

many of the play's themes, notably those of speech and silence, passion and reason, shame and reputation.

170-5. The chorus leader announces in anapaests the entrance from the palace of the Nurse and Ph. Although entrances immediately after an uninterrupted strophic song are typically not announced, there is an exceptional category—entrances of “moving tableaux”, as here the Nurse (and attendants) brings the sick Ph., on a bed or couch, out from the palace (see *Stagecraft*, 11-8); these “tableaux” are always announced in anapaestic dimeters. The suggestion of Aristophanes of Byzantium (found in the scholia) that the *ekkyklema* was used for this entrance should be dismissed: this device was used to make an interior scene public, which is not the case here (see Hourmouziades, 107-8). Since the convention of the Attic stage was that all visually represented action took place out-of-doors, Eur. provides a motive for Ph.'s appearance—she yearns for the light of day (178ff.). (Contrast *Or.*, where no explanation is offered for Orestes' lying abed outdoors for some five days.) Immediately after the choral song, which had Ph. as the object of its concern, Ph. appears. Eur. here follows (and combines) two common patterns: 1) exposition in the prologue followed by the arrival of the chorus in partial ignorance of the situation, which is explained in the next scene (cf. *Alc.*, *IT*, and, with variations, *Med.*, *Held.*, *Tro.*, *Hel.*, *Or.*); and 2) initial arrival after the *parodos* of a character who dominates the next scene (cf. *Med.*, *Supp.*, *And.*, *HF*, *Ion*); see Taplin (1977), 279-80, 283-4. Although Ph. is now on-stage, she does not speak at once. The sick, silent character who is the object of our interest is exploited much more fully in the opening of *Or.*

172. Wilamowitz transposed this line after 180 and was followed in this by Barrett; Murray deleted the line, and is followed in this by Stockert. The former alteration may be correct (see Wilamowitz and Barrett on 172), but the reasons fall short of compelling and, with Diggle, I keep the mss. order of lines. **cloud upon her brows:** for clouds as metaphors indicating distress or grief, cf. *Phoen.* 1308, *El.* 1078, and *Soph.*, *Ant.* 528. For other metaphorical uses, see *LSJ* s.v. νέφος I.2 and II, and Kurtz, 391-4.

174-5. At the first moment of Ph.'s entrance, there is an interest in the condition of her body. On Ph.'s body in this play, see 131n. **marred:** δεδήληται is pass. and δέμας subj., with ἀλλόχροον a proleptic adj.

176-97. The Nurse, now on-stage with Ph., delivers in anapaests a speech to Ph. (although she does not address her after 185), revealing her own concern and impatience and, from her perspective, Ph.'s inconstancy. Eur.'s liking of “domestic” characters—servants, Nurses, slaves, etc.—was well known, and throughout the play he takes pains to draw the Nurse's character, and, in fact, gives more lines to her than to either Ph. or Th. While she serves chiefly as a foil to Ph., she is a vital instrument to the plot and is no cardboard creation.

176. Cf. Orestes' lament at *Or.* 232.

177. In Greek the line has a rhythmical balance and a rhetorical antithesis, which can be nicely effected in anapaestic dimeters; cf., e.g., *Tro.* 110 (which has both balance and antithesis), and 1357 and 1361 below.

178. The Nurse's line may recall one of Ph.'s from the first play (F 443.1), which she delivered presumably when she first appeared on-stage. This echo perhaps suggests the change in Ph.'s circumstances. **Here . . . here:** τόδε and ὅδε should be taken predicatively.

179-80. **bed where you lie sick:** the same phrase at 131.

183. **You're quickly frustrated:** lit. “you're quickly tripped up”; on ἐφάλλω in the play, see 670-1n. The verb is not easy to translate here; it suggests that she is not in control of her desires.

184-5. The contrast between “near” and “far” of one's desires is found frequently in Greek literature, often in an erotic context; see multiple examples in D. Young, *Three Odes of Pindar: A Literary Study of Pythian 11, Pythian 3, and Olympian 7*. *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 9 (Leiden 1968), 118-20.

191-7. The Nurse concludes with reflections on the cause of the human attachment to life—ignorance of what lies beyond it. Barrett, although he printed these sententious lines, expressed serious doubts about their authenticity in his commentary. Eur. was clearly fond of this sort of general reflection (see examples at Schmid-Stählin, I.3, 769, n.7, whose evaluation of these passages [769] I do not share), so the charge of “irrelevance” alone would be insufficient grounds for deletion. More particularly Barrett argues that δυεέρωτες (193) cannot mean **madly in love with**, because this would have the Nurse saying our love of life is irrational, something, in Barrett's view, she cannot say as she tries to persuade Ph. to live. But the Nurse is not yet trying to persuade Ph., and it is unnecessary to see in these reflections a philosophical argument for suicide rather than exasperated thoughts on the paradoxes of life, sentiments which flow easily from her frustrations at dealing with the toil of taking care of the intractable Ph. (See Fiton, 27-8.) The talk of death here might also serve to make less sudden the Nurse's own wish for death at 250-1 (Lloyd-Jones [1965=1990], 426). For the sentiment expressed here, see F 816.6-11, and also F 638 and 833.

195-6. The Mystery religions, which became very popular during the fifth century, were interested in the life “beyond”, and may be suggested by these words (see Kovacs [1987], 130 n.37), and both **inexperience** (ἀπειροσύνη) and **non-revelation** (οὐκ ἀπόδειξις) have a philosophical ring. The use of the negative οὐ before the latter reflects the developing fifth-century practice of creating news nouns by joining οὐ (or μή) to existing ones; Thucydides has many examples, and in Eur. cf. *Bacch.* 455, 458, 1287, and see Dodds on 455.

198-266. **Ph.'s “delirium”.** Ph. finally speaks, expressing wishes which are incomprehensible to her Nurse, whose common sense and conventionality are baffled by these outbursts, and who concludes that her mistress is out of her mind. Ph. then realizes and regrets what she has done, and asks the Nurse to cover her up. The Nurse complies and concludes with general reflections on



human relations and affections. The Nurse speaks in non-lyric anapaests, but Ph.'s three central outbursts (208-11, 215-22, 228-32), although not her initial or concluding one, are colored by lyric alpha instead of Attic eta, suggesting perhaps a somewhat different delivery. The apparent contrast between the two women's deliveries would be an appropriate way to underscore the difference between the words of the nearly frenzied Ph. and those of the slow-minded Nurse. Similar in delivery is the exchange between the Nurse and Medea at *Med.* 96ff., but in tragedy such a contrast is more commonly suggested by lyric verses alternating with iambic ones (e.g., *Tro.* 235ff. and *Ion* 1437ff.). From 208 through 231 Ph. speaks without making any contact with her surroundings, a technique used to express the highly charged or altered state of the character also in *Alcestis*' vision at *Alc.* 252-63 and *Orestes*' hallucinations at *Or.* 253-76. (On this technique in general in tragedy, see Mastrorarde [1979], 74ff.)

