chamber of that slavewoman;<sup>39</sup> I shall be Augustus' sister, but not his wife. Just let me be spared forbidding torments and the terror of death. Poor woman, knowing your monstrous husband's crimes, can you hope for this? Insane! Long set aside for this wedding, you will die

But why look back at your father's home so often, with eyes that are blurred by tears? Hurry, make your escape from this house, quit the emperor's bloodstained palace. [Exit]

at last as a sinister sacrifice.

## CHORUS

See, the day has dawned whose coming was long suspected, often rumoured: Claudia<sup>40</sup> is banished from monstrous Nero's married quarters, where now Poppaea presides in triumph, while our devotion holds back, subdued by the weight of fear, and our anger is inert.

Where is the might of the Roman people which often crushed renowned commanders, safeguarded our country and gave it laws, gave power to worthy citizens once, commanded war or peace, subdued ferocious tribes, shut away captured kings in prison?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Acte (cf. 105).

<sup>40</sup> Octavia.

gravis en oculis undique nostris iam Poppaeae fulget imago, iuncta Neroni! affligat humo violenta manus similes nimium vultus dominae ipsamque toris detrahat altis, petat infestis mox et flammis telisque feri principis aulam.

## NUTRIX

Quo trepida gressum coniugis thalamis tui 690 effers, alumna, quodve secretum petis turbata vultu? cur genae fletu madent? certe petitus precibus et votis dies nostris refulsit: Caesari juncta es tuo 695 taeda iugali, quem tuus cepit decor et culta sancte tradidit vinctum tibi genetrix Amoris, maximum numen, Venus. o qualis altos quanta pressisti toros residens in aula! vidit attonitus tuam 700 formam senatus, tura cum superis dares sacrasque grato spargeres aras mero, velata summum flammeo tenui caput; et ipse lateri iunctus atque haerens tuo sublimis inter civium laeta omina incessit habitu atque ore laetitiam gerens 705 princeps superbo. talis emersam freto spumante Peleus coniugem accepit Thetin,

689 feri  $\delta$ : feris  $\beta$ 696 culta sancte *Birt*: culpa senece *A* 

quorum toros celebrasse caelestes ferunt

Everywhere now our eyes are affronted, look, by Poppaea's gleaming image, paired with Nero's!
Let us dash to the ground with violent hands these too-real images of her highness' face, drag her from her exalted bed, and then storm on with flames and weapons to attack this cruel emperor's palace. [Exeunt]

[Time: next morning]

## POPPAEA'S NURSE

Where are you hurrying fearfully from your husband's bedchamber, my child? Are you looking for privacy, with such disquiet in your face? Why are your cheeks wet with tears? Surely the day we prayed and hoped for has dawned! By the light of marriage torches you were united with your dear Caesar, who had been captivated by your beauty, and delivered as your prisoner by the goddess you had worshipped devoutly, the mother of Love, Venus, greatest of divinities. How fine, how grand you looked as you reclined on your high couch in the palace! The Senate was spellbound at the sight of your beauty, as you offered incense to the gods and sprinkled the holy altars with thanksgiving wine, with the light bridal veil covering your upper face; and pressing close to your side, walking tall amidst words of glad omen from the citizens, his face and bearing proudly revealing his joy, was the emperor himself. Peleus looked so as he received his bride Thetis rising from the foaming sea; their nuptials were celebrated, as the story

pelagique numen omne consensu pari. 710 quae subita vultus causa mutavit tuos? quid pallor iste, quid ferant lacrimae doce.

#### POPPAEA

Confusa tristi proximae noctis metu visugue, nutrix, mente turbata feror, defecta sensu. laeta nam postquam dies sideribus, atrae cessit et nocti polus, 715 inter Neronis vincta complexus mei somno resolvor; nec diu placida frui quiete licuit. visa nam thalamos meos celebrare turba est maesta: resolutis comis matres Latinae flebiles planctus dabant. 720 inter tubarum saepe terribilem sonum sparsam cruore coniugis genetrix mei vultu minaci saeva quatiebat facem. quam dum sequor coacta praesenti metu, diducta subito patuit ingenti mihi 725 tellus hiatu; lata quo praeceps toros cerno iugales pariter et miror meos, in quîs resedi fessa. venientem intuor comitante turba coniugem quondam meum natumque, properat petere complexus meos 730 Crispinus, intermissa libare oscula, irrupit intra tecta cum trepidus mea ensemque iugulo condidit saevum Nero.

715 atrae Peiper: atris A

tandem quietem magnus excussit timor;

<sup>41</sup> Both were named Rufrius Crispinus. The ex-husband was

tells; with equal approval by the gods of heaven and every divinity of the sea. What has caused your sudden change of countenance? Tell me the meaning of this pallor and these tears.

### POPPAEA

I am disturbed by a grim, fearful vision from last night, nurse—restless, troubled in my mind, bereft of my senses. After the joyful day had given way to the stars, and the heavens to black night, I relaxed and slept, held fast in my Nero's embrace. But I was not allowed to enjoy peaceful rest for long. For it seemed that my marriage chamber was thronged by a sorrowful crowd: with hair unbound, Latin mothers were beating themselves in mourning. Amidst the frequent, terrifying sounds of trumpets, my husband's mother was fiercely wielding a bloodstained torch, while gazing menacingly. As I followed her, impelled by an urgent fear, suddenly the earth split apart, and a huge crevasse opened beneath me. Cast into its depths, I discerned, to my amazement, my marriage bed, on which I sank down exhausted. Coming towards me I saw my former husband and my son,41 accompanied by a crowd of people. Crispinus was eagerly trying to embrace me and kiss me as before, when Nero burst into my house in fright and buried the cruel sword in his throat.<sup>42</sup> Then finally terror roused me from sleep. My face and body shook

put to death shortly after Poppaea died in 65; the son too did not survive Nero's reign.

<sup>42</sup> The Latin does not specify *whose* throat here or at 752, nor *which* husband is meant at 739. Consequently the dream could mean, with the ambiguity of prophecy, that the frightened Nero stabs his own throat—as happened in his suicide in A.D. 68.

735 quatit ora et artus horridus nostros tremor pulsatque pectus; continet vocem timor, quam nunc fides pietasque produxit tua. heu quid minantur inferum manes mihi aut quem cruorem coniugis vidi mei?

## NUTRIX

740 Quaecumque mentis agitat intentus vigor, ea per quietem sacer et arcanus refert veloxque sensus. coniugem thalamos toros vidisse te miraris amplexu novi haerens mariti? sed movent laeto die

745 pulsata palmis pectora et fusae comae?
Octaviae discidia planxerunt sacros
intra penates fratris et patrium larem.
fax illa, quam secuta es, Augustae manu
praelata clarum nomen invidia tibi

partum ominatur; inferum sedes toros stabiles futuros spondet aeternae domus.
iugulo quod ensem condidit princeps tuus, bella haud movebit, pace sed ferrum teget.
recollige animum, recipe laetitiam, precor,
timore pulso redde te thalamis tuis.

## POPPAEA

Delubra et aras petere constitui sacras, caesis litare victimis numen deum, ut expientur noctis et somni minae, terrorque in hostes redeat attonitus meos. tu vota pro me suscipe et precibus piis superos adora, maneat ut praesens status.

740 intentus Gronovius: infestus A

with violent tremors, my heart pounded; fear stopped my words, but now your faithful love has drawn them from me. Oh! What threatening meaning do the underworld shades have for me? What is this vision of my husband's blood?

### NURSE

There is a sacred faculty, swift and mysterious, that brings back to the mind in sleep those matters that busied it when active and engaged. You wonder that you saw your husband, bedroom, and bed? You were deep in the embrace of your new husband! But you are troubled that women beat their breasts on a day of joy, and untied their hair? It was Octavia's divorce they mourned, there in her brother's house, her father's home. That torch you followed, held aloft in the Augusta's hand, is an omen of bright fame born for you out of ill will; the underworld abode promises a stable marriage in an abiding home. Since your emperor buried his sword in a throat, he will not embark on wars, but hide the sword in peace. Take heart again, regain your joyfulness, I beg you; banish your fears and take your place again in the marriage chamber.

## POPPAEA

I have decided to visit the sacred shrines and altars, and appease the sovereign gods with animal sacrifices, so as to avert the menace of night and the dream, and deflect this shock and terror onto my enemies. You, make vows on my behalf, and appeal to the gods with devout prayers not to allow any change of circumstances.

<sup>747</sup> intra Avantius: inter A

<sup>761</sup> status Bücheler: metus A

### CHORUS

Si vera loquax fama Tonantis furta et gratos narrat amores (quem modo Ledae pressisse sinum tectum plumis pinnisque ferunt, modo per fluctus raptam Europen taurum tergo portasse trucem), quae regit et nunc deseret astra; petet amplexus, Poppaea, tuos, quos et Ledae praeferre potest et tibi, quondam cui miranti fulvo, Danae, fluxit in auro. formam Sparte iactet alumnae licet et Phrygius praemia pastor, vincet vultus haec Tyndaridos, qui moverunt horrida bella Phrygiaeque solo regna dedere. Sed quis gressu ruit attonito aut quid portat pectore anhelo?

## NUNTIUS

780 Quicumque tectis miles exultat ducis, defendat aulam, cui furor populi imminet. trepidi cohortes ecce praefecti trahunt praesidia ad urbis, victa nec cedit metu concepta rabies temere, sed vires capit.

 $^{780}\,\mathrm{miles}$  exultat A: excubat miles Bothe (miles excubat Raphelengtus)

765

770

# CHORUS<sup>43</sup>

Is it true what chattering hearsay tells of the Thunderer's sweet stolen loves? They say he once clasped Leda's breast to his own, disguised in feathered plumage, and another time bore off Europa through the waves on his back as a grim-faced bull. Then he will abandon the stars he rules once more, and seek your embrace, Poppaea, which he might well prefer to Leda's, or yours, Danae, to whose amazement he once flowed down in tawny gold. Sparta may boast her daughter's beauty, and the Phrygian shepherd boast of his prize: one here surpasses the Tyndarid's looks,44 that face which launched the horrors of war and razed the realm of Phrygia to the ground.

But who rushes here, alarm in his steps? What news does he bring with labouring breath?

#### MESSENGER

Those soldiers who are celebrating beneath the emperor's roof must defend the palace! It is threatened by the people's fury. The Prefects, look, are alarmed and are bringing up cohorts to protect the city. This frenzy, that started so recklessly, is not caving in to fear, but rather gaining strength.

<sup>43</sup> Here and in 806–819 we have a secondary chorus consisting of Poppaea's supporters, perhaps her attendants.

<sup>44</sup>The Tyndarid is Spartan Helen, awarded by Venus to the shepherd Paris.

## CHORUS

785 Quis iste mentes agitat attonitus furor?

#### NUNTIUS

Octaviae favore percussa agmina et efferata per nefas ingens ruunt.

### CHORUS

Quid ausa facere quove consilio doce.

#### NUNTIUS

Reddere penates Claudiae divi parant 790 torosque fratris, debitam partem imperi.

#### CHORUS

Quos iam tenet Poppaea concordi fide?

### NUNTIUS

Hinc urit animos pertinax nimium favor et in furorem temere praecipites agit. quaecumque claro marmore effigies stetit aut aere fulgens, ora Poppaeae gerens, afflicta vulgi manibus et saevo iacet eversa ferro; membra per partes trahunt diducta laqueis, obruunt turpi diu calcata caeno. verba conveniunt feris immixta factis, quae timor reticet meus. saepire flammis principis sedem parant, populi nisi irae coniugem reddat novam, reddat penates Claudiae victus suos. ut noscat ipse civium motus mea voce, haud morabor iussa praefecti exequi.

<sup>792</sup> hinc *M. Müller*: hic *A* <sup>800</sup> reticet *Delrius*: recipit *A* 

795

800

### CHORUS LEADER

What is this insane fury affecting their minds?

### MESSENGER

Partisanship for Octavia has stirred the mob up, and made them run wild, committing great outrage.

# CHORUS LEADER

What are they making bold to do, what is their aim? Tell us!

### MESSENGER

They plan to give Claudia back her deified father's home and marriage with her brother—her rightful share of the throne.

## CHORUS LEADER

But now Poppaea holds these things, with pledges given on both sides.

### MESSENGER

That is why they are inflamed with an all too stubborn sense of partisanship, and driven pell-mell into mindless rage. Every statue of bright marble or gleaming bronze that carries Poppaea's features lies dashed down by the hands of the rabble, toppled with the merciless steel; they are pulling off the limbs with rope nooses, dragging them away piecemeal, trampling them at length and driving them into the filthy mud. Their wild actions are accompanied and matched by words—which I am afraid to utter. They are preparing to ring the emperor's house with flames, unless he hands over his new wife to the people's anger, admits defeat, and gives Claudia back her own home. He himself is to learn of these civil disturbances from my lips; so I shall carry out the Prefect's orders without delay.

#### CHORUS

Quid fera frustra bella movetis? invicta gerit tela Cupido. flammis vestros obruet ignes quîs extinxit fulmina saepe captumque Iovem caelo traxit. laeso tristes dabitis poenas sanguine vestro; non est patiens fervidus irae facilisque regi. ille ferocem jussit Achillem pulsare lyram, fregit Danaos, fregit Atriden, regna evertit Priami, claras diruit urbes. et nunc animus quid ferat horret vis immitis violenta dei.

#### NERO

O lenta nimium militis nostri manus et ira patiens post nefas tantum mea, quod non cruor civilis accensas faces extinguit in nos, caede nec populi madet funerea Roma, quae viros tales tulit!
admissa sed iam morte puniri parum est; graviora meruit impium plebis scelus. et illa, cui me civium subicit furor,

811 laeso Bothe: laesi\* A

810

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> This is apostrophe, i.e. address to people who are not present (in this case the rioters). <sup>46</sup> Love for Briseis led Achil-

### CHORUS

Why start a fierce battle to no avail?45 Cupid wields invincible weapons! His flames will overwhelm your fires: he has often quenched the lightning with them, and hauled Jove prisoner down from heaven. For offending him you will pay a grim price in your own blood; the ardent god is not slow to anger or easily ruled. It was he that commanded fierce Achilles to strike the lyre, broke the Danaans, broke Atrides,46 overturned Priam's kingdom, and laid bright cities low. This time what will stem—I shudder to think from the pitiless god's aggressive might?

### NERO

Oh, my soldiers' hands are too slow, my own anger too tolerant after such an outrage as this! Witness the fact that the torches the citizens lit against me are not being quenched in their own blood, and that Rome, which bore such men, has not been left desolate and soaked by a massacre of the people. But now death is too slight a penalty for their offences; the rabble's sacrilegious crimes have deserved something weightier. And that woman to whom the citizen's fury would subject me, that wife and sister whom I

les to turn from fighting to music after she was taken from him by Agamemnon. His absence broke the Greeks (Danaans), who could not withstand Hector without him, and broke Agamemnon (Atrides) by forcing him to return Briseis.

suspecta coniunx et soror semper mihi, tandem dolori spiritum reddat meo iramque nostram sanguine extinguat suo. mox tecta flammis concidant urbis meis, ignes ruinae noxium populum premant turpisque egestas, saeva cum luctu fames.

Exultat ingens saeculi nostri bonis corrupta turba, nec capit clementiam ingrata nostram, ferre nec pacem potest, sed inquieta rapitur hinc audacia, hinc temeritate fertur in praeceps sua. malis domanda est et gravi semper iugo premenda, ne quid simile temptare audeat contraque sanctos coniugis vultus meae attollere oculos. fracta per poenas metu parere discet principis nutu sui.

Sed adesse cerno rara quem pietas virum fidesque castris nota praeposuit meis.

#### PRAEFECTUS

Populi furorem caede paucorum, diu qui restiterunt temere, compressum affero.

## NERO

Et hoc sat est? sic miles audisti ducem? compescis? haec vindicta debetur mihi?

## PRAEFECTUS

850 Cecidere motus impii ferro duces.

After 848 lacuna postulated by Leo

830

835

840

have always suspected, must finally forfeit her life to my wrath and quench my anger with her blood. Next the city's buildings must fall to flames set by me.<sup>47</sup> Fire, ruined homes, sordid poverty, cruel starvation along with grief must crush this criminal populace.

The masses have grown unruly, spoiled by the blessings of my reign. They cannot appreciate my policy of mercy or feel grateful or endure peace. No, they are seized with a restless daring, and in addition carried to extremes by their own recklessness. They must be tamed by hardships and crushed continuously with a heavy yoke, so they will not dare to try anything similar or to raise their eyes to meet my wife's exalted gaze. Broken by fear through suffering, they will learn to obey when their emperor nods his head.

But here I see the man whose rare duty and signal loyalty have set him in command of my garrison.

## PREFECT

I come to report that by killing a few who recklessly made a stand we have controlled the rage of the people.

## NERO

And is this sufficient? Is this your soldierly duty to your commander? You *restrain* them? Is this the vengeance I am owed?

#### PREFECT

The leaders of this sacrilegious revolt *have* fallen to the sword.

 $^{47}\,\mathrm{The}$  author alludes to the Great Fire of A.D. 64, which Nero was widely thought to have set.

NERO

Quid illa turba, petere quae flammis meos ausa est penates, principi legem dare, abstrahere nostris coniugem caram toris, violare quantum licuit incesta manu et voce dira? debita poena vacat?

PRAEFECTUS

Poenam dolor constituet in cives tuos?

NERO

Constituet, aetas nulla quam famae eximat.

PRAEFECTUS

Tua temperetur ira, non noster timor.

NERO

Iram expiabit prima quae meruit meam.

**PRAEFECTUS** 

860 Quam poscat ede, nostra ne parcat manus.

NERO

Caedem sororis poscit et dirum caput.

PRAEFECTUS

Horrore vinctum trepidus astrinxit rigor.

NERO

Parere dubitas?

PRAEFECTUS
Cur meam damnas fidem?

858 tua  $B\ddot{u}cheler$ : qua A temperetur Fitch: temperet  $\cos A$ 

#### NERO

What of that mob that made bold to attack my house with flames, legislate for their emperor, tear my dear wife from my bed, and outrage anything they could with their filthy hands and hideous cries? Are they without due punishment?

#### PREFECT

Is your wrath going to decree punishment against your own citizens?

#### NERO

Punishment whose fame no age will efface.

### PREFECT

There should be some moderation of your anger—though not of our fear.

#### NERO

She who first earned my anger shall expiate it.