Although Ph.'s words initially make no sense to the Nurse, the audience, with greater knowledge, is invited to interpret them in other ways, and almost all critics have seen in Ph.'s words an expression of a deeper desire. Many have observed that Ph. hereby expresses her desire to share Hipp.'s haunts and activities; others, taking a more psychological approach, argue that Ph. here sublimates her desire for Hipp. and transfers it to other objects or that her expressed desires symbolically represent the sexual act itself; and more recently it has been suggested that Ph. does not want so much to be with Hipp. as to be him. (See Goff, 32-4, with notes, for a selective doxography on this scene.) At the very least Ph.'s wishes all are inappropriate for a noble woman, whose proper place is the indoors, the *oikos*, not the wilds and the hunt and horses, and they all describe activities and locations associated with Hipp. Once she realizes fully what she has said, Ph. blames a divinity for her ruin (241) and feels shame at her words (244). The drama's motifs of speech, silence, shame, and concealment are played out as we witness the silent female, Ph., break her silence with lyrically expressed desires, while at the same time keeping silent about her true desire for Hipp. Yet even the muted expressions of desire she does make fill her with shame and lead her to seek the shelter of being covered. The first *Hipp.* had, it seems, a famous scene in which Hipp. veiled himself in horror at the sexual overtures of his stepmother (see *Intro.*, 26). Here the gesture is transferred to Ph., who veils herself in response to her consciousness of her own shameful words. This scene seems to entail a lot of movement on the part of Ph. After 203 she rouses from her sick bed; at 215ff. she very likely uses gestures and movements to suggest her desire to go to the mountain (suggested by the scholiast on 215), as also at 228ff.

198. Ph.'s opening words, commands to her attendants, contrast with the Nurse's moralizing. The imperfective aspect of the imperats. suggests continuation of the activity—the servants may have to assist Ph. in keeping her desired position; but see Bain (1981), 21-2.

199. **My limbs are slack:** the phrase λέλυμαι μελέων σύνδεσμα might suggest to the audience, who know of Ph.'s passion, the common lyric epithet

of Eros, λυσιμελής, "limb-loosening" (cf. Hes., *Theog.* 121, 911 and Archilochus, fr. 196, Sappho, fr. 130, etc.). Note the frequent liquids (four λ's) and nasals (five μ's and ν's) in this line, as well as the rhyme between the two monometers.

201-2. **head-dress:** ἐπίκρανον, lit. "something on the head", is used both, as here, of a type of head-dress, which may have an attached veil (see 243n.), and as an architectural term for a type of capital. The loss of a woman's head-dress might symbolically suggest the loss of her chastity; see M. Nagler, *Spontaneity and Tradition: A Study of the Oral Art of Homer* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1974), 44-63, on the similar Homeric use of κρήδεμνον. Here Ph. lets go of her head-dress before she gives lyrical and metaphorical voice to her unchaste passion. Letting her hair down can also suggest transgression; bacchantes were typically depicted with flowing hair. Also like a bacchant, Ph. will soon express a desire to go to the mountains (215ff.).

203. **child:** several times in this scene the Nurse expresses her affection for her mistress with the address τέκνον (here and 223) and the less affectionate παῖ (212, 238). See 288n.

208-11. An echo of Hipp.'s description of the untouched (also = "uncut"; see 73n.) meadow where he culled his garland for Art. As suggested above (73-87n.), the meadow has strong erotic associations; for Ph. it is the site of her longing for Hipp.

210-1. **poplars:** the black poplar (αἴγειρος) was associated with tragic or mournful events (e.g., Phacathon's sisters are transformed into them in their grief over their brother's death); see J. Murr, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* (Innsbruck 1890), 18-20. **take my rest:** ἀναπαύομαι can also mean "die"; see *LSJ* II.2.c. Eur. suggests by association that Ph.'s passion for Hipp. leads to her destruction. **grassy meadow:** the erotic associations of the meadow might be more specific than already suggested—see Knox (1952=1979), 208 n.8.

212-4. **Don't say:** for the use of οὐ μή + fut. indic. to indicate strong prohibition, cf. 498-9 and see *GMT*, §297. **hurling words** (ρίπτουσα λόγον) is a common enough metaphor (see *LSJ* s.v. ρίπτω V), but **mounted on madness** (μανίας ἔποχον) is strikingly original (cf. the slightly similar Soph., *OC* 189). The metaphor from horseback riding might have been influenced by other such metaphors and motifs in the play.

215-22. Again, Ph.'s wishes correspond to Hipp.'s activity, esp. since he has just returned from the hunt. **shout:** the verb θωύεω is, according to the scholiast at *PV* 277, a metaphor from hunting. These lines provided Aristoph. with material for parody; see *Wasps* 749-54 and fr. 53.

218-20. The sound of these lines is remarkable: all three verses end with the same sound, -αι; in 219 there is also the internal rhyme of this sound between the two monometers; in 220 there are three -αι sounds and eight "a" sounds in all.



221. **Thessalian:** according to Xen., *Hell.* 6.1.9, nearly all Thessalians were accomplished with the spear.
- 223-7. Having responded brusquely to Ph.'s first outburst, the Nurse is more gentle here, although she also reveals some agitation through her three questions, each one beginning with the repeated interrogative τί, and with the staccato cadence as each fills up one dimeter. **distressed at heart:** κηραίνω is found elsewhere in Eur. only at *HF* 518; on this verb see FJW on Aesch., *Supp.* 999.
- 228-31. In her final wish, Ph. again calls to mind Hipp.'s activities: she longs to be where Hipp. exercises his horses (cf. 1134-5) and to do what he has just announced (111-12) he will do. **Enetic:** the Eneti, i.e., the Veneti, dwelled near the northern Adriatic sea and were famed for their horses.
- 232-8. The Nurse's growing frustration is suggested in part by the repeated αὖ (now, in turn) at 232 and 234, as well as by the despairing call for a prophet.
232. **out of your mind:** παράφρων, sharing a common root with εἰσφρων, appears only here in tragedy; the verb παραφρονέω 2x. The same etymological notion is expressed at 238 (the two expressions frame the Nurse's brief speech), where παρακόπτει φρένας is translated "knocks (you) out of your wits"; cf. Aesch., *Ag.* 1252.
- 237-8. **is jerking on your reins:** the metaphor in ἀναειράζω derives from restraining horses so that they go off course, whether by reins, as the scholiast explains it, or by a rope (used for trace-horses), as etymology would suggest.
241. From Homer onwards, the Greeks commonly imagined the gods as the cause of irrational human behavior; often the delusion was described as ἄτη (ruin) or with its cognate verb ἄτω. ἄτη could refer both to an individual's deluded behavior and also to the ruin which followed from it, or perhaps one should say it referred simultaneously to the behavior and its consequences. (On the semantics, see M. Neuberger, "Ate Reconsidered" in *Nomodeiktes*, eds. R. Rosen and J. Farrell [Ann Arbor 1993], 491-504. See also the comprehensive study of R. Doyle, *ATH: Its Use and Meaning* [New York 1984]. Dodds [1951] remains the classic study of the irrational in the Greek world; on ἄτη see esp. 1-8, 17-8, and 37-41.) Erotic passion could also be described as a type of madness; it is one of the four types of madness listed by Plato in the *Phaedrus* (265b), and elsewhere the language of madness is often used to describe erotic desire (cf. 1274 and, most baldly, F 161 and Prodicus D-K B 7). Appropriately Ph. describes her outbursts, which stem from her passion, as the result of madness. She is, of course, correct that a god is responsible. **I was mad, I fell:** in Eur. lyrics, when two verbs are juxtaposed in asyndeton, the second one is always of equal or greater length, as here (ἐμόνην, ἔπεσον); see Diggle (1994), 99-100.
243. **Dear Nurse:** μαῖα is a strong term of affection and respect; it belongs in this sense to "nursery language" (Dale on *Alc.* 393-415, p. 85). **again:** Barrett on 243 argues that since the chorus can see Ph.'s expression and color