#### PREFECT

Tell me whom it demands: my hand will not spare her.

#### NERO

It demands the execution of my sister, demands her loathsome head.

#### PREFECT

I am seized with horror, benumbed with fear.

NERO

You hesitate to obey?

PREFECT

Why do you censure my loyalty?

NERO

Quod parcis hosti.

PRAEFECTUS
Femina hoc nomen capit?

NERO

865 Si scelera cepit.

PRAEFECTUS
Estne qui sontem arguat?

NERO

Populi furor.

PRAEFECTUS

Quis regere dementes valet?

NERO

Qui concitare potuit.

PRAEFECTUS
Haud quemquam reor—

NERO

Mulier, dedit natura cui pronum malo animum, ad nocendum pectus instruxit dolis.

PRAEFECTUS

870 Sed vim negavit.

NERO

Ut ne inexpugnabilis esset, sed aegras frangeret vires timor vel poena; quae iam sera damnatam premet diu nocentem. tolle consilium ac preces

 $^{868}$  mulier attributed to Nero by A: to Prefect by Zwierlein

NERO

Because you would spare my enemy.

PREFECT

Can a woman take that name?

NERO

Yes, if she has taken on crimes.

PREFECT

Would anyone accuse her of guilt?

NERO

The people's frenzy does.

PREFECT

Who can govern their madness?

NERO

The one who could incite it.

PREFECT

I do not think anyone could—

NERO

A *woman* could! Nature has given her a spirit prone to evil, and furnished her heart with trickery for use in wrongdoing.

PREFECT

But denied her strength.

NERO

Yes, so she should not be invincible, since her feeble strength would be broken by fear or punishment. And punishment, now overdue, shall crush this condemned criminal of long standing. No more advice or appeals! et imperata perage: devectam rate 875 procul in remotum litus interimi iube, tandem ut residat pectoris nostri tumor.

#### CHORUS

O funestus multis populi dirusque favor! qui cum flatu vela secundo ratis implevit vexitque procul, languidus idem 880 deserit alto saevoque mari. flevit Gracchos miseranda parens, perdidit ingens quos plebis amor nimiusque favor, genere illustres. pietate fide lingua claros, 885 pectore fortes, legibus acres. te quoque, Livi, simili leto Fortuna dedit, quem neque fasces texere sui nec tecta domus. 890 plura referre prohibet praesens exempla dolor. modo cui patriam reddere cives aulam et fratris voluere toros, nunc ad poenam letumque trahi

889 sui A: suae (sc. domus) Wilamowitz

 $<sup>^{48}</sup>$  Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus and Livius Drusus each used the office of tribune of the people (133, 123–122, 91 B.C. respec-

Carry out your orders. Have her transported by ship to some distant remote shore, and killed, so that the ferment of anger in my heart can finally subside.

### CHORUS

How dire and deadly the people's backing proves to many! It fills the sails of your ship with favouring winds and carries you far from land, then fades away and leaves you on the deep and dangerous sea. A weeping mother mourned the Gracchidestroyed by the people's fervent love and immoderate backing, though nobly born, famed for loyalty, eloquence, duty, courageous of heart, forceful in the laws. You too, Livius, were assigned a similar death by Fortune; behind your fasces, under your own roof you were not secure.48 More instances could be told, but the present grief forbids. Just now the citizens planned to restore her to her father's palace, her brother's bed, but now they can watch her dragged away

tively) to introduce reforms which would *inter alia* ameliorate the condition of the common people in Rome and Italy. Each man quickly lost influence and met a violent death. Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, was an exemplar both of bereavement and of cultured nobility.

flentem miseram cernere possunt.
bene paupertas
humili tecto contenta latet;
quatiunt altas saepe procellae
aut evertit Fortuna domos.

#### OCTAVIA

Quo me trahitis, quodve tyrannus aut exilium regina iubetsi mihi vitam fracta remittit. tot iam nostris evicta malis? sin caede mea cumulare parat luctus nostros, invidet etiam cur in patria mihi saeva mori? -sed iam spes est nulla salutis: fratris cerno miseranda ratem. hac est cuius vecta carina quondam genetrix; nunc et thalamis expulsa soror miseranda vehar. nullum Pietas nunc numen habet, nec sunt superi; regnat mundo tristis Erinys.

Quis mea digne deflere potest mala? quae lacrimis nostris questus reddere aedon? cuius pinnas utinam miserae mihi fata darent! fugerem luctus ablata meos

<sup>895</sup> possunt  $\Sigma$ : possit A: possis recc.

900

905

910

in tears and sorrow to suffering and death. How wise to live simply, content and hidden in a lowly home! Towering houses are often shaken by storms or overturned by Fortune.

## OCTAVIA

Where do you drag me? What place of exile is decreed by the tyrant or his queen?assuming she grants me my life, won over and softened at last by my many sorrows. But if she plans to crown my ordeals with murder, why does she cruelly grudge me even to die in my native land? But now I see my brother's boat: piteous, no hope of safety left! This is the vessel on which his mother was passenger once; now its piteous passenger will be his sister, the wife he divorced. There is no god of Righteousness now, no gods exist; the grim Erinys rules the world.

Who could make a fitting lament for my troubles? What plaintive nightingale could express my sorrows?

I sadly wish that fate had granted me her wings!

With swift wings I could get away

<sup>908</sup> hac A: haec recc.

pinna volucri
procul et coetus hominum tristes
920 caedemque feram.
sola in vacuo
nemore et tenui ramo pendens
querulo possem gutture maestum
fundere murmur.

#### CHORUS

Regitur fatis mortale genus, nec sibi quisquam spondere potest firmum et stabile (m vitae cursum), per guem casus volvit varios semper nobis metuenda dies. Animum firment exempla tuum, iam multa domus quae vestra tulit. quid saevior est Fortuna tibi? tu mihi primum tot natorum memoranda parens, nata Agrippae, nurus Augusti, Caesaris uxor, cuius nomen clarum toto fulsit in orbe utero totiens enixa gravi pignora pacis,

 $^{925}$  quisquam A: quicquam recc.

mox exilium,

927 per quem A: quem per Herington

925

930

<sup>926</sup> lacuna recognised by Peiper; supplement by Richter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Agrippina "the elder," who married Germanicus Caesar,

to escape my griefs, far from the dismal haunts of men and bestial slaughter. Alone in the empty woods, and perched on a slender bough, I could utter a stream of plaintive notes, my song of sorrow.

#### CHORUS

Mortal folk are ruled by fate.

No one can guarantee himself
a sure and stable <course of life>:
along its path the passing days,
each perilous to us, throw varied chances.

Strengthen your heart with past examples, of which your house has borne many now; was Fortune crueller at all to them? You are the first
I must mention, mother of so many children, daughter of Agrippa,
Augustus' daughter-in-law, wife of a Caesar, 49
you whose name shone bright throughout the world, whose teeming womb so often bore pledges of peace, but who then suffered exile, lashes, cruel chains,

adoptive son of the emperor Tiberius (here given his title Augustus), and bore him nine children including the future emperor Gaius (Caligula) and the Agrippina (the younger) of this play. At odds with Tiberius after her husband's death, she was exiled to the island of Pandataria (like Octavia after her), and died there of starvation.

verbera, saevas passa catenas, funera, luctus. tandem letum cruciata diu. 940 felix thalamis Livia Drusi natisque ferum ruit in facinus poenamque suam. Iulia matris fata secuta est: 945 post longa tamen tempora ferro caesa est, quamvis crimine nullo. quid non potuit quondam genetrix tua quae rexit principis aulam cara marito partuque potens? eadem famulo subjecta suo 950 cecidit diri militis ense. quid cui licuit regnum et caelum sperare, parens tanta Neronis? non funesta violata manu 955 remigis ante. mox et ferro lacerata diu saevi jacuit victima nati?

#### OCTAVIA

Me quoque tristes mittet ad umbras ferus et manes ecce tyrannus. quid iam frustra miseranda moror? rapite ad letum

 $^{952}$  et Watt: in A  $^{958}$  mittet A: mittit recc.

<sup>50</sup> Livia Julia, often called Livilla, married Tiberius' son Drusus and had children by him. She became the mistress of Sejanus, Tiberius' scheming Praetorian Prefect, and on his fall in

grief, bereavement, and death at the last, after long torment. Livia, blessed in marriage to Drusus and in children, rushed into callous crime and the punishment due. 50 Julia 51 followed her mother's fate: though many years later, she was put to the sword, despite being charged with nothing. What power was in your mother's hands earlier, when she ruled the emperor's court through her husband's affection and her status as a mother!

Yet even she became subject to her slave<sup>52</sup> and fell to a brutal soldier's sword. What of her who could once aspire to the throne and heaven,<sup>53</sup> Nero's exalted mother? Did she not suffer outrage at the murderous hands of sailors first, then a lengthy mangling by the sword, dying as a sacrifice to her savage son?

#### OCTAVIA

I too shall be sent, as you see, to join the gloomy shades by this cruel tyrant. Why make pitiful, pointless delays? [To soldiers] Haul me to my death,

A.D. 31 was executed on a charge of having poisoned Drusus eight years earlier.  $^{51}$  Daughter of Livilla and Drusus, executed in the reign of Claudius.

<sup>52</sup> The ex-slave Narcissus, who ordered Messalina's execution.

 $^{53}$  I.e. official deification after death, such as had been granted previously to Augustus' wife Livia.

quîs ius in nos Fortuna dedit.
testor superos—quid agis, demens?
parce precari
quîs invisa es numina divum.
Tartara testor
Erebique deas scelerum ultrices
et te, genitor,
dignum tali morte et poena
<esse tyrannum qui me extinxit.>

non invisa est mors ista mihi. Armate ratem, date vela fretis, ventisque petat puppis rector Pandatariae litora terrae.

CHORUS

Lenes aurae zephyrique leves, tectam quondam nube aetheria qui vexistis raptam saevae virginis aris Iphigeniam, hanc quoque tristi procul a poena portate, precor, templa ad Triviae. urbe est nostra mitior Aulis

After 967 lacuna of at least two lines recognised, and partial supplement supplied, by Fitch
971 Pandatariae Lipsius: tandem Phariae\* A

965

970

#### OCTAVIA

since Fortune has given me into your power. Witness, heaven—what madness is that? Spare your prayers to those divinities that hate you. Witness Tartarus and goddesses of Erebus, avengers of crimes,<sup>54</sup> and you, father, that suffering and death like mine are deserved <br/>
by the tyrant who has quenched my life > <sup>55</sup>

death on these terms is not hateful to me. [To sailors] Rig your boat, set sail on the seas, and let the helmsman steer with the winds for the shores of Pandataria.

#### CHORUS

Gentle breezes and light zephyrs: once you wafted a girl rescued from the altar of the cruel virgin, <sup>56</sup> cloaked in heaven-sent cloud, Iphigenia.

Bear this one too, we pray you, far from bitter suffering to Trivia's temple.

Compared with our city, Aulis is kinder

<sup>54</sup> The Furies.

 $<sup>^{55}</sup>$  The gist of the following line(s) may have been, "As long as Nero will receive due punishment  $\dots$  "

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Diana, to whom Iphigenia was about to be sacrificed when (in this version) she was miraculously removed and conveyed to Diana's (=Trivia's) temple in the Taurian land.

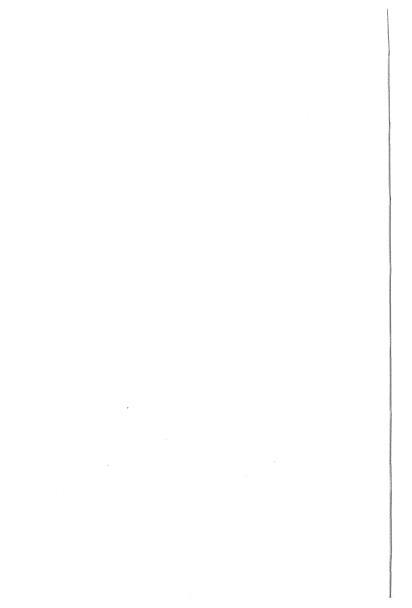
980

et Taurorum barbara tellus: hospitis illic caede litatur numen superum; civis gaudet Roma cruore.

# OCTAVIA

and the barbaric land of the Tauri: there they appease the gods of heaven by slaying strangers;<sup>57</sup> Rome revels in her citizens' blood.

<sup>57</sup> "There" refers to the Taurian land, where strangers were sacrificed (see Euripides' *Iphigenia among the Taurians*); Aulis is "kinder" because Iphigenia was replaced as sacrificial victim by a deer.



References are to the line numbers of the plays (for abbreviations of titles see page viii); only the first line of each passage is cited. Passages of special importance to the subject are starred (\*). An arrow ( $\rightarrow$ ) following a name indicates that references are given under that name. Names of individual dramatis personae are distinguished by small capitals. Parenthetic "cj" denotes a reference based on textual conjecture.

Absyrtus, brother of Medea→ killed by her.

Abydos, town on Hellespont, *Phoen* 611.

Acastus, king of Thessaly. Seeks to punish Jason and Medea for death of his father Pelias, Med 257, 415, 521, 526.

Achaean = Peloponnesian, *Thy* 122; approximately = Greek, *Tro* 853, 1119, *Med* 227. See also Greek.

Acharnian, inhabitant of Acharnae, deme north of Athens, *Pha* 21.

Acheloüs, river of Aetolia, HO 586. Its god defeated by Hercules in fight over Deianira, 299, \*495.

Acheron, river of underworld, Herc \*714, Ag 606, HO 1951; = underworld, Pha 98, 1200, Oed 578, Thy 17, 1016, Oct 338.

Achilles, son of Peleus and Thetis. Taught by Chiron, Tro \*832. Disguised as a girl on Scyros, 213, 569; there seduced Deidamia, fathering Pyrrhus, 342. Conquests en route to Troy, \*215. Slew Memnon and Penthesilea, 239, and Cyenus, 183, and Troilus, Ag 748; deprived of Briseis, *Tro* 305, *Ag* 186, he almost attacked Agamemnon, 208, and withdrew from fighting, Tro 194, \*318, Oct 814. Loved Patroclus and avenged him, Ag 617; slew Hector and dragged his body around the walls, Tro 188, 235, 238, 413; returned his body for gold, 664. Killed by

Paris, 347, 956; his grave mound, \*1121; his arms given to Ulysses→; awarded no prize after Troy's fall, 204, 292; his ghost demands sacrifice of Polyxena, \*176, 940.

Actaeon, grandson of Cadmus. Saw Diana naked; was changed by her into a stag and killed by his own hounds, Phoen 14, Oed \*751.

Acte, freedwoman and mistress of Nero, Oct 105, \*193, 657.

Admetus, king of Pherae, Argonaut, *Med* 663. See Alcestis, Phoebus.

Adriatic, sea northeast of Italy, Thy 362.

Adrastus, king of Argos, fatherin-law of Polynices, *Phoen* 374, 509, 597.

Aeacus, son of Jupiter, father of Peleus, grandfather of Achilles, *Tro* 253, 346. One of judges — in underworld, *Herc* 734, *HO* 1558.

Aeëtes, king of Colchis, son of the Sun god, father of Absyrtus and Medea, Med 179, 209, 527, 571. The extent of his realms, 209; their wealth, 483; tests he set Jason—>, \*468.

Aegean, sea between Greece and Asia Minor, Tro 226, Phoen 313, Oed 488. See also Ionian, Phrixus.

Aegeus, king of Athens, father of Theseus, *Pha* 900 (cj.),

1165. Husband of Medea, 563.

AEGISTHUS (Ag), son of union of Thyestes with his daughter, 30, 985, enjoined by Phoebus, 294. Lived in exile from Argos, 302, 884. As Clytemnestra's lover, encourages and assists her to kill Agamemnon, Ag passim.

Aegoceros = Capricorn, Thy 864.

Aegyptus, Egyptian king, *Herc* 498; see also Danaids.

Aeolus, father of Sisyphus who founded Corinth, *Med* 105, *Pha* 1231.

Aesculapius, god of medicine, worshipped at Epidaurus, *Pha* 1022.

Aeson, father of Jason, *Med* 83. Aetolia, region of west central Greece, birthplace of Deianira, *HO* 319. See also Achelous, Calydon, Evenus, Olenos.

Africa, see Libya; African wind = southerly, HO 113.

AGAMEMNON (*Tro*, *Ag*), king of Mycenae/Argos, son of Atreus→, leader of Greeks against Troy, *Ag* 39. Sacrificed daughter Iphigenia→. At Troy, quarreled with Achilles, *Tro* 252, 304; asked Ajax and Ulysses to mediate, *Tro* 315. His mistresses Chryseis, Briseis, and Cassandra, *Tro* 305, 978, *Ag* \*175, 253, *Oct* 

815; conqueror of Troy, Tro 154, Ag 346; attempts to prevent Pyrrhus from sacrificing Polyxena, Tro 203; his homeward voyage and shipwreck, Ag~410, \*421, and arrival at Mycenae, 779; his murder by Clytemnestra, \*867.

Agave, daughter of Cadmus. Tore her son Pentheus apart in Bacchic frenzy with her sisters, Herc 134, 758, Phoen 17, 363, Oed \*436, 484, 615, 628, 933, 1005.

Agenor, father of Cadmus, Oed 715.

Agrippa, father of Agrippina (1), Oct 934.

Agrippina (1), daughter of Agrippa and wife of Germanicus, Oct 934.

AGRIPPINA (2) (Oct), daughter of (1), mother of Nero by her first husband, later wife of Claudius. Her crimes, Oct 21, 91, \*143; her murder by Nero, 45, 127, 165, 243, \*309, \*598, 952; her ghost curses Nero's marriage to Poppaea, 593.

Ajax (1), son of Telamon, Tro 316, 844, Ag 513; suicidal after Achilles' arms awarded to Ulysses, not him, Ag 210.

Ajax (2) "the Less," son of Oileus. His rape of Cassandra, 46 (cj.); his death, Med 660, Ag \*532.

Alans, nomadic tribe, Thy 630.

Albis, mod. river Elbe in Germany, Med 374.

Alcestis died in place of husband Admetus, Med 664.

Alcides = Hercules $\rightarrow$ , as 'grandson of Alcaeus' (father of Amphitryon). *Herc* 84, 107, 186, 204, 357, 398, 421, 440, 505, 509, 635, 770, 806, 818, 888, 957, 1061, 1168, 1343, Tro 720, Med 634, Pha 843, 849, 1217, Ag 814, 858, HO 78, 222, 257, 271, 324, 328, 342, 370, 404, 431, 449, 474, 499, 508, 510, 744, 765, 771, 838, 850, 856, 892, 910, 913, 924, 996, 1006, 1171, 1178, 1190, 1291, 1314, 1320, 1337, 1352–3, 1427, 1476, 1493, 1498, 1511, 1516–7, 1571, 1596, 1608, 1649, 1717, 1723, 1761, 1793, 1805, 1832, 1874, 1881, 1887, 1896, 1905, 1911, 1972, 1976, Oct 210.

ALCMENE (HO), wife of Amphitryon, mother of Hercules  $\rightarrow$  by Jupiter, Herc 22, 490, 527, 773, Pha 317, HO 142, 437, 1802. Laments Hercules' imminent death, HO 1337, 1668; brings back his ashes, 1758; is addressed by her now divine son, 1940.

Alcyone, transformed into a halcyon; with other halcyons mourns her husband Ceyx, Ag \*681, HO 197, Oct 7.

Alpheus, river of Elis, Med 81, Pha 505, Thy 117, 131.

Althaea, mother of Meleager. When he killed her brothers in a quarrel, she avenged them by burning the brand on which his life depended, *Med* 644, 780, *HO* 954.

Amazons, unwed female warriors near Black Sea, Med 214, Pha 399, Ag 736, HO 1185. Conquered by Bacchus, Oed 479. See also Antiope, Hippolyte, Penthesilea; Maeotis, Tanais, Thermodon.

Amphion, son of Jupiter, brother of Zethus. Built Thebes' walls by moving stones with his music, *Herc* 262, *Phoen* \*566, *Oed* 178, 612.

AMPHITRYON (Herc), Theban prince, husband of Alcmene and so quasi-father to Hercules, Herc passim, HO 1248, 1781. Encourages Megara and defies Lycus, Herc 275; welcomes Hercules' return but witnesses his killing of his family, 618, 918; urges him not to commit suicide, 1186. Died before Hercules, HO 1778.

Amyclae, town near Sparta, Tro 70

Ancaeus, Arcadian, killed by Calydonian boar, Med 643. ANDROMACHE (Tro), wife of Hector, mother of Astyanax. Attempts to hide her son from Ulysses, *Tro* 430; confronts Helen, 888; assigned by lot, 59, to Pyrrhus, 976.

Antaeus, Libyan giant killed by Hercules, *Herc* 482, 1171, *HO* 24, 1788, 1899.

Antenor, leading Trojan, husband of Theano, *Tro* 60.

Antigone (*Phoen*), daughter of Oedipus, 1, 536, 551.

Antiope, Amazon wife of Theseus. Mother of Hippolytus, *Pha* 232, 398, 575, 658, 928; killed by Theseus, 226, 927, 1167.

Antony, Roman general, Oct 519 and fn.

Aönian = Boeotian, *Med* 80. Aphidnae, territory in northern Attica, *Pha* 24.

Apollo, see Phoebus. Aquarius, zodiacal sign, *Thy* 864 fn.

Aquilo, the north wind, *Med* 634, *Ag* 479, *HO* 778. More usually called Boreas —.

Arabs. Their wealth from spices, *Herc* 910, *Pha* 67, *Oed* 117, *Ag* 807, *HO* 793; use poisoned arrows, *Med* 711.

Araxes, mod. Aras, cold river in Armenia, *Med* 373, *Pha* 58, *Oed* 428.

Arcadia, region of central Peloponnese. Home of Callisto (see Bears); of Auge, HO 367; of the Erymanthian boar—) and of the hind with golden horns pursued and

caught on foot by Hercules, Herc 222, Ag 831, HO 1238. The Arcadians' origin is ancient, earlier than the Moon, Pha 785, HO 1536, 1811, 1883. See also Parrhasian.

Areas, son of Callisto, transformed into Bear-Ward, Herc 130 (cj.).

Argive = of Argos or its region, Herc 59, 1180, Phoen 58, 576, Ag 395, 806, Thy 185, 404, HO 1680, 1891, 1932; = Greek, Herc 7, 1124, Tro 277, 444, 672, 813, HO 16 (cj.), 37, 318 (cj.), 400, 418, 1508; indeterminate, Tro 150. See also Greek.

Argo, first ship, in which Argonauts sailed in quest of Golden Fleece, Tro 819, Med 3, \*318, 336, 595, 607, Ag 120. Its prow made of speaking Chaonian oak, Med 349. Catalogue of the Argonauts, Med \*228, and their violent deaths, \*617.

Argos, in northeast Peloponnese, chief city of Greece in heroic age, Pha 1057, Thy 121, virtually synonymous with Mycenae→. Setting of Ag and Thy. Its Cyclopean walls, Herc 997, Thy 407. Its primeval drought, Thy 119. Kingdom of Pelops→; home of Hercules, Ag 812, HO 500; kingdom of Eurystheus, Herc

1038, HO 1800; of Atreus, Thy 188, 298, 411, 561, 627, 1011; home of Thyestes, Thy \*404; of Agamemnon, Tro155, 245, 855, Med 658, Ag 121, 251, 304, 729, 757, 871, 967, 998, 1007; of Adrastus, Phoen 283; Juno its chief divinity, Oed 486, Ag 343, 809. See also Argive, Inachus.

Ariadne, daughter of Minos. Favoured Theseus over Bacchus, Pha 760. Helped Theseus escape from the labyrinth and Crete, but was left by him on Naxos; found there by Bacchus, who married her and transformed her crown into a constellation, Herc 18, Pha 245, 662, 759, Oed \*487.

Aries, see Ram.

Armenia, region of eastern Anatolia, Thy 732, HO 241.

Asia, used expansively for region of Troy and its allies, Tro 7, 896, Ag 205, 274, 785.

Assaracus, early king of Troy, Tro 17, Ag 878.

Assyrian = oriental, Pha 393; = Syrian, specifically Phoenician, *Phoen* 124, *Pha* 87, *HO* 553.

Astraea, "starry," goddess identified with constellation Virgo; also called Justice. Descended to earth in age of Saturn, but later fled, Med 440, Thy 857, HO 69, Oct \*397, 422.

ASTYANAX (*Tro*), son of Hector and Andromache. Leader of Trojan boys, *Ag* 639; resemblance to Hector, *Tro* 464, 536, 647. His death demanded by Calchas→ and Ulysses, 524. Andromache's attempt to safeguard him, 438; his death, 1068.

Athena, see Pallas.

Athens, Greek city, Herc 1341, Pha 106, 1149, HO 200; setting of Pha, 725, 1191. See also Attica, Cecropian.

Athos, precipitous seagirt mountain in northern Greece, Med 720, HO 145, 1048, 1153, 1383, 1730.

Atlas, giant who holds up the sky, HO 12, 1599; temporarily relieved by Hercules, Herc 70, 528, 1102, HO 282, 1242, 1343, 1764, 1905; father of the Pleiads, Herc 11.

ATREUS (*Thy*), son of Pelops, brother of Thyestes. Plans to avenge himself on his brother, *Thy* 176; sacrifices Thyestes' sons, 641; gloats over him, 885. Father of Agamemnon and Menelaus, *Tro* 148, 339, [341], 596, *Ag* 275, 292, 410, 513, *Thy* 296, 325, *Oct* 816.

Atrides = son of Atreus ->.
ATTENDANT (1) of Jocasta, *Phoen*387; (2) of Atreus, *Thy* 204.

Attica, territory of Athens, Herc 847, 1164, Tro 842, Med 315, *Pha* 400, *HO* 84, 599. See also Cecropian.

Attis, Phrygian lover of Cybele, mourned by her priests, Ag 686.

Auge, priestess of Pallas, raped by Hercules, *HO* 367.

Augeas, owner of stables cleansed by Hercules, *Herc* 248.

Augusta = Agrippina (2), *Oct* 327, 748.

Augustus = Octavian, Oct 477, 505, 934; = Nero, 220, 251, 284, 658.

Aulis, port in Boeotia where Greek fleet was becalmed until Iphigenia was sacrificed, Tro 164, Med 622, Ag 173, 567, Oct 978.

Aurora, the Dawn, Herc 883, Thy \*815, 822, HO 1521, Oct 2; wife of Tithonus, Ag 822, and mother of Memnon, Tro 239. Greek name Eos→.

Ausonian refers to southwest coast of Italy, *Herc* 376, and sea off it, *Med* 355, 408.

Auster, the south wind, Med 584, Pha 21, 1011, Oed 632, Ag 93, 480, [481], Thy 642, HO 71, 710, 777, 840. Also called Notus->.

Avernus = underworld, *Pha* 1147, 1201.

Bacchant, female devotee of Bacchus (= Maenad ---), re-

ferring to Pentheus' killers *Herc* 134, *Oed* 617.

Bacchus, divine son of Jupiter and Semele. His deeds and attributes hymned \*Oed 402. Born prematurely when Semele was consumed by lightning, Herc 457, Med 84, Oed 502, HO 1804; disguised to escape Juno's jealousy, Oed \*418; kidnapped by pirates whom he then transformed. Oed \*449. His victorious progress through the East, Herc 903, Pha 753, Oed \*114, 424, HO 95, including Lydia, Phoen 602, Oed 467; demonstrated his power among northern peoples, Oed \*471, including Amazons, Oed 479; punished Lycurgus→ and Pentheus $\rightarrow$  for resisting him; won recognition in Argos, Oed 486. Helped Jupiter against Giants, Herc 458. Father of Hymen, Med 110. Found Ariadne abandoned, Oed \*488, cf. Pha 760 fn.; made her his divine bride, Oed 497; won a place in heaven, Herc 16, 66, HO 94, Oct 209.

God of wine, Oed 157, Thy 687, and synonymous with wine, Herc 697, Pha 445, Oed 324, 566, Ag 886, Thy 65, 467, 701, 900, 915, 973, 983, 987. Inspires maenads Tro 673, Med 383, Oed 439, Ag

244, HO 243. Effeminate style, Herc 472, Oed 412. Favours Phocis, Oed 279, and Tmolus, Phoen 602; his groves, Herc 1286. Biennial festival, HO 594. Also called Bromius, Iacchus, Liber, Lyaeus, Nyctelian→ (all).

Baetis, river in province of Baetica in Spain, *Med* 726. Bassarid, Thracian term for

Bassarid, Thracian term for Maenad→, Oed 432.

Bears, Great and Lesser, northern constellations. Never set in Ocean, Med 405, Oed 507, Thy 477, HO 281, 1584, except by magic, Med 758; Greeks steer by Great Bear, Phoenicians by Lesser, Herc 7, Med 697; associated with cold of North Pole, Herc 129, 1139, Pha 288, HO 40, 1523; separated by Snake, Thy 869. Great Bear has 7 stars, Herc 130, Tro 439; is catasterised form of Callisto $\rightarrow$ , Herc 6, hence "Arcadian" Pha 288, Oed 477. See also Cynosura, Wain.

Bear-Ward (Arctophylax), constellation (= Bootes), *Thy* 874.

Beliad, "granddaughter of Belus" = Danaid→, HO 960. Bellona, Roman goddess of war, Ag 82, HO 1312. Bessa, town in east-central

Greece, Tro 848. Bistonia = Thrace $\rightarrow$ , HO 1042,

1894; re Diomedes, *Herc* 226; re Procne, *Ag* 673.

Boeotia, region of east-central Greece, *Phoen* 129, *Oed* 666; named for the cow that guided Cadmus, *Oed* 718. See also Aonian.

Boötes, northern constellation, drives the Wain, *Med* 315, *Ag* 70, *Oct* 233, cf. *Thy* 874.

Boreas, the north wind, *Tro* 395, 841, *Med* 316, *Pha* 936, 1130, *Oed* 473, *Ag* 476, *Thy* 128, *HO* 113, 382, 1109; father of Zetes and Calais, *Med* 231, 634. Also called Aquilo→.

Briareus, a Hundred-Hander, brother of Gyges→, HO 167.

Briseïs, slavewoman, captured at Pedasos, *Tro* 222; taken from Achilles by Agamemnon, 305, *Ag* 186.

Britannicus, son of Claudius and Messalina, allegedly poisoned by Nero, *Oct* 45, 67, 103, 112, 115, 139, 166, 178, 226, 242, 470, 617.

Britons, conquered by Claudius, Oct 27, 41

Bromius, title of Bacchus→, *Pha* 760.

Bruttian Sea, around toe of Italy, *Thy* 578, *HO* 651.

Brutus, conspirator against Julius Caesar, Oct 498.

Bull (Taurus), constellation, *Herc* 9 (see Europa), 952, *Thy* 852 Busiris, Egyptian tyrant who practiced human sacrifice, Tro 1106, HO 876, 1787, sacrificed in his turn by Hercules, Herc 484, 1171, HO 26.

Cadmeïds, daughters of Cadmus, killers of Pentheus, *Herc* 758. See Agave.

Cadmus, son of Agenor king of Tyre. How he came to Greece and settled Boeotia, Oed \*712. Grove where he slew a serpent, Phoen 125, Oed 176, 726; warriors sprang up from its sown teeth. Herc 260, Oed 586, \*731. Founded Thebes, Oed 233; his palace, Herc 917. His daughters slew Pentheus, Herc 134, 758, Oed 1006. Exiled and transformed into snake, Herc 392. Ancestor of Theban royals, *Herc* 256, Phoen 646, Oed 110, 446, 626, 751; of Theban folk, Herc 268, Phoen 792, Oed 29. Cadmean = Theban, Phoen546, Oed 436, HO 594.

Caesar, Julius, *Oct* 502; Germanicus, 934; Nero, 337, 457, 694.

Calaïs, see Zetes.

CALCHAS (*Tro*), Greek seer. Called for death of Iphigenia at Aulis, *Ag* 167, and of Polyxena and Astyanax at Troy, *Tro* 351, 359, 533, 592, 635, 749, 938, 1101.

- Calliope, Muse, mother of Orpheus, *Med* 625, *HO* 1034.
- Callisto, Arcadian nymph loved by Jupiter, transformed into Ursa Major (see Bears), Herc 6.
- Calpe, mod. Gibraltar, one of two mountains separated by Hercules to create an entrance to the Mediterranean, Herc \*237, HO 1240, 1253, 1569.
- Calydnae, group of islands in the Aegean, Tro 839.
- Calydon, town in Aetolia. Home of Deianira's attendants, HO 582, and vicinity of boar killed by Meleager, Tro 845.

Cancer, see Crab.

- Caphereus, cape at southeast end of Euboea, HO 776, 804. Here Nauplius lured the Greek fleet to destruction, Ag \*560.
- Capricorn, see Goat's Horn. Carthage, city of North Africa, Pha 348.
- Carystos, town on south coast of Euboea, *Tro* 836.
- Caspian Sea, Tro 1105; Caspian used of nearby Caucasus mountains, Herc 1206, Thy 374, and beasts, *HO* 145.
- CASSANDRA (Ag), daughter of Priam and Hecuba. Prophet of Phoebus, *Tro* 978, Ag 255, 710, 722, who however caused her warnings of Troy's fall not to be believed, Tro

- 34, Ag 725. Allotted as slave, Tro 61, to Agamemnon, 968, 977. Seen as future rival to Clytemnestra, Ag 188, 194, 253; reaches Argos with other Trojan women, 586; "sees" Agamemnon's murder, 720, 867; takes sanctuary, 951; her death ordered by Clytemnestra, 1001.
- Castalia, sacred spring near Delphic Oracle, Oed 229, 276,712
- Castor and Pollux, twin sons of Jupiter and Leda, wife of Tyndareus. Hence Spartans, Phoen 128, Thy 627, and Tyndarids→. Castor a horseman, *Pha* 810, Pollux a boxer, Med 88. Sailed on Argo, Med 230. Catasterised as Gemini: see Twins.
- Caucasus mountains, Pha 1135, HO 1451, 1730. Wild, Med 43, Thy 1048; place of Prometheus' punishment, Herc 1209, Med 709, HO 1378. See also Caspian.
- Caÿcus, river in Mysia, Tro 228. Cecropian = Athenian or Attic, from Cecrops the first king, Med 76, Pha 2, Thy 1049.
- Cenaean, title of Jupiter in reference to his temple on Cenaeum, a promontary of Euboea, HO 102, 783.
- Centaurs, half human, half horse. Mountain-dwellers in northern Greece, Herc 969,

HO 1049; Hercules fought them, HO 1195; their ghosts, *Herc* 778, *HO* 1925. See also Chiron, Nessus.

Cephallania, island near Ithaca. "Cephallanian" used more generally of Ulysses' followers, Tro 518.

Cerberus, three-headed hound, guardian of underworld, Herc 1106, 1224, Tro 403, Pha 223, Oed 171, 581, Ag 13, 751, Thy 16, HO 460, 1526, 1601, 1770. Hercules' task to fetch him, *Herc* 770, 830, *HO* 1293; he leashed him, Herc 649, \*782, and dragged him to upper world, *Herc* 48, 59, 595, \*813, 985, 1313, *Tro* 844, Pha 844, Ag 859, HO 23, 79, 1162, 1202, 1244, 1257, 1680, 1767, 1920.

Ceres, goddess of grain, Phoen 608, *Med* 761. Her name = grain, Herc 697, Phoen 219, 371, *Pha* 970, *Oed* 49, or food, Pha 373. Worshipped in Eleusinian Mysteries, Herc 301, 845, *HO* 599. Her search for Proserpine, Herc 659. See also Eleusis, Proserpine, Triptolemus.

Ceÿx, see Alcyone.

Chalcis, town in Euboea on Euripus strait, Tro 838, Ag 566 (cj.), HO 803.

Chaönia, region of northwestern Greece famed for speaking prophetic oaks, especially near Dodona, cf. Med 349, HO 1473. "Chaonian" of ancient oaks elsewhere, Oed 728, HO 1623.

Charon, ferryman of the dead, and his boat, Herc \*764, Oed \*166, 560, Ag 753, HO 108, 1072, 1924, 1950.

Charybdis, whirlpool between Sicily and Italy, Med 408, Thy 581, HO 235.

Chimaera, triform monster,

Med~828.

Chiron, wise centaur living on Mt Pelion. Tutor of heroes including Achilles, Tro \*832. Catasterised, Herc 971, and identified with Sagittarius, Thy 860.

Chryse, town near Troy, home of Chryseis, Tro 223.