- when she arrives on-stage (172, 175), this cannot refer to an uncovering on-stage (at 201-2), and perhaps alludes to when she was indoors (133-4). Maybe, but we do not know how opaque the veil was and realism was hardly a defining characteristic of the ancient stage. An "uncovering" at 201-2 is at least possible. The aor. imperat. κρύψον suggests the completion of the action, the imperfective κρύπτε at 245 the process of covering.
244. Just as the removing of the head-dress might suggest symbolically an abandonment of chaste behavior (see 201-2n.), Ph.'s request to be covered up derives from a sense of shame at what she said during her "delirium". **I am ashamed:** αἰδέομαι is cognate with the noun *aidos* (on which see 78n.). The motif of speech and silence reaches one climax here as the silent Ph., having spoken, feels shame at what she said; she then reverts to silence for another sixty lines until the name Hipp. is spoken in her presence for the first time (310).
246. **my look is turned to shame:** Ph. says that one can see shame in her ὄμμα ("eye(s), look, face"). Blushing, which commonly accompanies shame, is probably meant; at Hom., *Il.* 13.279 the same verb τρέπομαι is used of skin changing color (in fear).
- 247-9. For the first of these three sentiments, cf. Tecmessa at *Soph., Aj.* 259ff. and Cadmus at *Bacch.* 1259ff.; for the last, cf. F 205.
249. At this point, or perhaps earlier in this brief speech, Ph. probably sits down on the bed on which she was carried in; she rises again at some point prior to beginning her *rhesis* at 373.
- 250-66. We have no reason to imagine (as did Wilamowitz) that the Nurse has intuited Ph.'s passion and is being coy in front of the chorus. Yet the words have an ironic charge for the audience, who know that a feeling much more powerful than the Nurse's for Ph. is the source of Ph.'s condition and the Nurse's distress.
- 250-1. The Nurse covers Ph. (κρύπτω, repeating the verb of 243 and 245), and at the same time ironically (Ph.'s death, not hers is at issue) links her own plight to Ph.'s by wondering when death will cover (καλύψει) her, echoing Ph.'s own thoughts on dying (249). The notion of death as something which covers or conceals is commonplace; see *LSJ* s.v. καλύπτω I.1, and Onians, 422-5. The separation of τὸ ἐμόν and εἶμα (hyperbaton) may suggest the Nurse's agitation.
252. The Nurse prefaces her reflective maxims with a statement of her authority—long life has taught her many things. Cf. *Phoen.* 528ff. for a similar preface to attempted persuasion.
- 253-7. The sentiment is found also at *Hdt.* 3.43. **mix in friendships:** φιλίαν ἀνακίρνασθαι is paralleled at *Hdt.* 4.152.5.
255. **inmost marrow of the soul:** the image is striking, since the phrase "marrow of the soul" is unique and the adj. ἀκρός typically refers to what is topmost or outermost (cf. *Hec.* 242).
- 256-7. **affections:** ἐτέρηθρον only here in Eur., originally a love-charm, then the emotion itself. **easily loosed (εὐλυτα), push aside (ῶσασθαι)**



- and draw tight (ξυντεῖναι) all are part of the "loosening and tightening" motif of the play; see 670-1n. Plutarch, who quotes this passage (*Moralia* 95c), says that the metaphor is from sailing, taking in and letting out the sheet.
- 258-60. See 186ff. The same sentiment, in different contexts, is found at *Alc.* 882ff. and F 908.8-9. **to labor:** for the metaphorical use of ὠδίνω, cf. *Hclid.* 644 and see *LSJ* II.
- 261-3. Cf. the Nurse's words at 467ff.
- 264-6. The maxim "nothing in excess" was commonplace in Greek life, closely associated with Apollo at his shrine in Delphi. The maxim was often ascribed to Chilon, one of the proverbial "Seven Sages", hence the reference to "the wise" (267). μηδὲν ἄγαν functions as an indeclinable neuter noun, with τοῦ serving as quotation marks would in English.
- 267-361. This scene is marked by a return to iambic trimeters. After a brief *stichomythia* with the chorus leader revealing her ignorance about the cause of Ph. sickness (271-83), the Nurse voices her resolve and explains her new tack for learning Ph.'s malady (284-310). This speech is interrupted by Ph. and followed by *stichomythia* between Ph. and the Nurse (311-52). During this dialogue, the Nurse supplicates Ph., which leads to Ph.'s gradual revelation of her passion and its object, precipitating the Nurse's short shocked response (353-61). Ph.'s lyrical expression of her desire for Hipp. is followed first by this iambic revelation of it and then, in her *rhexis* (373-430), her considered account of this passion and her response to it. This sequence follows the convention of Greek tragedy of having lyrics followed by more reflective iambs on the same topic. The most striking example of this is Aesch., *Ag.* 1072-1177/1178-1330. In general on this convention, see Dale on *Alc.* 280ff., Kannicht on *Hcl.* 252-329 (with bibl.), and (with plentiful examples) L. Greenwood, *Aspects of Euripidean Tragedy* (Cambridge 1953), 131-8.
- 267-83. The chorus leader's introductory four lines (267-70) serve as a buffer from the previous scene delivered in anapaests and lead into the brief *stichomythia* which follows, and are balanced by the two which end the *stichomythia* (282-3). In similar, short *stichomythic* exchanges where one character asks another for information about the present circumstances (e.g., *Supp.* 104-9, *El.* 349-57), one character supplies the desired information. Here, however, both characters are in ignorance about the topic and the exchange concludes with the two in a situation similar to the one from which they began; cf. 270 and 282f. and note the repetition of πρὸςθεσθαι (to learn about). But the Nurse is able to confirm the rumors about Ph.'s fasting and condition and she reveals that Th. is out of the house. The lack of progress in this brief exchange also ties together two themes in the play, as it underscores the ignorance of the Nurse on this important matter and makes Ph.'s silence and breaking of it more dramatically effective. On this *stichomythia*, see further Schwinge, 178-9.
271. **despite my questions:** I accept ἐλέγχουσι, construed concessively, not the minority reading ἐλέγχουσι. In performance there need have been no