Chryseïs, war slave loved by Agamemnon, Tro 223, Ag 175.

Cilla, town near Troy sacred to Phoebus, Tro 227.

Cinyps, river in North Africa, HO 907.

Cirrha, port of Delphi, used as synonym for Delphi, Oed 269, HO 92, 1475.

Cithaeron, mountain in southern Boeotia, *Herc* 335, 979, 1286, Thy 117. Good summer pasture, *Herc* 234, *Oed* 808, 844. Oedipus was to have been exposed there in infancy, *Phoen* 13, 31, 255, *Oed* 808, 848. Place of Actaeon's death, *Phoen* 13, *Oed* 932,

- and Pentheus', *Herc* 134, *Phoen* 15, *Oed* 484, 933.
- Claudia, i.e. Octavia→, daughter of Claudius, *Oct* 671, 789, 803, cf. 278, 534.
- Claudius, Roman emperor, father of Octavia, *Oct* 25, 38, 102, 137, 269, 339, 614, 948.
- Cleönae, town near Nemea, used as synonym *Herc* 798, *HO* 1811, 1891.
- Clotho, "spinner," one of three Fates (see Parcae). Spins thread of life, *Thy* 617, *HO* 769, *Oct* 15.
- CLYTEMNESTRA (Ag), a
  Tyndarid→, and a Spartan,
  281, 736; sister of Helen,
  124, 405, 795, 907. Vacillates
  about plan to murder husband Agamemnon, 108. The
  murder twice described by
  clairvoyant Cassandra, 734,
  \*881. Defied by her daughter
  Electra, 947.
- Cnossus, capital of Crete, *Herc* 18, 733, *Pha* 649, *Oed* 892, *Ag* 24, *HO* 161.
- Cocytus, "wailing," river of underworld, *Herc* 686, 870, *HO* 1963.
- Colchis, kingdom on northeast coast of Black Sea. Byword for savagery, Tro 1104, Pha 907. Home of Medea, Med 164, 179, 197, 451, 527, 871, Pha 697; there she helped Jason steal the Golden Fleece, Med 703, 983.

- Corinth, setting of *Med*, city near Isthmus of Greece, *Med* 35, *Thy* 124, 629. Its bronze vessels, *Med* 796. There Oedipus grew up, *Oed* 784: see Polybus.
- Cornelia, mother of Gracchi, Oct 882.
- Corsica, island west of Italy, place of Seneca's exile, *Oct* 382.
- Corus, stormy northwest wind, *Tro* 1033, *Med* 412, *Pha* 737, 1013, 1131, *Ag* 484, 598, *Thy* 578, *HO* 651.
- Corybantes, associated with Curetes, *HO* 1877.
- Crab (Cancer), constellation, Thy 854; associated with summer heat, Pha 287, HO 41, 67, 1218, 1573.
- CREON (1) (Med), king of Corinth. Gave refuge to Medea and Jason, 246; now plans to marry his daughter Creusa to Jason, Med 143, 415, and will be hostile if refused, 516, 521, 526; banishes Medea, 178, 490, but allows one day's grace, 294, 514; dies with Creusa through Medea's magic, 880.
- CREON (2) (Oed), prince of Thebes, brother of Jocasta. Reports Delphic Oracle's response, Oed 203; sent to observe Tiresias' necromancy, 399; reports that Laius' ghost accuses Oedipus, 511; jailed

on suspicion of conspiracy with Tiresias, 668.

Creon (3), king of Thebes (perhaps the same man as Creon 2). Deposed by Lycus and killed with his sons, *Herc* 255, 372, 402, 495, 629, 643.

Crete, island kingdom of Minos→. Tro 820, Pha 33, 61, \*85, 177, 661, 815, 1170, HO 1558, 1874, 1882. Cretan bull captured by Hercules, Herc 230, HO 27, and brought to Greece, Ag 834. See also Cnossus, Cydonian, Dictaean, Minotaur, Phaedra.

Creüsa, daughter of Creon (1). Betrothed to Jason, hated by Medea, Med 17, 125, 495, 508, 817, 922. Her beauty, \*75, 92; her death, 880.

Crispinus, first husband of Poppaea, Oct 729.

Cupid, love god, winged son of Venus, *Pha* \*185, \*275, *Oed* 500, *HO* \*539, *Oct* 198, 807; see also Love. His divinity denied, *Pha* 195, *Oct* 557.

Curetes, a group on Crete, HO 1877.

Cybele, Asiatic mother goddess associated with Mt Ida, *Tro* 72, *Pha* 1135, *Ag* 686.

Cyclades, "circling" islands in Aegean, *Pha* 1021, *Ag* 370, *Thy* 595, *HO* 803.

Cyclopes, giant sons of Neptune, *Thy* 582. Built Cyclopean walls of Mycenae, *Herc* 997, *Thy* 407.

Cycnus, "swan," (1) mourner for Phaethon metamorphosed by grief, Ag 678; (2) son of Mars killed by Hercules, Herc 486 (see fn.); (3) son of Neptune killed by Achilles, Tro 183, Ag 215.

Cydonian, inhabitant of Cretan city famed for archery, *HO* 820 (cf. *Pha* 815, *HO* 161).

Cyllaros, steed ridden by Castor, *Pha* 811.

Cynosura, constellation = Ursa Minor, *Thy* 872. See Bears.

Cynthian = Diana (goddess of Mt Cynthus on Delos) = moon, HO 641.

Cyprus, home of Myrrha, HO 196. See also Paphian.

Daedalus, Athenian craftsman on Crete, *Pha* 120, 1171. Escaped by making wings and flying, *Oed* \*899, *HO* 683. See also Icarus.

Dahae, warlike nomads east of Caspian Sea, *Thy* 370, 603.

Danaans = people of Argos, once ruled by Danaus, Ag 125; = Greeks, in context of Trojan War, Tro 62, 164, 166, 265, 360, 418, 433, 446, 529, 550, 590, 594, 598, 606–7, 662, 669, 684, 687, 757, 767, 1073, 1165, Ag 211, 224, 511, 526, 627, 744, Oct 816. See also Greek.

Danaë, mother of Perseus by Jupiter, who came to her in a shower of gold, Oct 207, 772.

Danaïds, 50 daughters of Danaïds, 50 daughters of Danaus, forcibly married to 50 sons of Aegyptus; all save one (Hypermnestra) slew their husbands on their wedding night, and are punished in underworld, *Herc* 498, 757, *Med* 748, *HO* 948, 960. See also Beliad.

Danube river, *Med* 724, *Thy* 376; also called Hister→.

Dardanus, ancestor of Trojan royal family, *Tro* 871, *Ag* 223, 774, 863, *HO* 363, 1649 (cj.); Dardan = Trojan, *Tro* 27, 135, *Ag* 358, 612; = Asiatic, *Herc* 1165.

Daulian refers to Procne and Philomela (sometimes associated with Daulis in Phocis), Thy 275, HO 192.

Dawn, see Aurora, Eos. Dawn Star, see Lucifer.

Death personified *Herc* 56, 555, 872, 1069, *Tro* 1171, *Med* 742, *Pha* 1188, *Oed* 126, 164, 652, *HO* 766, 1116, 1373, 1553.

Deianira (HO), an Aetolian, daughter of Oeneus, 319, 581, 583, and of Althaea, 954; sister of Meleager, 388. Famed as wife of Hercules, 397; mother of Hyllus. Achelous and Hercules fought over her, 495. The episode of Nessus, 500, who gave her an alleged love charm, 523. Jealous of Iole, 237, she uses it, 535; her suspicion of its deadly effect, 706, is confirmed, 742; she kills herself, 1024, 1456.

Deïdamia, see Achilles.
Deïphobus, son of Priam.
Married Helen in last year of
war; betrayed by her and mutilated by Menelaus in revenge, Ag 749.

Delia = Diana (born on Delos) = moon, HO 150.

Delos, Aegean island, birthplace of Apollo and Diana, Herc 451, HO 150; previously floating, but fixed after their birth, Herc 14, 453, Ag \*369.

Delphi, site of Apollo's oracle, which foretold Oedipus' fate, Phoen 259, Oed 16, 800, and Hercules', HO 1474. Laius was travelling there when killed, Oed 276. Consulted by Oedipus through Creon about the plague, Oed 214, \*223. See also Phoebus.

Deucalion, see Pyrrha. Diana, goddess of hunt, *Pha* 72. See Phoebe.

Dictaean = Cretan (from Mt Dicte), Ag 833.

Dictynna, Cretan goddess identified with Phoebe qua moon, Med 795.

Diomedes (1), Thracian king. Fed his horses human flesh, Tro 1108, cf. HO 1538. He himself, killed by Hercules, was the horses' last such meal, Herc 226, 1169, Ag \*842, HO 19, 1789, 1819, 1896.

Diomedes (2), Greek warrior at Troy. Accompanied Ulysses on night raids, *Tro* 38.

Dirce, spring near Thebes, Herc 916, Phoen 126, Oed 42, 177, 531, 714; "Dircean" of an event near the spring, Oed 588; Dirce = Thebes, Oed 234, HO 140.

Dis, son of Saturn, HO 1142; brother and peer of Jupiter and Neptune. "Infernal Jove" vel sim. *Herc* 47, 608, *HO* 1705; drew third lot of cosmos, *Herc* 53, 609, 833. His appearance, Herc \*721. Lord of underworld and sometimes synonymous with it, Herc 95, 100, 639, 658, 664, 707, 717, 782, Tro 198, 403, 432, 723, Phoen 234, Med 11, 741, Pha 95, 222, 625, 951, 1152, 1240, Oed 256, 395, 559, 573, 597, 770, 868, Ag 1, 752, Thy 805, HO 268, 328, 459 (cj.), 938, 1199, 1922. Also called Pluto→.

Felt love (for Proserpine) Pha 628, HO 559, Oct 556. Softened by Orpheus' song, granted him Eurydice, Herc \*569, HO 1065. Fought Hercules at Pylos, Herc 560. Hercules also conquered him in the underworld, *Herc* 51, 805, *HO* 1369, 1681, 1962, opened his kingdom, *Herc* 47, *Med* 638, and was allowed to bring back Theseus, *Herc* 806, *Pha* 1153, 1217.

Discord, goddess imprisoned in underworld, *Herc* 93.

Dodona, see Chaonia.

Dog Star associated with intense heat, *Oed* 39.

Dolopian, inhabitant of southern Thessaly near Mt Pindus, HO 125.

Domitius, name of Nero's father and forefathers, *Oct* 249, 641.

Dorian = Greek, Ag 163, 421, 523, 612. "Dorian land" Herc 81 = Sicily, colonised by Dorian Greeks.

Drusus, son of emperor Tiberius, Oct 941 (see fn.) Dryads, tree nymphs, Pha 783, HO 1053.

Earth personified, *Herc* 1225, *Tro* 519, *Oed* 579, 746, 868, *Thy* 1007, 1020, *HO* 1175, 1325, 1543, *Oct* \*404, 414; bore Typhon, *Oct* 239. Echo, a nymph, *Tro* 109. Edonian = Thracian (from a people of western Thrace), *Oed* 433, *HO* 191. Eëtion, king of Thebes in

Mysia, *Tro* 219. Egypt, scene of deaths of Pompey and Antony, *Oct* 522. Elean, adjective of Elis→.

ELECTRA (Ag), daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, 195. Sends her brother

Orestes into safekeeping after their father's murder, 924; defies the murderers, 953.

Her situation compared to Octavia's, Oct 59.

Eleusis, town near Athens, and its Eleusinian Mysteries, Herc 302, \*842, Tro 843, Pha 106, 838, HO 598.

Elis, town and region in western Peloponnese, *Phoen* 129; refers to Olympic Games, *Herc* 840, *Tro* 849, *Ag* 918.

Elysium, setting of blessed afterlife for favoured spirits, Herc 744, Tro 158, 944, HO 956, 1917.

Enceladus, a Giant. Capable of uprooting mountains, as in the Giants' assault on Olympus; now buried beneath Mt Etna. HO 1140, 1145, 1159, 1735.

Endymion, herdsman loved by Diana, *Pha* 309, 422.

Enispe, town in Arcadia called "windy" by Homer, *Tro* 841. Eös, the dawn, *HO* 614, 1866;

see also Aurora.

Epidaurus, town in northeast Peloponnese, *Pha* 1022.

Erasinus, river south of Argos, Ag 316.

Erebus, the Underworld→, Herc 54, 1224, Tro 179, Oed 160, 394, 410, 521, *HO* 1065, 1311, 1369, 1681, *Oct* 965.

Eridanus, river in north Italy (mod. Po) where Phaethon fell, HO 186.

Erinys = Fury, infernal spirit of vengeance, discord, madness, Herc 982, Med 953, Oed 590, 644, Ag 83, Thy 251, HO 609, 671, Oct 23, 161, 263, 619, 913.

Erymanthus, mountain in Arcadia. Home of wild boar killed by Hercules, *Herc* 228, *Ag* 832, *HO* 17, 980, 1536, 1814, 1888.

Eryx (1), mountain in Sicily, Med 707, Oed 600, sacred to Venus, Pha 199.

Eryx (2) challenged strangers to deadly boxing matches; worsted by Hercules, *Herc* 482.

ETEĞCLES (*Phoen*), son of Oedipus and Jocasta. He and his brother Polynices agreed to rule alternately, but Eteocles would not give up the throne, causing Polynices to raise an army against him, *Herc* 389, *Phoen* 56, 280, 483, 651. The brothers' enmity fated, *Phoen* 277, 338, *Oed* 237, 360, 646, 750.

Etesians, northerly summer winds, *Thy* 129.

Etna, fiery volcano in Sicily, Herc 106, Phoen 314, Pha 102, HO 285, 1361. It contains Vulcan's forges, Pha 190, worked by the Cyclopes, *Thy* 582, where Jove's bolts are forged, *Pha* 156, *HO* 542; beneath it is buried a Giant or Titan(s), *Here* 80, *Med* 409, *HO* 1157, 1308.

Euboea, large island off east coast of Greece, *Herc* 378, *HO* 103, \*775, 839. See also Caphereus, Cenaean, Chalcis, Euripus.

Eumenides = Furies, *Herc* 87, 577, *HO* 1002.

Euripus, fast-flowing strait between Euboea and mainland Greece, *Herc* 378, *Tro* 838, *HO* 103, \*779.

Europa, daughter of Agenor king of Tyre. Abducted by Jupiter in form of a bull, *Pha* \*303, *HO* 551, *Oct* 206, 766, later catasterised as Taurus, *Herc* 9. Cadmus' fruitless search for her, *Oed* 716.

Europe, used expansively for Greece in contrast to Asiatic Troy, *Tro* 896, *Ag* 205, 274.

Eurotas, river on which Sparta stands, *Phoen* 127, *Ag* 281, 317.

Eurus, the east wind, *Pha* 1129, *Ag* 476, 482, *Thy* 360, *HO* 114, 729.

EURYBATES (Ag), herald. Announces Agamemnon's imminent arrival in Argos, 391, and the wreck of the Greek fleet, 406.

Eurydice, wife of Orpheus. His

unsuccessful rescue of her from the underworld, *Herc* \*571, *HO* 1083.

Eurystheus, king of Argos, Herc 1180, HO 1800. By accelerating his birth and delaying Hercules', Juno ensured him the throne and power over Hercules, Herc 830, whose labours he prescribes, Herc 43, 78, 398, 432, 479, 526, HO 59, 403; his punishment prophesied, HO 1973.

Eurytus, king of Oechalia, father of Iole, HO 1490. Refused her to Hercules, who sacked his town and killed him, Herc 477, HO 100, \*207, 221, 354.

Euxine, the Black Sea, Ag 66. See Pontus, Scythian. Evenus, river of Aetolia, Oed 285 (cj.), HO 501.

Fate personified, *Pha* 467, *Oed* 125, 1059, *HO* 1198, 1294, 1985, *Oct* 552. For the three Fates, see Parcae.

Favonius, the west wind, *Herc* 550. See also Zephyr.

Fescennine verses, characterised by banter and ribaldry, associated with weddings, *Med* 113.

Fish (Pisces), constellation, *Thy* 866, *HO* 596.

Fortune personified, *Herc* 326, \*524, 1272, *Tro* 259, 269, 275, 697, 711, 735, *Phoen* 82,

212, 298, 386, 452, Med 159, 176, 219, 287, 520, Pha 978, \*1124, 1143, Oed 11, 86, Ag 28, 57, 72, 101, 594, 698, Thy 536, 618, HO 697, Oct 36, 377, 452, 479, 563, 887, 898, 931, 961.

Furies, infernal spirits, Herc 100, 110, 1221, Med 13, 958, 966, Oed 161, Ag \*759, Thy 78, 250, Oct 965. Also called Eumenides→; see also Erinys, Fury, Megaera, Tisiphone.

FURY (Thy), forces ghost of Tantalus to blight royal palace of Argos, 23.

Gaetulian = African, Pha 60. Galli, eunuch devotees of Cybele, Ag 686.

Ganges River in India, Med 865, Oed 427, 458, Thy 707, HO 515, 630.

Garamantians, African people of east Sahara, Pha 68, HO

Gargara, peak in Ida range, stands for that region; productive of grain, Phoen 608.

Geloni, a nomadic Scythian people, Oed 478.

Gemini, see Twins.

Geryon, triple-bodied herdsman on west coast of Spain. Hercules killed him, Herc 487, HO 26, 1900, and drove his cattle to Greece, *Herc* \*231, 1170, Ag \*837, HO 1203.

Getae, Thracian people on lower Danube, Pha 167, Thy 462, HO 1041, 1092, 1280; archers, Oed 469, HO 819.

GHOST (1) of AGRIPPINA (Oct) foretells Nero's downfall, 593; (2) of TANTALUS (Thy), driven by Fury to blight royal house of Argos, 1; (3) of THYESTES (Ag) recalls the family's evil history and foretells Agamemnon's murder, 1.

Ghost (4) of Absyrtus, Med 963; (5) of Achilles demands Polyxena's sacrifice, Tro 168; (6) of Hector warns Andromache to hide Astyanax, 438; (7) of Laius denounces Oedipus, Oed 619.

Giants, ferocious foes Oed 90, HO 1168, 1211. Attacked heavens, piling up mountains (see Pelion); quelled by Jupiter with thunderbolt, Thy 1083, HO 1302, with help of Hercules, *Herc* 445, *HO* 1215, and Bacchus, *Herc* 458. Might rise up again, *Herc* 976, Thy 805, 810, HO 1139, 1151. See also Briareus, Enceladus, Gyges, Mimas, Othrys, Pelion, Phlegra, Titans, Typhon.

Goat, bright star (Capella) in constellation Auriga, associated with storms, *Med* 313.

Goat's Horn, constellation Capricorn, Thy 864. Golden Fleece, from the ram of Phrixus→, sought by Argonauts, guarded by unsleeping serpent, *Med* 130, 277, 362, 471, 486, 613, 664, 703, 912, 983.

Gonoëssa, town in northeast Peloponnese, *Tro* 840.

Gorgon, Medusa→. Her petrifying snake-tressed head cut off by Perseus, HO 96, and set by Pallas in her aegis, Herc 902, Ag 530.

Gracchi, sons of Cornelia, Roman tribunes of the people, *Oct* 882.

Gradivus = Mars, *Herc* 1342, *Pha* 188, *HO* 1312.

Greek, Greece, Herc 619, Tro 70, 135, 147, 194, 319, 445, 526, 551, 774, 804, 866, Phoen 284, 325, 373, 627, Med 226, Pha 660, 906, Ag 182, 220, 351, 581, 942. See also Achaean, Argive, Danaans, Pelasgian.

Gyges, a Hundred-Hander, brother of Briareus; linked with the Giants' assault on Jupiter's throne HO 167 (cj.), 1139 (cj.).

Gyrtone, town in Thessaly, *Tro* 821.

Haemonian = Thessalian, Med 720, Ag 640, Thy 860.

Haemus, mountain range in Thrace, Med 590, HO 1280, 1383.

Harpies, "ravening" birds. At-

tack food of Phineus→; chased off by Zetes, Med 782. Hebe, daughter of Juno and Jupiter. Wife of Hercules on Olympus, Oct 210.

Hebrus, river in Thrace, Med 631, Ag 844, HO 19, 627, 1042, 1818, 1895.

Hecate, daughter of Perses, Med 814. Chthonian goddess represented with three faces or bodies. Identified with Diana (see Phoebe) on earth and the moon in the heavens. Tro 389, Med 7, Pha 410, HO 1519. Associated with magic, Med 577, 833, 841. Her hounds, Med 842, Oed 569.

Hector, son of Priam and Hecuba, Tro 986, Ag 709. Troy's champion, Tro 31, \*124, 1073, Ag 211, 743. Burnt Greek fleet, Tro 444, Ag 745, but did not attack Achilles' camp, Tro 322. Stripped Achilles' armour from dead Patroclus, Tro 447. Killed by Achilles, dragged behind his chariot, Tro 189, 235, 238, \*413, 571, 744, 784, Ag 446. Ransomed by Priam→; cremated, Ag 647, and buried, 513, Tro 602; the burial mound, 483, 1087. Mourned by Trojan women, Tro 98, especially Hecuba, 117, and Andromache his wife, 413, 907; his ghost, Ag 746.

Father of Astyanax, Tro

369, 500, 528, 554, 597, 605, 714, who is a second Hector, 465, 535, 551, 646, 659. The dead Hector appears to Andromache, warning her of danger, 443, 459. She conceals Astyanax in his tomb, 483. Ulysses threatens to scatter it and the ashes, 638, 655. Andromache appeals to him, 682, 805, and hallucinates his image, 684.

HECUBA (*Tro*), wife of Priam, mother of many children killed at Troy, 32, 138, 958. Her dream while pregnant with Paris, *Tro* 36, *Ag* 706; tricked by Wooden Horse, *Ag* 648; witnessed Priam's death, *Tro* 44. Leads Trojans in mourning, *Tro* 63; assigned by lot to Ulysses, 980. Metamorphosed into a bitch, *Ag* 705.

HELEN (*Tro*), daughter of Jupiter and Leda, born in Sparta →, sister of Clytemnestra→, wife of Menelaus. Called a Tyndarid→. Bestowed on Paris as a reward by Venus, *Tro* 921, *Oct* 774. Blamed for deaths of Trojan War, *Tro* 249, 853, 892, 917. Involved in sacrifice of Polyxena, *Tro* 861, 1133. Returns home with Menelaus, *Ag* 273. Helenus, son of Priam, *Tro* 60. Helice (a name for Ursa Major) = the North, *HO* 1539.

Helle, sister of Phrixus→. Henioch, member of tribe on east coast of Black Sea, *Thy* 1049.

Hercean, "of the household," title of Jove: Priam was killed at the altar of Hercean Jove, Ag 448, 793.

HERCULES (Herc, HO), son of Jupiter and Alcmene→, whose husband Amphitryon  $\rightarrow$  is his quasi-father (see Alcides). Sired by Jupiter, Herc 118, 446, 792, HO 279, 401, 437, 843, 1246, 1503, 1776, 1802, in a night of double length, *Herc* 24, 1159, *Ag* \*814, HO \*147, 1500, 1697, 1865. Born in Thebes, Herc 20, Oed 749, but of Argive ancestry, Ag 812, through Alcmene. Jealous Juno ensured his subjection to Eurystheus $\rightarrow$ , who commanded his Labours. In his infancy she sent two snakes against him, which he strangled, Herc \*214, 456, HO 59, 1205.

References to his deeds are indexed under individual names. Lists of his deeds Herc 216, Ag 829; more selective lists, Herc 529, HO 16, 1192, 1235, 1534, 1813, 1887. The Labours: (1) Nemean lion; (2) Lernaean hydra; (3) Arcadian hind; (4) Erymanthian boar; (5) Augean sta-

bles; (6) Stymphalian birds; (7) Cretan bull; (8) Diomedes' horses; (9) Hippolyte's baldric; (10) cattle of Geryon; (11) golden apples of Hesperides; (12) Cerberus.

Cheated by Laomedon, king of Troy, he took the city, with arrows used again later against Troy (see Philoctetes), Tro 136, 825, Ag 614, 862, and installed young Priam as king, Tro \*718. In the west he relieved Atlas temporarily of the burden of the heavens, and sundered Mt Calpe to make an entrance to the Mediterranean. He escaped from the Syrtes on foot. In Thessaly he sundered mountains to create the Vale of Tempe. He killed Cycnus son of Mars, Eryx, Periclymenus, Centaurs, and the tyrants Antaeus, Busiris, and Lycus. He freed Prometheus in the Caucasus, and Theseus in the underworld. On the 🦡 Argonautic expedition he lost Hylas, and killed Zetes and Calais; his eventual violent death resembled other Argonauts', Med 637. He wounded Dis at Pylos, and aided Jupiter in battle against the Giants, Herc 445, HO 1215.

Fetching of Cerberus seen as opening of the under-

world, Herc 47, 610, 890, Tro 723, Med 638, HO 1553. Deeds on earth seen as a pacification of land and sea, Herc 442, 882, Med 637, HO 3, 283, 794, 1838, 1990. He has no equal, Herc 84, HO 838, 1848. Extent of his travels, HO 744, comparable to the sun's, Herc 1057, HO 42, 1512, 1531. Renown worldwide, *Herc* 1331, *HO* 38, 315, 414, 1586, 1698, 1799, 1827. Jupiter's proxy on earth, HO 750, 850, 1143, 1544; his renown vies with Jupiter's, HO 417, 1807, 1881, and reflects credit on Jupiter as father, HO 8, 1505. Promised deifica -tion, Herc 23, 959, HO 1910.

Women he desired include Auge, Hesione, Iole, Thespius' daughters. He was a slave of love to Omphale. In Thebes he married Megara; killed her and their sons in a bout of madness; he was purified either in Athens, Herc 1341, or in the river Cinyps, HO 907. Later he wooed Deianira, defeating his rival Achelous. Travelling with his bride, he shot Nessus, who attempted to abduct her. By her he had a son Hyllus. Refused Iole by her father Eurytus, he killed him and sacked his city Oechalia. Journeyed to Euboea, HO

101. There he donned a robe sent by Deianira, 788, and was afflicted by potion from Nessus with which she had misguidedly impregnated it, 485, Med 641. Killed Lichas, who had brought the robe, HO 809. Conveyed to Trachis (now home) by ship, 839, he recognised his death as fated, HO 1472, and ordered a pyre built on Mt Oeta, 1483, \*1618, Med 777. His mortal body was consumed, 1727; his divine part ascended to heaven, 1940, Ag 813, where he was reconciled to Juno and married her daughter Hebe, Oct 211, cf. HO 1435.

His favourite tree the poplar, Herc 894, 912, HO 578, 789, 1641. His shield the Nemean→ lion's pelt. His chief weapon the club, Herc 800, 1024, 1084, 1119, HO 208, which he burnt on Oeta, HO 1661; he also used bow and arrows, Herc 989, 1115, 1195, 1229, HO 517, bequeathed to Philoctetes, HO 1648.

Hercynian Forest, region of southern Germany, *Med* 713 (cj.).

Hermione, daughter of Helen and Menelaus, Tro 1134.Hermus, river of Lydia, Phoen 607.

Hesione, sister of Priam. Her-

cules loved her as a princess, but gave her away as a slave after he took Troy, *HO* 363.

Hesperian = western, *Pha* 286, 571, *Oed* 742, *Thy* 796, in reference to Spain, *Herc* 231, 1140, *Med* 727, *Ag* 840, *HO* 80, 1203.

Hesperides, sisters in far West. Their orchard of golden apples guarded by an unsleeping serpent; Hercules stole the apples, Herc 239, 530, Phoen 316, Ag \*852, HO 18.

Hesperus, evening star, Phoen 87, Med 878, HO 149. = the West, Herc 883. Called Vesper, Thy 795. Identical with dawn star Lucifer, Med 71, Pho 770, Ar 820.

took her baldric as his ninth

Pha 749, Ag 820. Hippolyte, queen of Amazons. Hercules defeated her and

labour, Herc 245, \*542, Ag 848, HO 21, 1184, 1450. HIPPOLYTUS (Pha), son of Theseus and the Amazon Antiope→. His beauty, 657, 741; resembles Theseus, 646, 831 (cj.). Disdains urban society, 483, hates women, 230, 238, 559, devotes self to outdoor life and hunting, 1, 483. Rejects Phaedra's advances, 671. Accused by the nurse, 726, and Phaedra, 896, and cursed by Theseus, 941, he dies violently, 1000. Phaedra admits his innocence, 1191.

Hister, "stopper," = Danube river ---, Med 584, 763, Pha 59, Ag 679, Thy 629, HO 86, 515, 623, 1365.

Hyädes, "Rainers," cluster of stars in head of constellation Taurus, Med 312, [769], Thy 853.

Hybla, town near Mt Etna famed for honey, Oed 601.

Hydaspes, river in India (mod.

Jhelum), Med 725, HO 628. Hydra, see Lerna.

Hylas, young companion of Hercules on Argo. Fetching water, drawn into pool by amorous water nymphs, Med 648, Pha 781.

HYLLUS (HO), son of Hercules and Deianira, 984, 1448. Reports the effects of the tainted robe on Hercules, 742; asked by Hercules to marry Iole, 1488.

Hymen/Hymenaeus, son of Bacchus, god of marriage, Med \*67, 110, 300.

Hymettus, mountain near Athens, famed for honey, *Pha* 22. Hyrcania, country southeast of Caspian Sea, *Pha* 70, *Thy* 631.

Iacchus, title of Bacchus, Oed 157, 437.

Icarus, son of Daedalus. His wings melted by the sun, he fell into the sea, which received his name, *Oed* \*892, *HO* 686.

Ida, mountain (1) near Troy, Tro 73, 175, 445, 567, 928, 1049, Phoen 609, Oed 457, Ag 457, where Paris lived as herdsman, Tro 66, Ag 730; (2) on Crete, HO 1878 (see fn.).

Idmon, "knowing," Greek seer on the *Argo*, *Med* 652.

Ilisos, stream in Attica, *Pha* 13, 504.

Ilium = Troy, *Tro* 21–2, 31, 144, 235, 412, 428, 771, 911, 1053, *Ag* 41–2, 190, 459, 577, 587, 655, 794, 877, 921.

Illyria, northwest coast of Balkan peninsula, *Herc* 393.

Inachus, river near Argos. Its eponymous god the ancestor of Argive kings, *Thy* 337; Inachus = Argos, *Phoen* 444, Ag 314, *HO* 139.

Inarime, volcanic island (mod. Ischia) near Naples, HO 1156.

India, Herc 909, Med 373, 484, Pha 345, 753, Oed 114, 123, Thy 602, HO 41, 336; Indian Ocean, Pha 392.

Ino, daughter of Cadmus.
Threw herself and son
Melicertes into the sea,
Phoen 23. She became a sea
goddess, he a sea god
Palaemon, Oed 446.

Iölcos, Thessalian town ruled by Pelias, home port of Argo, Tro 819, Med 457.

IÖLE (HO), daughter of Eurytus→, captured as concubine by Hercules. Mourns her plight and her family, 173. On arrival in Trachis, her beauty alarms Deianira, 237. The dying Hercules asks Hyllus to marry her, 1488.

Ionia, the west coast of Asia Minor, *Tro* 363.

Ionian, stormy sea between Greece and Italy, Pha 1012, Oed 603, Ag 565, Thy 478, HO 731. The name used of the Aegean, Phoen 610, Ag 506, Thy 143.

Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra. Brought to Aulis on pretext of marriage to Achilles, Ag 158; sacrificed to enable Greeks to sail to Troy, Tro 248, 331, 360, 555, Ag \*160; according to some, rescued by Diana, Oct 972.

Iris, goddess of the rainbow, Oed 316.

Ismarian = Thracian, HO 193, 1789.

Ismene, daughter of Oedipus, *Phoen* 551.

Ismenos, river near Thebes, Herc 334, Phoen 116, Oed 42, Ag 318, HO 141. Synonymous with Thebes or Boeotia, Herc 1163, Oed 234, HO 945, 1801.

Isthmus of Corinth, between Saronic Gulf to east and Corinthian Gulf to west, *Herc* [336], 1164, *Phoen* 375, *Med* 35, 45, 299, *Oed* 267, 282, *Ag*  564, Thy 112, 124, 628, HO 83.

Ithaca, island off west coast of Greece, home of Ulysses, *Tro* 38, 317, 857, 927, 980, 991, 1089, *Thy* 587.

Itys, son of Procne and Tereus, Ag 672, HO 192.

Ixion, Thessalian, punished on a wheel in underworld for attempted seduction of Juno, Herc 750, Med 744, Pha 1235, Ag 15, Thy 8, HO 492, 945, 1011, 1068, Oct 623. See Nephele, Pirithous.

Jason (Med), son of Aeson. Led Argonaut expedition, 233, 595, at Pelias' behest, 669. With help of Medea's magic, performed tasks set by Aeetes, yoking firebreathing bulls 121, 241, 466, 830, and sowing dragon's teeth, 169, 469 fn.; took Golden Fleece→. Under pressure from Creon (1), marries Creusa, 82, 118, 137, 431, 441. His beloved sons, 545, killed by Medea, 925, 933, 950, 978.

JOCASTA (Oed, Phoen), wife of Laius; mother of Oedipus→, later his wife and mother of his children, Oed 81, 773, 825. In Oed, commits suicide, 1004. In Phoen, survives, deplores the war between her sons, 363, and intervenes, 443. Jove, see Jupiter. Judges of dead, Herc 579, \*731, HO 1007, 1558. See Aeacus, Minos, Rhadamanthus. Julia, daughter of Livilla and Drusus, Oct 944. JUNO (Herc), sister and wife of Jupiter. Her anger over his infidelities, Herc 5, Oct 202. Her enmity towards his bastard Hercules, *Herc* 30, 214, 447, 456, 479, 606, 615, HO 9, 38, 63, 66, 75, 257, 297, 313, 843, 883, 940, 1182, 1186, 1598. Decides to use him against himself, *Herc* 85. Blamed for his madness, 1201, 1297; thought to triumph in his death, HO 746, 1675. Outdone as a mother by Alcmene, HO 1509; might persecute her, 1792. Eventually reconciled to Hercules, Oct 211, cf. HO 1437. Hostile to young Bacchus, Oed 418; reconciled, 487. Now secure as Jupiter's wife, Oct 216. Patron of Argos-Mycenae, Ag \*341, 805, 809. In Judgment of Paris, Oct 546. See Octavia. Jupiter or Jove, king of gods, brother and spouse of Juno. Ruler of Olympus/heaven, Herc 597, Pha 960, Oed 249. His infancy on Crete, *Herc* 459, HO 1875; alleged death there, HO 1880. Sacrifices etc. to him, Herc 923, Tro 140, Ag 802, Thy 463; prayers

etc., Herc 927, Ag 793, HO 87, 1671, 1692. Controls thunder and lightning, Herc 517, 598, 932, 1202, Phoen 59, Med 531, Pha 155, 673, 1134, Oed 501, 1029, Ag 382, 528, 802, Thy 290, 1080, HO 2, 324, 551, 847, 881, 1384, Oct 228, 245 hence called Thunderer $\rightarrow$ ; his thunderbolts forged on Etna $\rightarrow$ . Stands for upper world, HO 1369. Dethroned Saturn→; fought Giants→ and their allies. Chief deity of Olympic Games, Tro 849, Ag 938.

Unfaithful to Juno, Herc \*2; henpecked by her, *Herc* 1019. Susceptible to passion, Pha 187, HO 551, 558, Oct \*203, 218, \*763, 810. His amours (references under individual names) included Callisto, Europa, and three of Atlas' daughters (Pleiades); he fathered Apollo and Diana on Latona; Hercules on Alcmene in a double night; Bacchus on Semele; Perseus on Danae; Castor, Pollux, and Helen on Leda. Father of Pallas by no mother. Father of Amphion and Zethus; also of Minos, hence grandfather of Phaedra, Pha 129, 158; progenitor of Argive dynasty as father of Tantalus, Ag 385; ancestor of Achilles, Tro 346. Titles include Cenaean,

Hercean, Thunderer. Infernal Jove, see Dis.

Justice, goddess, *Med* 440, *Oct* 623; see Astraea.

Labdacus, father of Laius, hence ancestor of Theban royal house, *Herc* 495, *Phoen* 53, *Oed* 710.

Lachesis, one of three Fates (see Parcae), Oed 985.

Laërtes, king of Ithaca, *Thy* 587; father of Ulysses, *Tro* 700.