- doubt as to the meaning, since the actor would have paused slightly before ἐλέγχουσι, as suggested by Diggle's comma. For an opposing view, see Barrett ad loc.
274. **is wasted away:** καταξαίνω (lit. referring to carding and combing wool) is used in tragedy exclusively metaphorically to describe a variety of extreme sufferings—emaciation, great toil, stoning, burning; see Page on *Med.* 1030 and Barrett on 274.
277. With Diggle, I accept Murray's punctuation—question mark after θανεῖν, repeated from 276—and Purgold's γ' after ἀτιτεῖ. The pattern in dialogue of the repetition of a word in an incredulous or indignant question is common (see Diggle, *Studies*, 50-2); but see also the reservations of D. Mastrorarde, rev. Diggle (1984), *CP* 83 (1988), 154, and Stockert (1994), 217-8. Wilamowitz proposed οὐκ οἶδ', which is printed by Barrett.
278. **you say:** εἶπας is an "instantaneous" or "dramatic" aor., as at 614, 921 and 1045, in which the speaker focuses on the moment in the immediate past which caused his current state of mind; see *GMT*, §60, and K.-G., I.163-5.
280. References to another's gaze, fundamental to the dynamics of a "shame-culture", appear several times in this play. Cf. Ph.'s words at 416, 720, Hipp.'s at 661-2 and Th.'s at 946-7 and 1265, and see *Intro.*, 44-5. See Goff, 20-6, on the "gaze" in the play, and 946-7n.
281. Th.'s absence, crucial for the working out of the plot, is revealed now for the first time; its reason is explained only upon his return, 790ff.
282. **using force:** with ἀνάγκην προσφέρεις, cf. *HF* 710, where the phrase is προστίθησι ἀνάγκην, and the more precise parallels at *Hdt.* 7.136.1 and 7.172.3; see *LSJ* s.v. ἀνάγκη I.3. Later in this scene Ph. refers to the Nurse's supplication as force (βιάζει, 325).
283. **wandering:** πλάνος (or πλάνη) of the mind can refer to contemplation (e.g., Soph., *OT* 67), derangement (here), or "fits" brought on by illness (e.g., Soph., *Phil.* 758, where see Jebb's note).
- 284-310. Unsurprisingly, in this speech which breaks Ph.'s silence, the play's theme of speech and silence dominates: there are eight words for speech (288, 292, 296 [2x], 298 [2x], 303), plus two others for speech activities—**refute** (298) and **persuaded** (303)—and three for silence (293, 297 [2x]). The speech ends, quite literally, with the name of Hipp., as Ph., upon hearing it, exclaims οἴμοι (Oh no!), her first utterance since 249. At some point Ph. unveils herself or is unveiled. The Nurse's gentle approach at 288ff. would be a possible, perhaps likely, occasion for this action by the Nurse. The text, however, makes no mention here or elsewhere of this unveiling, and certainty is impossible.
288. **Come now:** ἄγε, not ἀλλά of some mss., is appropriate since up to now the Nurse was acting as if Ph. had not been present; see Barrett ad loc. **dear child:** having delivered the first four lines of her speech to the chorus leader, the Nurse now turns to Ph. with an endearing address, as she tries a new approach.



290. **loosening:** λύεαα has two objs., **gloomy brow** (cf. *IA* 648) and **path of thought**, of which the latter coheres less naturally with the verb. **path of thought:** the image is continued in “follow” (291) and “move on” (292). With this image cf. 365 (implicit), 391 (the same phrase), *Ilec.* 744, *Phoen.* 911, Aesch., *Ag.* 1154, *Eum.* 989, and Pind., *Ol.* 1.10, 9.47. On the “coincidental” use of the aor. participle, see, e.g., 596, 810, and 1037 and see Barrett’s excellent note on 289-92.
- 293-6. On the multiple oppositions implicit in these lines and working throughout the play (silence/speech, female/male, interior/exterior, and concealment/revelation), see Goff, 1-2.
- 293-4. **can’t be spoken of:** i.e., to men; cf. 161ff., where the chorus imagine that Ph. might be pregnant. The idea of women helping women is a commonplace in Eur.: cf. *Med.* 823, *And.* 956, *IT* 1061-2, *Ilec.* 329, *F* 108. Either αἶδε or γυναῖκες could be subj., the other predicate, with the consecutive infin. συγκαθιστάναι. Neither syntax nor sense (“These are women . . .” or “Women are here . . .”) is decisive, but against Barrett, I favor (slightly) γυναῖκες as subj.
- 297-300. The debate implied in these lines occurs later in the episode; see 373-524n.
297. **So:** the interjection εἶέν here indicates a certain impatience or indignation; cf. *IIF* 451, *Phoen.* 849, Aesch., *Cho.* 657, and *PV* 36, in all of which cases there follows, as here, a question.
298. **refute:** the verb ἐλέγχω, its compound ἐξελέγχω, and the cognate noun ἔλεγχος appear in tragedy most often (9x) in this play, highlighting the emphasis on words and the difficulty of determining the truth. In addition to its two occurrences in this scene (271 and here), the verb appears three times in the *agon* between Hipp. and his father (930, 944, 1056), later when Th. imagines that he will refute Hipp. with the “evidence” of his ruin (1267), and then when Art. admonishes Th. for not conducting a (proper) investigation (1322). In that final scene Art. also uses the noun twice (1310, 1337) in connection with Ph.
303. **softened:** for the metaphorical use of the verb τέγγω, cf. *PV* 1008 and Aristoph., *Lys.* 550. The adj. ἄτεγκτος (“not to be softened”) is found metaphorically at Aesch., *F* 348, Soph., *OT* 336, and Aristoph., *Thes.* 1047.
- 304-6. **προδοῦσα** is governed by ἴσθι and refers to the future; on the use of the aor. referring to fut. time in the apodosis, see *GMT*, §61. The condition, with θανῆι in the protasis, is a so-called “future most vivid”; the negative is μή, not οὐ, because of “attraction” through its subordination to the imperat.
- 304-5. **more stubborn than the sea:** the sea’s unresponsiveness was proverbial; cf. Hom., *Il.* 16.34, *Med.* 28f., *And.* 537-8, and *PV* 1001 (only a few lines before the passage cited above, 303n.). Rock, with which the sea is yoked in several of the above citations, is another metaphor for stubborn people: see Page on *Med.* 28-9. **stubborn:** αὐθάδης more lit. refers to one who is pleased with himself and ignores the interests of others. While this seems to the Nurse an apt description of Ph., it is, ironically, Ph.’s great concern for