Laius, king of Thebes. Father of Oedipus, ordered his exposure as an infant, *Phoen* 36, \*253; later killed by him. *Phoen* 39, 90, 166, 260, *Oed* 217, 235, 257, \*274, 393, \*623, 634, 665, \*765, 774, 843, 1034.

Laömedon, king of Troy. Attacked by Hercules→ after cheating him, Ag 863.

Lapiths, [Herc 779]. Latona, divine mother of Apollo and Diana by Jupiter, Ag 321, on Delos, 369. Greek name Leto→.

Leda, wife of Tyndareus. Loved by Jupiter in form of swan, Oct 205, 764, 770; mother of Helen→, of Clytemnestra, Ag 125, 234, and of Castor and Pollux, Herc 14, Oct 208.

Lemnos, volcanic Aegean island, HO 1362. Its women murdered their menfolk en masse, Ag 566.

Leo, constellation, see Nemea. Lerna, a stream or river, Pha 507, *Thy* 115. Also a marshy area south of Argos, home of hydra killed by Hercules, Herc 222, HO 19, 94, 284, 851, 918, 1193, 1256, 1360, 1534, 1650, 1813. As he cut off each head, new heads multiplied, Herc 529, Med 701, HO 258, 1292, until he cauterised after cutting, Herc 241, Ag 835. He then tipped his arrows with the hydra's venom, Herc 46, 1195, 1233, Med 784, HO 905, 914. The hydra's ghost, Herc 780, HO 1927.

Lesbos, Aegean island. Byword for good wine, *Oed* 496. Conquered by Achilles, *Tro* 226.

Lethe, "oblivion," underworld river. Erases memories of life; crossed by newly arriving shades, and thereafter confines them. Herc \*680, 777, Pha 1202, HO 936, 1162, 1208, 1550, 1985. Lethaean = infernal, Pha 147.

Leto = Latona→; hence Letoan = Apolline, Oed 230.

Leucate/Leucas, "white," promontary of island off west coast of Greece, *Pha* 1014, *HO* 732.

Liber, name of Bacchus, *Pha* 753.

Libra, see Scales. Libya, general term for North

Africa, Herc 482, 1171, Med 653, 682, Oed 919, Ag 64, 480, Thy 292, 356, HO 24, 41, 68, 908, 1105. See also Africa, Gaetulian, Marmaric, Nasamonian.

LICHAS (HO), herald of Hercules. Reports Hercules' conquest of Oechalia to Deianira, 99; delivers the robe from her, 567, 570; killed by agonised Hercules, 809, 814, 978, 1460.

Lion (constellation Leo), see Nemea.

Livia, wife of Drusus, Oct 942. Livius Drusus, Roman tribune of the people, Oct 887.

Love personified, *Pha* 218, 574, 634, *HO* 472, 474, *Oct* 562, 569; = Cupid, *Pha* 185, 195, *HO* 580, *Oct* 554, 557, 569, 697.

Lucanian oxen = elephants, *Pha* 352.

Lucifer, the day star, Oed 506, 741, HO 149; identical with Hesperus→, Pha 752; Greek name Phosphoros, Herc 128.

Lucina, goddess associated with marriage, Med 2, 61; identified with Phoebe, Ag 369.

Lucretia, victim of rape by Sextus Tarquinius, Oct 300.

Lucretius, father of Lucretia, Oct 302.

Lyaeus = Bacchus, Med 110, Oed 508, HO 244.

Lycia, region of southern coast of Asia Minor, *Phoen* 613. Lycormas, river in Aetolia, *HO* 591.

Lycurgus, Thracian king. Attacked Bacchus and followers with an ax; duly punished, Herc 903, Oed 471.

Lycus (Herc), tyrant of Thebes. An upstart, 269, 331, who killed Creon (3) and his sons, 372, 402, 629, 643; plans to marry Megara, or else wipe out Hercules' family, 344, 501, 630; killed by Hercules, 635, 895; cf. 988, 1161, 1181. Lydia, region in central Ionia.

Gold-producing, Oed 467, HO 624. There Hercules dallied with Omphale, Pha 326, HO 371, 573. See also Maeonian.

Lynceus, Argonaut famed for keen sight, *Med* 232.

Lyrnesos, town near Mt Ida (1), *Tro* 221; home of Briseis, *Ag* 186.

Maenad, "madwoman," inspired devotee of Bacchus, Tro 674, Phoen 365, Med 383, 806, 849, Oed 436, 483, Ag 719, HO 244, 701. See also Bacchant, Bassarid.

Maenalus/-a, mountain in Arcadia, HO 1886; = Arcadia in reference to Hercules' hind, Herc 222, and the Erymanthian boar, Herc 229, HO 17. Maeonian = Lydian, of fine embroidery HO 665.

Maeotis, frigid gulf of northeast Black Sea (mod. Sea of Azov), Herc 1327, Pha 716, Oed 474; Amazon country, Pha 401.

Malea, cape at south end of Peloponnese, Med 149.

Manto (Oed), daughter of blind Tiresias. Guides him, 290, and informs him of the course of the sacrifice, 301. Her warning to Thebes to honour Latona's children, Ag 319, was scorned by Niobe. Marathon, township in north-

east Attica, Pha 16.

Marmarie = African, Ag 739, HO 1057.

Mars, god of war, Med 63, Pha 808, Thy 557. Son of Jupiter and Juno, HO 1312. Felt love, Pha 188, HO 543 (cj.), for Venus; caught with her in a net of chains by Vulcan, Pha 125. Purified at Athens after killing a son of Neptune there, Herc 1342. Ancestor of Romans as father of Romulus and Remus, Oct 293. = war (with varying degrees of metonymy) *Tro* 185, 1058, Phoen 527, 626, 630, Pha 125, 465, 550, Oed 90, 275, 646, Ag [548], 921. Also called Gradivus→.

Massagetans, Scythian tribe, drink blood mixed with milk, Oed 470.

Meander, anfractuous river in Ionia, Herc 684, Phoen 606. Medea (Med), daughter of Aeetes, granddaughter of the Sun. Wealth and power of her family, 209, 483. Her power over nature, 121, \*673. Out of love, helped Jason→ perform tasks set by Aeetes (thus saving the Argonauts, 226), and take Golden Fleece→. Left Colchis with Jason, Ag 119; delayed pursuit by killing brother Absyrtus and scattering his limbs on the sea, Med 131, 278, 452, 473, 936, 957, 963. In Iolcos, tricked daughters of Pelias with hope of rejuvenating him by butchering and cooking him, 133, 201, \*258, 276, 475, 664, 667, 913, Took refuge in Corinth, 247. Now banished by Creon, 179. Sends Creusa a poisoned robe, 570, 843. Kills her own children by Jason, 970, 1018. Escapes in a dragon chariot, 1023. Marries Aegeus in Athens, Pha 563; wicked stepmother to Theseus, 697. Byword for crimes against family, HO 950.

Medes, eastern people, Med 710, Thy 602.

Medusa, a Gorgon→, Med 831. Megaera, one of Furies, Herc 102, Med 963, Thy 252, HO 1006, 1014.

MEGARA (Herc), daughter of Creon (3), wife of Hercules. Defies Lycus, 358; killed by Hercules in madness, 1008, HO 429, 903, 1452.

Meleager, prince of Calydon, killed by his mother Althaea→, *Med* 644.

Memnon, eastern king, son of Aurora; ally of Troy, killed by Achilles, *Tro* 10, 239, *Ag* 212.

Menelaüs, son of Atreus, brother of Agamemnon, *Thy* 327; king of Sparta, husband of Helen, *Tro* 897, 1135. His duty to judge Helen after Trojan War, *Tro* 923; returns with her to Greece, *Ag* 273, 404.

Merope, wife of Polybus, raised Oedipus as her own son, *Oed* 272, 661, 802.

Messalina, Roman empress, wife of Claudius, mother of Octavia and Britannicus. Her promiscuity, Oct 536; bigamous marriage to Gaius Silius, 260, and consequent execution, 14, 265, 272, 947.

MESSENGER (1) Tro 1056, (2) Phoen 320, (3) Med 879, (4) Pha 991, (5) Oed 915, (6) Thy 623, (7) Oct 780. See also Eurybates, Hyllus, Old Man (2), Talthybius, Theseus (Herc).

Mimas (1), one of the Giants, Herc 981. Mimas (2), mountain on coast of Ionia, HO 730, 1384.

Minos, king of Crete. Father of Ariadne and Phaedra, *Pha* 127, 149, 242, 245. Confined Daedalus on Crete, *Oed* 892. One of judges→ of the dead, *Herc* 733, Ag 24, Thy 23, HO 1558.

Minotaur, half man, half bull, offspring of Pasiphae, *Pha* 691; concealed in labyrinth in Crete, 122, 174, 649, 1171.

Minyans, "descendants of Minyas" (a Thessalian king), used = Argonauts (see Argo), Med 233.

Molossian breed of dogs, Pha

Moon, see Phoebe.

Moorish coast of Africa, opposite Calpe, *HO* 1252.

Mopsopus, legendary king of Attica; hence Mopsopia = Attica, *Pha* 121, 1276.

Mopsus, Argonaut, Theban seer, prophesied own fate incorrectly, *Med* 654.

Mothone, town in Thessaly, *Tro* 822.

Mulciber, title of Vulcan, god of fire, *Med* 825.

Muse, unspecified, Ag 331; = Calliope, Med 625.

Mycale, Thessalian witch, HO 525.

Mycenae in northeast Peloponnese, virtually = Argos  $\rightarrow$ , Herc 997, Tro 155,

245, 363, 855, Ag 121, 251, 342, 757, 871, 967, 998, 1007, Thy 188, 561, 1011.

Myrrha, transformed into myrrh tree whose resinous drops are her tears, HO 196.

Myrtilus caused wreck of his master Oenomaus' chariot, bribed by his competitor Pelops; hurled by Pelops into sea, called thereafter Myrtoan, Thy 140, 660.

Mysia, region of northwest Asia Minor, Tro 216.

Nabateans, people of Arabia, Ag 483, HO 160. Naiads, water nymphs, Pha 780:

see Hylas. Nasamonian = African, HO

1642.

Nature personified, *Phoen* 84, 273, Pha 353, 959, 1116, Oed 25, 943, Thy 834, HO 1919, Oct 386.

Nauplius, an Argonaut. To avenge his son Palamedes, put to death by the Greeks at Troy, he lured Greek fleet onto rocks, Ag 567; himself fell into sea, Med 659.

Naxos, Aegean island, Oed 488. See Ariadne.

Nemea, town in northeast Peloponnese. Threatened by lion (said by some to have fallen from moon, [Herc 83,] Thy 856, HO 52): since its pelt was impenetrable, Hercules throttled the beast, Herc 224, Ag 829, HO 16, 1192, 1235, then wore its skin himself, Herc 46, 798, 1150, HO 411, 1665, 1932. The lion catasterised as Leo, Herc 945, Oed 40, Thy 855, HO 69. See also Cleonae.

Nephele, likeness of Juno substituted when Ixion tried to seduce her; bore Nessus, HO 492

Neptune, brother of Jupiter and Dis. God of sea, *Herc* 515, Med 4, Pha 1159, Oed 266, and of winds, Oed 254; drew second lot of cosmos, Herc 599, Med 597, Pha 904. Drowns Ajax (2), Ag 553. Father of Theseus, granted him three wishes, Pha 942; the third, to destroy Hippolytus, 945, 1252, is fulfilled, 1207, 1243. Father of Cyclopes, Thy 582; of Cycnus (3), Tro 183, Ag 215, and Periclymenus, Med 635; ancestor of Lycus, Herc 515.

Nereïds, daughters of Nereus, sea nymphs, Pha 336, Oed 446.

Nereus, sea deity,  $Oed\ 450$ ; = sea, Pha 88, Oed 507, HO 4. Father of Thetis, hence great-grandfather of Pyrrhus, Tro 881.

Neritos, supposedly an island near Ithaca, Tro 856.

Nero (Oct), Roman emperor.

Son of Cn. Domitius, 249, 641, and Agrippina (2).
Adopted by Claudius, 139, 150, 249; married to Octavia, 156. Murdered Britannicus—and Agrippina—. His mistress first Acte, 105, 194, 657, then Poppaea—. Orders execution of exiles, 437; divorces Octavia and marries Poppaea, 530, 671, 703. Enraged at popular support for Octavia, 820, orders her death, 861, 875. His death prophesied, 620, 733.

Nessus, centaur, offspring of Ixion and Nephele, HO 492. Attempts to abduct Deianira, HO \*503; shot by Hercules, 516, 921. Dying, he gives his blood mingled with hydra venom to Deianira, allegedly as a love charm, 520, but actually for revenge, 966, 1468; its effect toxic, \*716, Med 775, and fatal, Med 641, HO 1476.

Nestor, king of Pylos, *Herc* 561; proverbial for old age, *Tro* 848.

Night personified, *Thy* 1071. Nile river, *Herc* 1323, *Oed* 606, *Oct* 519.

Niobe, daughter of Tantalus; wife of Amphion of Thebes, Herc 390, Oed 613. With 7 sons and 7 daughters, Med 954, boasted of outdoing Latona; punished by Diana and Apollo, who killed all her children, Ag 375; changed to weeping rock, Herc 390, Ag 376, HO 185, 1849; her shade still arrogant, Oed 613.

Nomia, mountain in western Arcadia, HO 1885 (cj.).

Notus, the south wind, *Herc* 550, 1090, *Med* 323, *Pha* 1129, *Ag* 90, 476, [481], *HO* 382, 729.

NURSE (1) of Medea, Med 150, 380, 568, 670, 817, 891; (2) of Phaedra, Pha 129, 358, 406, 719, 854; (3) of Deianira, HO 233, 884; (4) of Octavia, Oct 34; (5) of Poppaea, Oct 690.

Nyctelian, epithet of Bacchus, Oed 492.

Nysa, legendary eastern mountain where Bacchus was born, Med 384, Oed 404.

Ocean, flows around known world, Tro 383, Med 376, 755, Pha 717, 931, 958, 1029, 1162, Oed 504, Ag 484, HO 49, 743, 1366, Oct 37, 40, especially far east and west, Herc 26, 234, 238, 1141, HO 489, 781, 1839.

OCTAVIA (Oct), daughter of Claudius and Messalina, wife of Nero. Compared to Juno as sister-wife of a ruler, Oct 201, 219, 282, 535. Mourns her parents, 10, and brother Britannicus, 67, and her own loveless marriage. Popular support for her 183, 276, 572,

646, 669, 786. Leaves palace when Nero marries Poppaea, 646, 746. Her exile and death on Pandataria ordered by Nero, 861, 875, 899, 969. Also called Claudia→.

Odrysian = Thracian (in reference to Tereus), *Thy* 273.

Oechalia, town in Thessaly ruled by Eurytus. Sacked by Hercules, HO 101, 123, 133, 162, 422.

OEDIPUS (Phoen, Oed), son of Jocasta and Laius, king of Thebes. His fate prophesied before birth, Phoen 245, Oed 235, and in youth, *Oed* 16. Given as a babe to Phorbas for exposure on Cithaeron, Phoen 27, 253, with feet pinned, Phoen 254, Oed 812, 858, but handed by him to a Corinthian shepherd, Oed 808; raised in Corinth by Polybus→ and Merope. Thinking them his real parents, left Corinth to avoid his prophesied fate, Oed 22, 263. Killed Laius on road, Oed 276, 768. Coming to Thebes, freed city of riddling Sphinx, 92, 216, Phoen 119, 131. Given the throne and Jocasta as wife, Oed 105. His incest Herc 388, Phoen 134, 262, Oed 635. Their children,

Phoen passim, Oed 640, 881. Sends Creon (2) to Delphi concerning plague in Thebes, Oed 109, 210; deputes him to oversee necromancy, Oed 399; suspects him and Tiresias of conspiracy, Oed 668. Realising the truth, blinds himself, 915, Phoen 177, and goes into exile, Phoen 209, Oed 1047. Later, longs to die, Phoen 1; refuses appeal from Thebes to curb his sons, 328.

Oeneus, king of Calydon, father of Deianira, HO 583.

Oeta, mountain in Thessaly near Trachis, *Herc* 133, 981, *Tro* 823, *HO* 862, 1445. Site of Hercules' pyre, *Med* 639, 777, *HO* 1483, \*1618, 1646, 1718.

Ogygian = Theban, from name of an early king, *Oed* 437, 589. Oileus, an Argonaut, punished

for participation by death of his son Ajax, *Med* 661.

OLD MAN (1), attendant of Andromache, *Tro* 426; (2), messenger from Corinth, *Oed* 784.

Olenos, town in Aetolia, *Tro* 826, *Oed* 283. The standing epithet 'Olenian' for Capella, *Med* 313, was variously explained in antiquity.

Olympic Games, *Thy* 131; see Jupiter, Elis, Pisa.

Olympus, Mt, Herc 205, 972, Ag 339; = heaven, Herc 205, Pha 960, Thy 792, HO 1907, Oct 209. See also Pelion. Omphale, queen of Lydia. Mistress to Hercules, *Herc* 465, *Pha* 317, *HO* 371, 573, and had a child by him, *HO* 271.

Ophion, obscure, perhaps one of Thebes' founding fathers, *Herc* 268, *Oed* 485.

Ophiucus, "Snake-holder," constellation, Med 698.

ORESTES (Ag), son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, Ag 196, Tro 555; entrusted by Electra to Strophius after Agamemnon's murder, Ag 910; avenged his father, Ag 1012, Oct 62.

Orion, constellation, Herc 12.
Orpheus, son of Phoebus and
Calliope. An Argonaut, Med
228, 348, 358, \*625; magical
power of his music, ibid. and
HO \*1036. Charmed underworld powers into releasing
Eurydice, but lost her again,
Herc \*569, Med 632, HO
\*1061; songs of self-consolation, HO 1031, \*1090; death
at maenads' hands, Med 630.
Ossa, mountain in Thessaly,

Herc 971, Ag 338, Thy 812, HO 1152, 1310, 1735. See also Pelion.

Othrys, mountain range in Thessaly, HO 494, 1140, 1168.

Pactolus, gold-bearing Lydian river, *Phoen* 604, *Oed* 467. Paean, title of Phoebus, *HO* 92. Palaemon, sea god, son of Ino→.

Palamedes, son of Nauplius→, Tro 752, Ag 568.

Pallas Athena, daughter of Jupiter, Ag \*356, HO 1315. Her shield is the aegis, in which is set Medusa's head, *Herc* 902, Ag 530. Helper of Hercules, Herc 900; helped build Argo, Med 2, 365. Goddess of woolworking, *Pha* 103, *HO* 563; patron goddess of Athens, Pha 109, 1149, worshipped on Acropolis, 260. In Judgment of Paris, Oct 546. Helped Greeks attack Troy, Ag 357, but offended by them, *Tro* 670 fn.; attacked Ajax and Greek fleet, Ag \*528. Auge her priestess in Arcadia, HO 366; worshipped in Aetolia, HO 592.

Pallene, promontary in north Greece, alternative battle site to Phlegra -> , *Herc* 979.

Pandataria, small island off west coast of Italy, Oct 971 (cj.).

Pandion, king of Athens, father of Procne and Philomela, *Oct* 8.

Pangaeum, mountain in Macedonia, *Med* 721, *Oed* 434.Pans, wanton deities of wild country, *Pha* 784.

Paphian = sacred to Venus, from her cult at Paphos in Cyprus, *Oed* 539.

Parcae, three Fates who spin

lifethreads, Herc 181, 188, 559, HO 1098. See also Clotho, Lachesis.

Parian marble famed for whiteness, Pha 797.

Paris, son of Priam and Hecuba, but raised on Ida as shepherd. Judges three goddesses' beauty, Tro 66, Ag 730, Oct 545; abducts Helen, Tro 70, 867, 908, Ag 188, as his prize from Venus, Tro 921. An archer, Ag 212, who shoots Achilles fatally, Tro 347, 956.

Parnassus, mountain above Delphi, *Phoen* 129, *Oed* 227, 281, Ag 721, HO 1474.

Parnethus = Parnes, mountain in Attica, Pha 4.

Parrhasian = Arcadian, Ag 315 (cj.); of Hercules' hind, Ag 831; of Great Bear, *Pha* 288, and hence of North Pole, HO 1281.

Parthenius, mountain in east Arcadia, HO 1885.

Parthians, dominant power east of Euphrates, Thy 462, 603, Oct 628; archers, Med 710, HO 161, who fire volleys into air, Phoen 428, Pha 816, and shoot while feigning retreat, Oed 119, Thy 384.

Pasiphaë, daughter of Sun; wife of Minos. Mated with bull and bore Minotaur, Pha \*113, 143, 688. Mother also of Ariadne and Phaedra.

Patroclus, loved by Achilles, Ag

616: dressed in his armour to rout Trojans, 617; Hector killed him and took the armour as spoil, Tro 447.

Peace as goddess, Med 63.

Pegasus, winged horse, Tro 385. Pelasgian = Greek, Tro 353,

597, 628, 737, 753, 876, 1007, Med 127, 178, 240, 528, 697,  $870, Ag\ 632; = Argive\ Ag\ 9.$ See also Greek.

Peleus, Thessalian, son of Aeacus. Husband of Thetis. father of Achilles, Tro 247, 882, Ag 615, Oct 707; Argonaut, later exiled from Thessaly, Med 657.

Pelias usurped Thessalian throne from Jason's father, and sent Jason on Argonaut expedition, Med 664; killed through wiles of Medea $\rightarrow$ .

Pelion, mountain in Thessaly, home of Chiron; piled up with Ossa and Olympus by Giants to scale heaven, Herc 971, Tro 415, 829, Med 609, Ag 338, Thy 812, HO 1152.

Pelopia, daughter of Thyestes, mother by him of Aegisthus, Ag 30, 52.

Pelops, son of Tantalus→, butchered by him and resuscitated by gods. Coming from Asia to Greece, defeated Oenomaus in race by bribing his charioteer Myrtilus, Tro 855, Thy 140, 660. Gave name to Peloponnese, Med

- 891, Ag 563; ancestor of royal house of Argos, Herc 1165, Ag 7, 194, Thy 190, 225, 641, which is evil through his example and Tantalus', Ag 165, Thy 22, 242, 625.
- Pelorus, promontary in northeast corner of Sicily, HO 81; below it lurked Scylla, Med 350.
- Penelope, faithful wife of Ulysses, *Tro* 698.
- Penthesilea, Amazon queen. Ally of Troy against Greeks, Tro 672, Ag 217; killed by Achilles, Tro 12, 243.
- Pentheus, king of Thebes. Resisted worship of Bacchus, killed by his mother Agave-
- Peparethos, wrongly placed in Attica, *Tro* 842 (actually an island).
- Pergamum, properly Troy's citadel, = Troy, *Tro* 14, 472, 889, *Ag* 206, 421.
- Periclymenus, an Argonaut, son of Neptune, *Med* 635.
- Perses, father of Hecate, Med 814.
- Perseus, son of Danae and Jupiter. Slew Gorgon and was catasterised, *Herc* 13, *HO* 51, 94.
- Persia, Persians, Herc 1323, Med 374, Pha 325.
- PHAEDRA (*Pha*), daughter of Minos and Pasiphae, so granddaughter of Sun, 124,

- 154, 379, 654, 678, 889. Loved Theseus in Crete, 646; later married him, 90, 129, and bore him two sons, 434, 631, 869. Desires Hippolytus, 99; accuses him to Theseus, 885; confesses and commits suicide, 1159.
- Phaëthon, son of Sun. Drove father's chariot awry, *Pha* 1090, damaging earth, and was blasted by Jupiter's lightning, *Med* \*599, 826, *HO* \*677, 854. Mourned by his sisters, *HO* 187.
- Pharis, town near Sparta, *Tro* 849.
- Phasis, river of Colchis, sometimes = Colchis, *Med* 44, 102, 211, 451, 762, *Pha* 907, *Ag* 120, *HO* 950.
- Pherae, town in Thessaly, kingdom of Admetus, *Herc* 451, *Med* 662.
- Philippi, battlesite in Macedonia. Oct 516.
- PHILOCTETES (HO), son of Poeas. Builds and lights Hercules' pyre; rewarded with his bow, 1485, 1603, which he used later against Troy, Tro 136, 824.
- Philomela, sister of Procne→, raped by Tereus, Ag 674 fn. Transformed into a bird, Herc 149, HO 199, mourning Itys, Ag 670, Oct 8.
- Phineus, Thracian king. Harpies

attack his food, Herc 759, Phoen 425, Thy 154. Phlegethon, "burning" river of underworld, Pha 1180, 1227, Thy 73, 1018; = underworld, Pha 848, Oed 162, Ag 753. Phlegra, site of Giants' battle with gods in Thrace, Herc 444, Thy 811. Phocis, region of central Greece, Herc 334, Oed 279, 772, Ag 918. Phoebe, daughter of Latona, twin sister of Phoebus, Herc 136, 905, Med 86, Pha 311, Oed 44, Ag 321, 381. She commanded their birthplace, Delos $\rightarrow$ , to cease moving, Ag \*369. Identified with moon, Herc 136, Pha 410, Oed 44, Thy 838, HO 150; called Phoebe (shining one) particularly qua moon, Med 97, Pha 747, Oed 253, Ag 818, HO

1884, Oct 389. Goddess of

Hippolytus' patron in hunting, 654, invoked to help him,

\*54, and soften him, 405; de-

stroyed Actaeon→, Oed 762. Triumphant over Niobe→,

Ag 375. Vulnerable to magic

790, HO 468, 526. Suscepti-

ble to handsome youths, Pha

\*785; loved Endymion, 309, 422, cf. 785. Identical with

Diana, 654; Dictynna, Med

spells, Med 791, Pha 421,

wilderness, Pha 55, 406;

795; Hecate, *Med* 770; Lucina, *Ag* 369; Trivia→. See also Cynthian, Delia, Lucina.

Phoebus, "shining," title of Apollo, especially as Sun god, Herc 25, 595, 607, 844, 940, Tro 1140, Phoen 87, Med 298, 728, [768], 874, Pha 889, Oed 122, 250, 540, 545, Ag 42, 56, 463, 577, 816, Thy 602, 838, HO 2, 41, 337, 666, 680, 688, 727, 792, 1022, 1387, 1439, 1442, 1581, 1624, 1699. Twin brother of Phoebe→. His two homes, east and west, *Herc* 1062, HO 2. As sun, revealed amour of Venus, who hates his offspring, Pha 124. Turned back after Thyestes' feast, Ag 296, 909, Thy 121, 776, 789, 822, 1035, 1095, cf. Med 31, HO 1131. Father of Phaethon $\rightarrow$ ; father of Pasiphae, so grandfather of Phaedra→; grandfather of Medea through Aeetes, Med 28, 210, 512, 572. See also Sun, Titan.

Gives oracles at Delphi, Med 86, Oed 20, 34, 109, 214, 222, 235, 252, 269, 288, 296, 718, 1046, Ag 294. His cult at Cilla, Tro 227; hymned at Argos, Pha \*310. His priest at Thebes: Tiresias, Oed 291, 296; at Troy: Chryses, Ag 176; his prophet: Cassan -

dra→. Skilled in lyre and song, Herc 906, Oed 498, Ag \*326, and archery, Pha 192, Ag 322. Shot Python→. His beauty, Pha 800. Felt love, Pha 196; loved Admetus, whom he served as herdsman, Herc 451, Pha 296. Fought Greeks at Troy, Ag 549. His tree the laurel, Oed 228, 453, Ag 588. Titles Paean, HO 92, and Smintheus, Ag 176.

PHORBAS (Oed), Theban shepherd. Reveals Oedipus' birth, 808.

Phoronean refers to Inachus, from his son Phoroneus, *Thy* 115.

Phosphoros, see Lucifer.
Phrixus, brother of Helle. They were rescued from danger and carried over the Aegean by a winged golden ram. The frightened Helle, *Thy* 851, fell into the sea, *Tro* 1037, thereafter the Hellespont. Reaching Colchis, Phrixus sacrificed the ram, catasterised as Aries, *Thy* 850; its Golden Fleece→ sought by Argonauts. Phrixus' Sea, *Ag* 565, *HO* 776, apparently = Aegean.

Phrygia, region of western Asia Minor, *Herc* 391, Ag 690, home of Tantalus, *HO* 1075, and Pelops, *Thy* 662; by association = Troy, Troad, *Tro* 29, 70, 125, 132, 277, 296, 409, 434, 462, 469, 474, 532, 571, 758, 864, 888, 920, 955, 1135, 1160, Ag 189, 194, 206, 550, 705, 743, 757, 869, 876, 1005, Oct 774, 777.

Phthia, home of Achilles in south Thessaly, *Tro* 816.

Phyle, north of Athens, good for hunting, *Pha* 28 (cj.).

Pieria, region of northeast Greece associated with Muses and Orpheus, *Med* 357, *HO* 1033.

Pindus, mountain in northern Greece, *Here* 980, 1285, *Med* 384, 721, *Pha* 614, *Oed* 435, *HO* 466, 493, 1153, 1169, 1309, 1382, 1730.

Pirene, spring in Corinth, Med 745.

Pirithoüs, son of Ixion, *Pha* 1235. Attempted to abduct Proserpina from underworld, *Pha* 94, 244.

Pisa, district of Elis associated with Olympic Games, *Tro* 849, *Ag* 938, *Thy* 123. Pisces, see Fish.

Plautus, Rubellius, Roman noble, Oct 437, 465.

Pleiads, star cluster in Taurus, Med 99; catasterism of daughters of Atlas, three of whom lay with Jupiter, Herc 10.

Pleuron, town near Calydon, hated by Diana, *Tro* 827.

PLISTHENES (*Thy*), son of Thyestes, 726.

Pluto = Dis→, Pha 628, HO 935, 1142, 1954. Poeas, father of Philoctetes, HO 1485, 1604, 1649. Pollux, see Castor. Polybus, king of Corinth, believed by Oedipus to be his father, Oed 12, 81, 272, 662, 785.

POLYNICES (*Phoen*), exiled by brother Eteocles→, 372, 484, 502, 586, 652, 662; married Adrastus' daughter, 374, \*505, 595; raised army of allies, the Seven against Thebes, *Herc* 389, *Phoen* 58, 282, 391, 483, 543.

POLYXENA (*Tro*), daughter of Priam and Hecuba. Betrothed to Achilles, *Tro* 195, *Ag* 641; her death demanded by his ghost, *Tro* 195, by Pyrrhus—> and Calchas—; sacrificed, 861, 1118.

Pompey the Great, assassinated on coast of Egypt, Oct 522. Pontus = Black Sea, Tro 13, Med 44, 212, 231, 454, Pha 399, 716, or its hinterland, HO 465. See also Euxine.

POPPAEA (Oct), mistress of Nero. Pregnant by him, 181, 188, 591; marries him, 592, 693; her foreboding dream, 712. Former husband Crispinus, 729.

PREFECT of Guard (Oct), 846. Priam, king of Troy, husband of Hecuba, Tro 134, 270, \*718, [996], 1068, 1103, Ag 709, 880, HO 363, Oct 817. His offspring and their fates, Tro 57, 247, 369, 875, 934, 1090, Ag 191. Ransomed Hector's body, Tro 314, 326, 486, Ag 447. His death, Tro 29, \*44, 139, 309, 312, 572, 1002, 1177, Ag 448, 656, 793, 1177; called fortunate, Tro 143, 156, Ag 514; mourning for him, Tro 131, 908, Ag 655.

Procne, daughter of Pandion. Wife of Tereus; served him the flesh of their son Itys to avenge Philomela→, Thy 56, 273, HO 953; transformed into mourning bird, HO 200, Oct 8, swallow, Ag 673, or nightingale, HO 192.

Procrustes, Attic bandit, *Pha* 1170, *Thy* 1050. Proetides, *Oed* 486 and fn.

Proetides, Oed 486 and in. Prometheus stole fire from heaven, punished by birds feeding on his innards, Med 709, 824, HO 1378; freed by Hercules, Herc 1207.

Proserpine, queen of underworld, *Herc* 549, 805, 1105. Kidnapped in Sicily by Dis, *Med* 12; her mother Ceres searched for her, *Herc* 660; Pirithous→ tried to abduct her.

Proteus, sea god who tends beasts of sea, *Pha* 1205. Prothoüs, Thessalian ruler, *Tro* 829. PYLADES (Ag), son of Strophius, 940.

Pylos, town in southwest Peloponnese, realm of old Nestor, Tro 212, 848; defended by Dis against Hercules, *Herc* 561.

Pyrenees mountains, Pha 69. Pyrrha and her husband

Deucalion sole survivors of Flood, *Pha* 1039.

Pyrrhus (Tro), son of Achilles →, Ag 512. Conception and birth on Seyros, Tro 339, 342, 976. Hidden in Trojan Horse, Ag 635; killed Priam $\rightarrow$ . Responsible for sacrifice of Polyxena, Tro 196, 203, 364, 941, 999, [1147], 1150, 1154; pretext of marriage, 864, 881, 901, 935; threatens Agamemnon, 307, 338. Allotted Andromache as prize, 976.

Python, serpent, threatened Apollo and Diana, killed by Apollo, Herc 455, Med 700, HO 93.

Quirites, term for Roman citizens, Thy 396.

Ram, constellation Aries, Thy 850. See Phrixus.

Red Sea includes Persian Gulf and ocean off west coast of India, *Tro* 11, *Thy* 371, *HO* 660; conquered by Bacchus, Herc 903, Oed 120.

Rhadamanthus, brother of

Minos, one of judges→ of dead, Herc 734, HO 1558.

Rhesus, king of Thrace, ally of Troy, Tro 8, Ag 216.

Rhine river, Herc 1324, Med 374.

Rhodope, mountain range in west Thrace, HO 144, 1032, 1050, 1538.

Rhoeteüm, promontary on Hellespont near Troy, Tro 108, 1122.

Rhone river, Med 587.

Riphaean, i.e. from the far north, Pha 8.

Rome, Romans, Oct 281, 292, 491, 503, 521, 676, 824, 982.

Rostra, speakers' platform in Roman Forum, Oct 510.

Sabaea (= Sheba), region of southwest Arabia, HO 376, 793, 1521.

Sagittarius, see Chiron.

Salamis, island near Attica, Tro 844.

Sarmatia, steppe north of Black Sea, Thy 127; its nomads, Herc \*539, Pha 71, Thy 375, HO 158.

Saturn, a Titan, ruler of heaven in Golden Age, Oct 396; deposed by his son Jupiter and imprisoned in underworld, Herc 965, HO 1141.

Scales (Libra), zodiacal constellation, Thy 858, marking autumnal equinox, Herc 842, Pha 839.

Scarphe, town in east-central Greece, *Tro* 848.

Sciron, Attic highwayman, hurled victims into sea; killed thus by Theseus, *Pha* 1023, 1225.

Scorpion, constellation, Thy 859, HO 1218.

Scylla, sea monster in Sicilian Strait, girt with heads of dogs, Herc 376, Med \*350, 407, Thy 579, HO 235.

Scyros, conquered by Achilles, Tro 226; isolated Aegean island, birthplace of Pyrrhus→.

Scythians, nomads of steppes, Tro 12, 1104, Med 483, 528, Pha 168, 660, Thy 631, HO 337, 1699; archers, Herc 1126, HO 157; their region, Herc \*533, HO 40, 143, 1184, 1379; Scythian sea = Black Sea, Herc 1210, Med 212, HO 1251. See also Taurus.

Semele, daughter of Cadmus, mother of Bacchus by Jupiter. Consumed by lightning, HO 1804, 1916, while pregnant with Bacchus→, who was saved; deified, Herc 16.

Senate of Rome, *Oct* 486–7, 493, 700.

SENECA (Oct), philosopher, advisor to Nero, 377.

Seres, the Chinese, HO 414; collect silk thread from trees, Pha 389, Thy 379, HO 667. Sestos, town on Hellespont,

Phoen 611.

Sicily, Herc 81, 376, 549, Med 350, 409, Pha 1011, Thy 477, HO 80, 189, 235, Oct 516; its chief mountain Etna, Herc 80, Phoen 314, HO 1308, 1361.

Sidon, town in Phoenicia. Famous for purple dye, Herc 467, HO 663. Sidonian = Phoenician, Med 697, Oed 713, Oct 206; = Theban (from Cadmus), Oed 163. Cf. Tyre.

Sigeön/-um, promontary near Troy, Tro 75, 141, 932, Ag 436.

Silanus, L. Junius, Roman noble, Oct 145.

Silenus, tipsy attendant of Bacchus, *Oed* 429.

Simoïs, river near Troy, Ag 214. Sinis, bent pine trees down and released them, dismembering victims tied to them, Pha 1169, HO 1392; Theseus killed him so, Pha 1221.