- others (her children) and her reputation in the eyes of others that is leading her to her death. **then:** the phrase πρὸς τὰδε, lit. “with a view towards these things”, like πρὸς ταῦτα, is employed in connection with seemingly obstinate people “after an announcement of resolve, and before a defiant imperative” (Jebb on Soph., *Ant.* 658); cf., e.g., *Cretans*, *F* 472c.35, Soph., *OT* 343, *Ant.* 658, *PV* 992, 1030, and see Diggle, *Studies*, 38.
310. **Oh no!:** although Aesch. was renowned for his extended use of “silent characters” (see Taplin, *IISCP* 76 [1972], 57-97), both Soph. (see *Jocasta* at *OT* 987-1056) and Eur. also knew how to exploit a character’s silence and breaking of it, as he does here with having Hipp.’s name cause Ph. to break hers. This line is remarkable in having two changes of speaker (double *antilabe*), a phenomenon which occurs in Eur.’s spoken iambic trimeters only five other times. **this:** τὸδε refers, from the Nurse’s perspective, as 313-4 make clear, not to the name of Hipp., but to her concern for her children. Ph., however, is thinking of Hipp.
- 311-61. After one distich each (311-2, 313-4), Ph. and the Nurse converse in single-line *stichomythia*, with the minor interruption of Ph.’s extra-metric exclamation at 345, until 352, a line containing *antilabe*, indicating a break, which is then followed by the Nurse’s brief speech. In this *stichomythia*, the Nurse’s direct inquiries are met by Ph.’s reluctance and evasiveness. This tight and exciting exchange is very well suited to the *stichomythic* form, where the thrust and parry, starts and stops of the two characters, one eager to hear, the other loath to tell, are clearly articulated. Ph. yields not so much to persuasion as to supplication. In her desperation, the Nurse engages in a formal supplication of her mistress (324ff.), which finally effects Ph.’s revelation of her secret (335). (See 324n. and 335n.) In her brief speech which concludes the scene, the Nurse exclaims that having done all she could to learn Ph.’s secret, she is undone by it. The *stichomythia* itself has an artful symmetry: it begins and ends with a line of *antilabe* mentioning Hipp.’s name (310, 352); in the first instance it elicits the exclamation **Oh no!** (οἶμοι) from Ph. followed by her cry **You’ve destroyed me** (ἀπώλεσάς με), in the second the Nurse cries **Oh no!** (οἶμοι) and **you’ve destroyed me** (μ’ ἀπώλεσας); at the beginning it is Ph. who wishes to die (the *stichomythia* develops from the Nurse’s attempts to dissuade her), while at the end the Nurse hopes for death. On this *stichomythia*, see Schwinge, 182-4.
- 311-2. Upon breaking her own silence, Ph. immediately calls for silence (σιγᾶν, 312; cf. 273, 297) about **this man**.
315. **I am storm-tossed:** the metaphorical use of χειμάζω is paralleled at *Ion* 966 (of the wealth of the house), *Supp.* 269 (of the city—the common “ship of state” metaphor; see Collard ad loc.), and *PV* 838; see also Pearson on Soph., *Ich.* 267 and 331. The related nouns χεῖμα and χειμάτων are also found in this metaphorical sense.
- 316-7. The Nurse, speaking in conventional fifth-century terms, imagines pollution as something physical. Ph.’s reply is, therefore, remarkable as she says her



- hands are pure but her *mind* has some pollution. (The same antithesis is found also at *Or.* 1604.) Mental pollution (and purity) was a late-developing notion see Parker, 322-4, and cf. *III F* 1233-4 for a challenge to another form of traditional thinking on pollution. The antithesis posed by Ph. also ties in with many other similar ones in the play; see 1034-5n. The μέν in the question at 316 suggests that this is the "first [question] of an intended series" (*GP*, 367).
318. "I ask 'μὲν X' when I am reluctant to accept X as true" (Barrett on 794).
319. **unwillingly . . . unwilling:** the jingle in ἐκοῦσαν οὐχ ἐκῶν was a common one; cf., e.g., Hom., *Od.* 3.272, 5.155, *Iliad.* 531, *And.* 357, *Or.* 613, *F* 68.2, Soph., *Ant.* 276, *PV* 19, 218, 671. (In general on this phenomenon in Eur., see Gygli-Wyss, 126-30.) At this juncture Ph. sees Hipp as an unwilling participant in her ruin; she will change her attitude towards him after his denouncing speech (616-68). **dear one:** *philos* contrasts with the Nurse's suggestion of an enemy. See 613-4n. and 925-31n. for the ways in which the play defines and redefines *philos*. Aristotle (*Po.* 1453b19-22) remarks that in the best tragedies the turmoil is *within* the family.
321. As is typical in a "shame-culture", Ph. puts a high premium on how she is seen; hence she expresses in these terms her desire not to wrong Th. See 403-4n.
323. A gradual breakdown in communication: Ph. had answered the previous question only in a roundabout way; now she avoids the question entirely (on this phenomenon in tragic dialogue, see Mastronarde [1979], 83-4), which leads the Nurse to her act of supplication.
324. With these words the Nurse, as is evident from Ph.'s shocked response at 325, takes hold of Ph.'s hand (325) (and, shortly thereafter, of her knees, 326) in an act of supplication. For the ancient Greeks, ritual supplication of another person involved crouching or kneeling and grasping the knees (especially), chin, and/or hand in order to make a request of that person. (See Collard on *Ilec.* 282 for the possible aetiology of this practice.) The ritual act brought a kind of religious and moral compulsion upon the supplicated party to fulfill the request, and maintaining the physical contact was essential for continuing this compulsion. (Supplication could also involve not another individual but a sacred space, typically a temple, altar or statue, and for many tragedies such supplication provided the basic plot and structure. See esp. J. Kopperschmidt, *Die Ilikesie als dramatische Form* [diss. Tübingen 1967]; and also, for Eur., Strohm, 17-32.) This supplication of Ph. is remarkable, since usually it was employed to ensure one's safety, and it is pivotal for the play, as it brings about—along with the Nurse's appeals—Ph.'s yielding (see 335n.) and revelation. Through it Ph. can tell her secret without any loss of rectitude. On the characteristics and uses of supplication, see Gould, esp. 85-90, which include a discussion of the Nurse's supplication; on this scene, see Taplin (1978), 69-70. Gould, 87, n.64, also makes valuable suggestions on the connections between *stichomythia* and supplication. The supplication scene at *Med.* 324ff. is very similar.