Sinon, lying Greek, *Tro* 39 and fn.

Sipylus, Phrygian mountain where Niobe weeps in stone, *Herc* 391, *Ag* 376, *HO* 185.

Sirens, half-human singers, lured sailors onto rocks near Sicily, Med 355, HO 189.

Sisyphus, founder of Corinth, Oed 282; ancestor of Creusa, Med 512, 747. For offences against gods, punished in underworld, Herc 751, Med

746, *Pha* 1230, Ag 16, *Thy* 6, *HO* 942, 1009, 1081, *Oct* 622. Sleep personified, *Herc* 1069.

Sminthean, adjective from Smintheus, title of Apollo at

Troy, Ag 176. Snake, constellation Draco, Med 694, Thy 870.

Spain, *Herc* 1325, *HO* 625, 1204, 1253, 1522. See also Hesperian.

Sparta, Herc 587, 662, Pha 811. Home of Helen, Tro 854, 919, Ag 704, Oct 773, Clytemnestra, Ag 281, 736, Castor and Pollux, Phoen 128, Thy 627. Spartan dogs, Pha 35. See also Eurotas.

Sphinx, winged monster, *Phoen* 422. Slew those who could not answer her riddle, *Phoen* 119, 131, *Oed* 246, 641; Oedipus answered, *Phoen* 138, *Oed* \*92, and so killed her, *Oed* 105.

STROPHIUS (Ag), king of Phocis, 918. Takes Orestes into safekeeping, 932.

Strymon, river of Thrace, Oed 604, Ag 479, 843.

Stymphalian birds haunted a lake in Arcadia. Hercules shot them with bow and arrows, Herc 243, 1110, Phoen 422, Med 783, Ag 850, HO 17, 1236, 1390, 1650, 1813, 1889.

Styx, river of underworld, *Herc* 185, \*712, 780, *Med* 804, *Pha* 1151, [1180], *Oed* 162, *Ag* 

750, HO 1550, 1711. Gods' oaths sworn by it, Herc 712, Tro 391, Pha 944, Ag 755, Thy 667, HO 1066. Styx and Stygian designate underworld or death, Herc 54, 90, 104, 558, 1131, Tro 430, 520, Med 632, Pha 148, 477, 625, 928, Oed 396, 401, 621, Ag 493, 607, Thy 1007, HO 77, 560, 1014, 1145, 1161, 1198, 1203, 1766, 1870, 1920, 1947, 1983, Oct 24, 79, 127, 135, 162, 263, 594. Of Cerberus, Herc 783, Pha 223, Ag 13, HO 79, 1245, 1257.

Suebian, name of group of German tribes, Med 713.

Sulla, Faustus Cornelius, Roman noble, *Oct* 438, 465.

Sun personified, *Herc* 37, 61, *Med* 29, 210, 572, *Pha* 124, 1091, *Thy* 822, *HO* 150. See also Titan; for myths, see Phoebus.

Sunion, southerly promontary of Attica, *Pha* 26.

Symplegades, clashing crags at entrance to Black Sea, *Herc* \*1210, *Med* \*342, 456, 610, *HO* 1273, 1380.

Syrtes, dangerous sandbanks on Libyan coast, *Pha* 570, *Ag* 64, 480, *Thy* 292. Shipwrecked there, Hercules escaped on foot, *Herc* 323.

Taenarus, most southerly promontary of Peloponnese.

Entrance to underworld, *Herc* 587, \*663, 813, *Tro* 402, *Pha* 1201, *Oed* 171, *HO* 1061, 1771

Tagus, Spanish river with goldbearing sands, *Herc* 1325, *Thy* 354, *HO* 626.

TALTHYBIUS (*Tro*), Greek herald, reports appearance of Achilles' ghost, 164.

Tanaïs (mod. Don), river flowing into Maeotis, *Herc* 1323, *Pha* 401, 715, *Ag* 680, *HO* 86. Confused with Danube, *Tro* 9.

Tantalid, singular = daughter of Tantalus, i.e. Niobe→, Herc 390, Med 954, Oed 613, Ag 375, HO 198; plural = descendants of Tantalus, the royal family of Argos, Thy 229, 657.

Tantalus (1) (*Thy*), Phrygian king, son of Jupiter, 91. Served flesh of son Pelops to gods; punished in underworld by hunger and thirst, *Herc* \*752, *Med* 745, *Pha* 1232, *Ag* 19, 769, *Thy* 1, 62, 69, 137, 147, \*152, 242, 626, 1011, *HO* 943, 1075, *Oct* 621. His ghost forced to infect Argive palace with evil, *Thy* 23.

Tantalus (2) (*Thy*), son of Thyestes, great-grandson of (1). Encourages father to return to Argos, 421; killed by Atreus, 718.

Tarquin "the Proud," Rome's last king, husband of Tullia,

Oct 305. His son raped Lucretia, Oct 303 and fn.

Lucretta, Oct 303 and m.

Tartarus, the Underworld→,

Herc 86, 436, 709, 889, 1225,

Phoen 144–5, Med 632, 742,

Pha 844, 951, 1179, Oed 161,

869, Ag 2, 751, Thy 1013,

1071, HO [461], 1064, 1119,

1126, 1514, 1765, 1779, Oct

223, 593, 644, 964. Cerberus

its guardian, Herc 649, Ag

751, HO 1770.

Tartessian coast of Spain west of Calpe, home of Geryon, *Herc* 232.

Tauri, people of Crimea, *Pha* 168, *Oct* 979.

Taurus (1), snowcapped mountain, *Med* 683, *Pha* 382; properly in southeast Asia Minor, but placed in Scythia by association with Tauri, *Pha* 906.

Taurus (2), constellation, see Bull.

Taÿgetus, mountain range west of Sparta, *Med* 77, *Thy* 126.

Telemachus, son of Ulysses, Tro 593, 700.

Telephus, king of Mysia, wounded and healed by Achilles, *Tro* 215.

Tempe, verdant gorge of river Peneus in Thessaly, *Herc* 980, *Tro* 815, *Med* 457; created by Hercules, *Herc* \*286.

Tenedos, small island off Troad, Tro 224.

Tereus, king of Thrace, husband of Procne→.

Tethys, sea goddess, *Tro* 879, *Med* 378; = ocean or sea, *Herc* 887, 1328, *Pha* 571, 1161, *HO* 1252, 1902.

Thebes (1), chief city of Boeotia, setting of Herc, Oed, and part of Phoen. Herc 20, 258, 274, 332, 386, 622, 875, 1162, 1289, Phoen 57, 131, 285, 321, 326, 445, 549, 557, 576, 582, 648, Med 655, Oed 107, 112, 233, 406, 512, 629, 665, 667, 749, 771, HO 1779, 1801, 1981. For foundation myths see Cadmus, Amphion; see also Dirce, Ismenos, Ogygian.

Thebes (2) in Mysia, seat of Eetion, *Tro* 219.

Thermodon, river on south coast of Black Sea. Area of Amazons, Med 215, Oed 481, and their queen Hippolyte, Herc 246, HO 21.

THESEUS (Herc, Pha), king of Athens. His human father Aegeus, Pha 1165 fn.; divine father Neptune, who granted him three wishes, Pha 942, 954, 1252. In youth, disposed of Sciron and Sinis, 1220. Attracted Phaedra and Ariadne in Crete, 646, 656, 760; after killing Minotaur, escaped from labyrinth by following thread given by Ariadne, 224, 650, 662; took Ariadne from Crete, but left her on Naxos, Oed 488. Married Antiope→,

who bore him Hippolytus, but later killed her; then married Phaedra—>, who bore him two sons. Abetted Pirithous' attempt to abduct Proserpine, *Pha* 91, 244, 627; confined by Dis, *Herc* 1339, *Pha* 951, on a seat of rock, *HO* 1196, and rescued by Hercules, *Herc* 806, 1339, *Pha* 843, 1217, *HO* 1768.

In Herc, accompanies Hercules to Thebes, 637; recounts Hercules' capture of Cerberus, 658; invites Hercules to Athens for purification after the murders, 1341. In Pha, returns direct to Athens, 829, 1150; believes Phaedra's accusation of Hippolytus, 898, and curses him, 942; later blames himself, 1201, and mourns Hippolytus, 1247.

Thespius, Boeotian king. His 50 daughters loved by Hercules, *Herc* 478, *HO* 369.

Thessaly, rugged region in northeast of Greek peninsula, Herc 288, Tro 362, 815, Med 457, Pha 397, Thy 812, HO 465, 492, 1925; its mountains wielded by Giants 168, 1139, 1152 (see Pelion). Realm of Ixion, HO 492, 946; Achilles, Tro 181, 324–5, 361, and Pyrrhus, Tro 878; Acastus, Med 257, 415; Admetus, Pha 296; source of the Argo, Med

336, Ag 120. Homeland of Iole and Oechalians, HO 128, 134, 190, 338. Noted for witchcraft, Med 791, Pha 421, 791, HO 525. See also Haemonian.

Thetis, sea goddess, daughter of Nereus. Wife of Peleus, Herc 734, Med 657, Oct \*706; mother by him of Achilles, Tro 346, 880, Ag 615; tried to prevent Achilles going to Troy, Tro 213 fn., 569.

Thrace, region north of Aegean, west of Black Sea. Herc 1285, Tro 182, 225, Oed 435, Ag 216, Thy 812, HO 1383. With reference to Diomedes, Herc 1170, Ag 842, HO 1538, 1790, 1817; Orpheus, Herc 577, Med 358, 630, HO 1032, 1100; Procne's story, Herc 149, Thy 56, HO 953. See also Bistonia, Daulian, Edonian, Ismarian, Odrysian.

Thria, district of west Attica, Pha 5.

Thule, farthest northern land known, *Med* 379.

Thunderer/Thunder God, title of Jupiter, Herc 1, 840, 914, 1010, Ag 356, 595, HO 257, 880, 989, 1151, 1247, 1420, 1510, 1544, 1875, 1882, Oct 215, 762; and of Juno, Med 59.

THYESTES (Ag, Thy), son of Pelops, brother of Atreus. Seduced Atreus' wife Aerope, Thy 222, 234, 239, 1108; obtained golden ram and Argive throne, 223. Later exiled, but returns at Atreus' invitation, 297, 404; feasts unwittingly on sons' flesh, 768, 908; learns truth, 1034; sun turns back in horror, see Phoebus. Fathers Aegisthus on daughter Pelopia, Ag 28, 293, 907; his ghost returns, 1, and foresees revenge, 37.

Tiberius, Roman emperor, Oct 528.

Tigris river, *Herc* 1324, *Tro* 11; believed to flow in a chasm for some distance, *Med* 723.

Tiphys, Boeotian helmsman of *Argo*, *Med* 3, \*318, 346, \*617.

TIRESIAS (*Oed*), blind seer, father of Manto, 289, *Ag* 320. To discover Laius' murderer, orders extispicy, *Oed* 299, and necromancy, 393, 548. Suspected by Oedipus, 669, 697.

Tisiphone, one of Furies, Herc 984, HO 1012.

Titan, sun god (viz. the Titan Hyperion or his son Helios), Herc 124, 133, 443, 1060, 1333, Tro 170, Med 5, Pha 779, Oed 1, 40, Ag 460, 908, Thy 120, 785, 1095, HO 42, 291, 423, 488, 723, 781, 891, 968, 1111, 1131, 1163, 1287, 1512, 1518, 1531, 1566, 1575, 1760, Oct 3. Grandfather of Phaedra, Pha 678. See also Phoebus, Sun. Titans tried to dethrone Jupiter, were buried under Etna, Herc 79, 967, Med 410, Ag 334, HO 144, 1212, 1308.

Titaressos, Thessalian stream, flows under sea back to its underworld source. *Tro* 847.

Tityos, giant who attempted to rape Latona. Tormented in underworld by vulture(s), Herc 756, 977, Pha 1233, Ag 18, Thy 9, 807, HO 947, 1070, Oct 622.

Tmolus, viniferous mountain in Lydia, *Phoen* 602, *HO* 371. Toxeus, brother of Iole, *HO* 214.

Trachis ("rough"), town in Thessaly near Mt Oeta, setting of most of HO. Hercules' home at time of his death, HO 135, 195, 1432, 1444; in reference to Philoctetes too, Tro 818.

Tricce, town in Thessaly, *Tro* 821.

Triptolemus, king of Eleusis, introduced cereal crops, *Pha* 838.

Tritons, marine musicians, *Tro* 202.

Triumvirate of 43 B.C., *Oct* 508.

Trivia, goddess of crossroads. Identified with Phoebe qua moon, *Med* 787, and on earth, *Ag* 367, *Oct* 977.

Troezen, town on bay of Saronic Gulf, *Tro* 828.

Troilus, young Trojan killed by Achilles, Ag 748.

TROJAN WOMEN (Tro, Ag), captives after Troy's fall. Mourn Hector and Priam, Tro 67; speculate about death, 371, and about their destinations in Greece, 814; anticipate pain of separation, 1009. One group, reaching Argos, recalls events leading to Troy's fall, Ag 589, and responds to Cassandra, 664. See also Troy.

Troy, Trojans. Walls built by gods, Tro 7, Ag 651. Twice attacked by arrows of Hercu les $\rightarrow$ . Its might, Tro 6, 875. The ten-year siege, Tro 23, Ag 42, 206, 249, 615, 624, 866, 921; Troy's human and divine allies, Tro \*8, Ag 212, \*546; Hector→ its vital defender; Greek and Trojan dead there, Tro 893, Ag 514; blamed on Helen→. Its capture, Ag \*611, 791, 876, and destruction, Tro \*14, 30, 43, 56, 86, 103, 478, 744, 889, 900, 1051, 1068, Ag 190, 421, 435, 459, 709, 725, 743, 1011; Polyxena and Astyanax its shortlived hope, Tro 286, 428, 454, 462, 471, 529, 550, 734, 740-1, 767, 790, 1131. Troy an exemplar of the fragility of power, Tro 4, 264, Ag 794; mourned, Tro 65, 111, Ag 649; avenged, Ag 577, 870, 1008.

Trojans routed by Patroclus, Ag 618. Deceived by Wooden Horse, Ag \*637, 876. Watch Polyxena's sacrifice, Tro 1129, 1160. Suffer in wreck of Greek fleet, Ag 511, 526. Dead invoked to watch Agamemnon's murder, Ag 757. See also Asia, Dardanus, Pergamum, Phrygia, Priam, Trojan Women.

Tullia, wife of Tarquin, Oct 305. Twins, constellation of Gemini (Castor and Pollux), Herc 14, Thy 853, Oct 208; they appear also as St Elmo's Fire, Herc 552.

Tyndarid, child (nominal or actual) of Tyndareus, husband of Leda: i.e. Helen, Tro 1133, Oct 775; Clytemnestra, Ag 162, 306, 897; Castor and Pollux, Herc 14, 552.

Typhon, monstrous child of Earth, HO 1733, Oct 238; participated in Giants' rebellion against Jupiter, Med 774; now buried under a mountain, Herc 81, Thy 809, HO 1154.

Tyre, city of Phoenicia. Home of Europa, Herc 9, and Cadmus, Herc 917, Oed 714. Famous for purple dye, Pha 329, 388, Oed 413, Thy 345, 955, HO 644. Cf. Sidon.

Tyrrhene Sea on Italy's west coast, Oct 311; Inarime an island therein, HO 1156. Its pirates were transformed into dolphins, Oed 449, hence "Tyrrhene fish" Ag 451.

ULYSSES (Tro), wily and brave Greek leader, 38, 149, 614, 757, 927. King of Ithaca, 857. Son of Laertes, husband of Penelope, father of Telemachus, 593, 698. Foiled Thetis' attempt to hide Achilles, 569. Night forays at Troy, 38, 755. Mediator for Agamemnon, 317. Awarded Achilles' arms, 987, [991], as rival of Ajax (1), Ag 513. Leader in Wooden Horse, Ag 636. Interrogates Andromache and discovers Astyanax, Tro 522; leads him to execution, 1088. Allotted Hecuba as slave, 980.

Umbrian breed of dogs, Thy

Underworld, Herc \*662. See also Avernus, Erebus, Tartarus; Acheron, Cocytus, Lethe, Phlegethon, Styx; Dis, Proserpine, Furies, Cerberus, Charon.

Ursa, see Bears.

Venus, goddess of love, often = sex or desire, Pha 211, 237, 339, 417, 447, 462, 469, 576, 721, 910, 913, Ag 183, 275, 299, 927, Oct 191, 432; her divinity denied, Pha 203, cf. Oct 560. Born from sea, Pha

274. Mother of Cupid, *Pha* 275, *HO* 543, *Oct* 560, 697. Hates offspring of Phoebus, who revealed her amour with Mars, *Pha* 124. Cursed Messalina with lust, *Oct* 258. Mt Eryx sacred to her, *Pha* 199. Her beauty, *Oct* 545; victorious in Judgment of Paris →, and granted him Helen.

Vesper, evening star, Latin form of Hesperus→, *Thy* 795.

Virgin, constellation Virgo, *Thy* 857. See also Astraea. Virginia, Roman maiden, *Oct* 

irginia, Roman maide: 296.

Vulcan, fire god, forges thunderbolts within Etna, *Pha* 190. Feels love's fire, 191. Husband of Venus, father of Cupid, *Oct* 560. Also called Mulciber→.

Wain, constellation = Great Bear, *Herc* 131, *Tro* 439, *HO* 1523; driven by Bootes→; guarded by Bear-Ward, *Thy* 873; = Lesser Bear, *Oed* 477.

Xanthus, river near Troy, Tro 187, Phoen 609, Ag 213.

Zacynthus, island near Ithaca, Tro 856.

Zalaces, tribe conquered by Bacchus (name perhaps corrupt), Oed 472.

Zephyr, west wind, *Herc* 699, *Med* 316, *Pha* 12, *Oed* 38, 541, 884, *Ag* 433, 476, *Thy* 849, *HO* 114, 625. See also Favonius.

Zetes and Calaïs, sons of Boreas (Aquilo), *Med* 231, 634; rid Phineus of Harpies, 782; killed by Hercules, 634.

Zethus, son of Jupiter. Brother of Amphion; raised with him in a cave by herdsmen, *Herc* 916. They killed their mother's persecutor by tying her to a wild bull, *Phoen* 20, *Oed* 611.

Zodiac, Thy 844.