325. For supplication as "force", cf. *Med.* 339. **hanging upon:** the verb ἐξαρτάω is found in descriptions of supplication also at *II* 363, *IA* 1226.
327. **bad:** the repetition of κακά at the beginning and end of the line is emphatic; cf. *Aic.* 722, *Bacch.* 963, *F* 414.1, *Rhes.* 579. **wretched one:** τάλαινα might also suggest in this context her persistence; see Denniston on *El.* 1171.
328. **succeed with you:** i.e., get what I want from you, win your confidence.
329. **you will die:** Ph. increases (from 327) the consequences of the Nurse learning her secret; cf. the exaggerations at 311 and 353. She explains, by way of motivation for her intended death, that the deed brings her honor (τιμή), that is, esteem in the eyes of others. The Nurse will turn this around on her, appealing to appearances and that very honor ("won't you then appear more honorable", 332).
330. **for your good:** χρήθ'(α) is potentially ambiguous: the word can indicate practical as well as moral good; cf. 380. Ph. in her next line indicates that she is trying to achieve what is morally good (ἐεθλά).
331. The paradox is intensified by the double juxtaposition of ἐεθλά (good) with both αἰσχρῶν (what's disgraceful) and μηχανώμεθα (I'm trying to devise), a verb that often has a sinister connotation.
333. **by the gods:** In her final line before yielding, Ph. echoes her initial appeal "by the gods" that the Nurse not speak again about "this man" (311-2).
335. **I respect the reverence inspired by your supplication:** lit. "I feel respect (*aidos*) before your reverence of hand"; Ph. refers to the respect which the act of supplication (something demanding reverence) calls forth in her as she yields to it. *Aidos* is a common way to refer to the impulse in yielding to supplication; cf. *Med.* 349 and other examples in Barrett on 333-5 and Gould 86, n.63. The view held by many (e.g., Winnington-Ingram, 179, Barrett on 333-5) that Ph. yields because she wants to unburden her soul of her secret, while psychologically plausible, has no explicit textual support. Now that Ph. has promised to yield, the Nurse presumably lets go of her and returns to a standing position (here or at 352).
336. The roles are now reversed: the Nurse will be silent, while Ph. talks.
- 337-43. By way of explanation, Ph. laments her mother's (Pasiphaë's) and sister's (Ariadne's) wretched passions. (On the myths involved here, see *Intro.*, 22-3.) While she here places herself in the context of her family's unfortunate sexual passions, she does not dwell on this, and makes no further reference to it, (although she does, in a different context, mention her Cretan home at 719, and the chorus refer to her Cretan past at 752ff.). Eur. rather seems to be drawing a contrast between Ph.'s Cretan past, a past she lived up to in the first *Hipp.*, and her determined attempts to thwart her passion and preserve her good name in the present play.



342. **I'm alarmed:** the identical phrase ἐκ τοι πέπληγμα is found also at 934 and *IIF* 1105. Tmesis (separation of pre-verb and verb) is more common in Eur. than in Aesch. or Soph.; see Breitenbach, 266 and K.-G., I.534-5.
345. The line is parodied at Aristoph., *Knights* 16.
346. For the expression, cf. *Hec.* 743-4.
347. The slightly awkward syntax reflects Ph.'s hesitation as she comes near the end of her gradual and painful revelation. The construction shifts from λέγουσιν seemingly going to govern a simple noun (or an infin.) to its governing an infin. and accus. in indirect discourse. The crucial word ἐρᾶν (being in love) is postponed until the very end of the verse, and the particle δὴ suggests Ph.'s attempt to distance herself from what she is saying (see *GP*, 219).
348. The ambivalent nature of erotic passion was a common motif, most famous in Sappho's adj. for Eros, γλυκύπικρος ("bittersweet"), fr. 130; cf. also 526-7 and F 26, 875. On this notion, see A. Carson, *Eros the Bittersweet: An Essay* (Princeton 1986), esp. 3-9, with many citations.
- 351-2. Ph. speaks as if she did not know Hipp.'s name; note ποτε (whoever) and the reference to him only as the Amazon's. The editor's three dots at the end of her line suggest a pause: she is still reluctant to name Hipp. and contrives to get the Nurse to do so. (See Mastrorarde [1979], 54-5, on the delivery of these lines.) No sooner does the Nurse mention the name than Ph. seeks to avoid any blame—you hear this from yourself, not me, her wish of 345 fulfilled. The *antilabe* of 352, containing Hipp.'s name, appropriately ends the *stichomythia*.
- 353-61. The Nurse's distress is "admirably brought out by her language: short sentences, asyndeton, repetitions" (Barrett on 354-7).
353. **what are you saying?:** the fut. λέξετε refers to the present, as if the speaker needs to hear the words again (or an explanation of them) before they can be believed; see Barrett on 353.
356. For the intensifying asyndeton at the start of the trimeter, see Mastrorarde on *Phoen.* 1193; in general for asyndeton in Eur., see Schmid-Stählin, 1.3., 811 n.1.
358. **but still:** Eur.'s use of ἀλλ' ὅμως at the end of a verse is something of a mannerism; see, e.g., 1325, *Hec.* 843, *Or.* 1023, *Bacch.* 1027.
- 359-61. The Nurse, even in her excited and despairing state, recognizes both Ph.'s basic virtue of *sophrosune* and the workings of the goddess Cypris. On the super-divine power of Cypris, see 447ff., 1268ff., and cf. *Tro.* 948-50. **then is:** ἄρ' ἦν is colloquial; see Stevens, 62-3.
361. While the chorus deliver their brief lyric (362-72) and Ph. her great speech (373-430), the Nurse receives no attention. Perhaps her final words are accompanied by her collapse on-stage, which would thereby visually display what her words indicate. (Cf. Hecuba's risings and fallings in *Tro.*, not all of which are marked in the text; see Steidel, 50-2.) With this suggested staging, there is a final reversal between the two characters: Ph. began the scene enfeebled, abed; now the Nurse has been rendered prostrate by learning Ph.'s secret.

- 362-72. This lyric divides the long episode (170-524) into two scenes of not quite even length—192 (170-361) and 152 lines (373-524), one of revelation and the other of explanation and planning, each of the two scenes concluding with the Nurse successfully persuading Ph. Short pieces of lyric punctuating a longer scene are favored by Eur. The case here, however, is special, as these lines have a corresponding antistrophe considerably later in the play (669-79). The closest parallel is *Rhes.* 454-66=820-32, which has an intervening *stasimon*; *Or.* 1353-65=1537-48, *Rhes.* 131-6=195-200, and Soph., *Phil.* 391-404=507 are similar but have no intervening *stasimon*. And only in *Hipp.* is either stanza sung by an actor (see 669-79n.). Who delivered these lines—chorus or chorus leader—is uncertain, but since the corresponding stanza is monodic, the chorus leader is the more likely candidate. The meter is predominantly dochmiac, which typically suggests excitement, here the chorus leader's excited lamentation and fear at Ph.'s revelation.
- 362-3. The asyndeton and repetitions combine to underscore the chorus leader's agitation and the play's theme of speech and silence. **did you hear . . . not to be heard:** for the paradox cf., e.g., *Ion* 783-4, Soph., *El.* 1407-8, Aesch., *Supp.* 112, and see D. Fehling, *Die Wiederholungsfiguren und ihr Gebrauch bei den Griechen vor Gorgias* (Berlin 1969), 290. **cried aloud:** θρέομαι appears only in Aesch. and Eur. and is used only of women; cf. Fraenkel on Aesch., *Ag.* 1165.
367. **hold:** lit. "nourish", τρέφω has this extended sense, favored particularly by Soph. (e.g., *OT* 374); see *LSJ* II.6.
368. The asyndetic juxtaposition of **you're ruined** and **you've exposed** well expresses the connection in this play between revelation and destruction. (On "revelation" in the play, see 42n.) There is a mild *figura etymologica* in ἐξέφηναι (lit. "you've brought to light") and φάος (light).
369. **this day:** for the motif of "this day", see 21-2n.
370. **untoward:** καινός (lit. "new"), like its synonymν νέος (cf. *LSJ* s.v. νέος II.2), often carries with it a negative association ("unsettlingly new") and can be used as a euphemism for κακός ("bad"); cf., e.g., *Hec.* 689, *Supp.* 92, *Hel.* 1513.
- 371-2. **ends:** φθίω (lit. "wane") is often used of time (see *LSJ* s.v. φθίω I.1); perhaps it continues the temporal idea in the question of 369 ("What awaits you all this day?"). **fortune from Cypris:** the τύχη (fortune) experienced by mortals often has behind it the work of a divinity, here Cypris; cf. *IIF* 1393, *IA* 351, Soph., *Phil.* 1316-7. The final line is framed by a proper name and adj., *Cypris* and *Cretan*. Only here in the play, shortly after she has invoked her unhappy Cretan family, is this adj. used of Ph. (The adj. is also found, not of Ph., at 752 and 758.) Interestingly, immediately after the chorus leader calls her "Cretan", Ph.'s first word is to identify the chorus by their homeland, "Troezenian women" (373).
- 373-524. The second half of this long episode is less varied formally—no lyrics and only a small bit of *stichomythia*—but no less important dramatically.



Although the two speeches, of Ph. and the Nurse, and the ensuing *stichomythia* are not generally considered an *agon* in the narrow sense of the term, they share many features with paired speeches which are generally so considered: the two speeches address the same issue and are of roughly equal length (58 and 49 lines respectively); the second attempts to rebut the arguments put forward in the first, even if this is not done in a "point for point" format; the pair of speeches is separated by a short choral buffer and followed by *stichomythia* between the two speakers. See my review of Lloyd, *BMCR* 3 (1992), 376.

**373-430. Ph.'s great speech.** Long, difficult, frequently ambiguous, and justifiably famous, this is Ph.'s longest continuous speech in the play; in it she offers the fullest explanation for her actions. There are two main ways of reading this speech (with variations on them), readings based in part on the interpretation of several specific points of Greek, in part on one's construction of Ph.'s character. The prevalent view, at least until recently, was that Ph. was making an *apologia*, explaining why she was unable to do what was right, how she had failed. (Dodds [1925] presented the most concise and influential version of this interpretation and many, Winnington-Ingram, Barrett, Segal [1970b], among them, are in essential agreement on this point.) More recently it has been suggested that Ph. is explaining not her moral failure but her moral standards which, given the circumstances, require her suicide. (See most fully on this, Kovacs [1980b], following Willink and Claus.) The debate on this issue has been clouded by the peripheral issue of the speech's relation to the "Socratic paradox". Several scholars have argued that in this speech, Eur. is replying to the paradox, formulated most clearly in Plato's *Protagoras* (352d-e), that no one knowingly errs. (See, e.g., T. Irwin, *CP* 78 [1983], 183-97.) While a specific connection between Socrates and Ph.'s speech is impossible to prove, at the very least the speech connects with contemporary intellectual debates, and the belief that Ph. was replying to Socrates' famous paradox encouraged seeing the speech in terms of moral failure.

Ph.'s earlier delirium and later acquiescence do not represent her considered opinion; she seeks to act from principles, even if these principles will lead her to end her life. The essence of the speech is Ph.'s explanation for taking her own life, an explanation which involves a long and somewhat circuitous argument. She begins with the general statement that mortals fail to accomplish what they should, not because of ignorance, but because of laziness (373-87); she sees things clearly and will not change her mind (388-90); accordingly, she will take her life, the last and (for her) necessary step to keep from committing adultery or disclosing her shameful passion (391-402). Having expressed her conclusion before articulating her reasons, Ph. then explains (explanatory γάρ at 403) the specific reason for this action: the disgrace of wrongdoing is intolerable (403-4), a point she makes, or implies, elsewhere (e.g., 321, 420, 430, 687-8, 720-1), and adultery is wrong (implied in 405-18); she does not want to disgrace her husband and ruin her children's good name (419-27); and she concludes by wishing that she never be seen among the dead (428-30). In short

Ph. argues that the shame of adultery is so great that she will take her own life in order to avoid incurring that shame, and she is capable of this right action because she knows what is right and will not let something else keep her from doing it. (A more detailed analysis of Ph.'s arguments is given by Sommerstein, 23-8, although I do not accept his textual remedies.) While the distinction between moral failure and lack of success was for Eur.'s contemporaries not always clear-cut (see 378n.), Ph. does not seem to be confessing a moral failure. Rather she offers her reasons for the extraordinary course she has taken, from which, she realizes, she might stray, especially through the Nurse's agency. She has already been forced by her Nurse to break her silence, and, as becomes clear at the end of this long episode, she allows the Nurse to intervene on her behalf, even though she has reason to fear that this intervention may be ruinous. The speech, then, combines her explanation of the high moral road she is traveling and her fear that she may fall from it.

One of the salient features of the speech is the high number of "intellectual" terms in it, especially in the first half, reflecting the play's interest in the tension between the irrational (passion) and the rational: **I have thought** (ἐφρόντισ', 376), **judgment** (γνώμη, 377), **good sense** (φρονεῖν, 378), **we know** (ἐπιστάμεθα, 380), **we recognize** (γινώσκομεν, 380), **think** (φρονούσ', 388), **thinking** (φρενῶν, 390), **thought** (γνώμη, 391), **I started to consider** (ἐκκόπουν, 392), **knows how** (ἐπίσταται, 396), **admonish** (νουθετεῖν, 396), **thoughts** (φρονήματ', 396), **folly** (ἄνοιαν, 398), **I took care** (προνοησάμην, 399), **plans** (βουλευμάτων, 402), **I knew** (ἤϊδη, 405), **I knew** (ἐγίνωσκον, 406), **he is aware** (Ξυειδῆι, 425), **mind** (γνώμην, 427). Several features and terms in this speech are resonant of the law courts: e.g., the call for a proper examination of the matter (379), **witnesses** (μάρτυρας, 404), **be convicted** (ἄλῶ, 430). (See Craik, 48, for further resonances of the law courts.) The speech, unsurprisingly, also draws on the important theories of speech and silence (e.g., at 384, 391, 394, 395, 413, 418, 422) and concealment and revelation (e.g., at 394, 403, 414, 428, 429, 430). In addition to the several works already mentioned, see also Cairns, 314-40, Friis Johansen, esp. 122-4, Manuwald, and Williams, 225-30.

**373ff.:** Ph. begins her speech with general reflections and an announcement of her theme (**the ruin of mortals' lives**). These reflections, if not all the specifics within them, are directly relevant to her situation, as 388 ("so since") indicates. On the relevance of these, and other, general reflections, see D. Conacher, *AJP* 102 (1981), 3-25, esp. 11-15.

**373-4.** With the opening address, cf. *Med.* 214. **forecourt:** the very rare word προνώπιον, found in poetry only here and twice in *Bacch.*, is used metaphorically: Ph., from an Athenian perspective across the Saronic Gulf, imagines Trozen as the porch of the Peloponnesus.

**375.** Parodied at Aristoph., *Frogs* 931, Dionysus talking to Eur.



376. **mortals' lives:** θνητῶν is placed outside its clause, producing, with βίος, a frame for the line. **ruin:** a noun to capture the perf. aspect of the verb διέφθαρται. The verb is ambiguous, referring to both the loss of one's life and the ruin of one's morals; see *LSJ* I.1 and I.2.
377. **natural judgment:** Ph. talks of one's inborn disposition just as Hipp. did at 79-80, but, unlike Hipp., she thinks that this inborn disposition is possessed by many (378-9).
378. **do worse:** I accept κακίον' (with πράττειν), a reading found in a 12th century ms. of Cyril, and conjectured independently by Herwerden, in place of the mss. κάκιον (the phrase meaning "fare worse"). To maintain that Ph. is not apologizing for her failure it is unnecessary to prefer κάκιον; and the rhetoric of the passage, the contrast of "thinking" and "doing", calls for κακίον'. Ph. does not claim that she *has* in fact done anything wrong, but rather that she has taken steps to avoid doing wrong. Ultimately the point should not be pressed too hard; as Barrett ad loc. observes, even with the neut. pl. reading, there is an ambiguity, since that phrase can also have the sense "fare worse", and from Ph.'s perspective "doing worse" is "faring worse".
- 380-1. With the two verbs of intellection, Ph. underscores that we do in fact know what is good, that ignorance is not the source of our failures. **what's good:** another ambiguity, in keeping with the overriding one of this part of the speech; see 330n. **toil to accomplish:** ἐκπονέω is much favored by Eur., found more than 20x in his work, while it appears only once in Aesch. and not at all in Soph.; on Eur.'s use of it, see J. Bremer, *CQ* 22 (1972), 236-8. Elsewhere Eur. expresses the opposition between our knowledge and our actions: cf. F 840 and 841 (*Med.* 1078-80, often cited in this connection, is different).
- 381-3. These lines are much discussed. **some pleasure other than the good:** some, most recently Craik, 46, interpret these lines to mean that by ἄλλην, ἀργία (laziness) is meant as a pleasure, but the contrasting μέν . . . δέ construction tells against this. That ἄλλην here has its common meaning "something else, namely" (held by, e.g., Barrett and Manuwald, 137) is unlikely. On this last point, and for the interpretation that τὸ καλόν (the good) is meant as a pleasure, see esp. Willink, 14, and Kovacs (1980b), 293-4. Cf. F 659.7-8 for similar language.
- 383-6. Ph.'s list of pleasures is perhaps peculiar and brief, but there is no cause for excision (favored most recently by Sommerstein, 28) or the positing of a lacuna after 383 (Kovacs [1980b], 298-300). The first two named by Ph.—long conversations and leisure (it is not necessary to read these as a hendiadys)—may reflect her life in the palace (Winnington-Ingram, 176-7, and cf. *Tro.* 647ff.) and long conversations certainly correspond to the Athenians' well-known talkativeness.
384. **delightful evil:** see 348n.
- 385-6a. **respect:** *aidos* is emphatic by its final position in the list and its enjambment. Although seemingly somewhat out of place in company with the

- other named pleasures, *aidos* (on which see 78n.) is, from Ph.'s perspective, what helps her in protecting her good name. **there are two kinds:** a notorious interpretative crux. The Greek is ambiguous: what—pleasures or *aidos*—is of two kinds is not explicit. The traditional view holds that *aidos*, not pleasures, is of two kinds (see, e. g., Dodds [1925], Barrett ad loc. and Segal, [1970b], esp. 283-8). Plutarch (*Mor.* 448f) interpreted this passage this way and the dual nature of *aidos* is treated also at Hes., *WD* 317-9, Eur., F 365, and fr. adesp. 528. How this two-fold *aidos* relates to Ph.'s situation has produced numerous suggestions. Influentially, Dodds explained it with references back to 244 and 335, as instances of the good and bad *aidos* respectively ("At v. 244 *aidos* saves Phaedra; at v. 335 it destroys her" [p. 103]) and others have made other proposals. We should, however, be careful in drawing too specific a reference, esp. when formally Ph. is still speaking in general terms. The nature of *aidos* is inherently two-fold (self-respect and mere social conformity; thus Williams, 227, following Méridier, 44 n.2) and in Ph.'s case it can be ruinous because of her overwhelming concern with her reputation, that is, *aidos* for others' opinions. More fully, from the retrospective and broader consideration allowed to the audience, they can see how *aidos*, while protecting Ph.'s pursuit of virtue and reputation, also causes ruin. The case that ἡδοναί ("pleasures") are referred to by δικάί (two kinds) has been made forcefully by Willink, 15-6, and Kovacs (1980b), 294-6. The technical arguments, the most compelling of which is the lack of indication of a change of subject in 385 (see Cairns, 326), while formidable, are not, however, unassailable; see, e.g., Craik, 47-8, and Williams, 225-30. More importantly, even if one accepts this interpretation, the emphatic position, thematic importance, and inherent ambiguity of *aidos* cannot be ignored. Ph. is not necessarily giving a list of harmful and innocuous, even beneficial, pleasures together (thus Claus, 231), but perhaps of pleasures some of which at different times can be good or bad; see Cairns, 326-7. The subsequent discourse, if it describes the two-fold nature of "pleasures", includes *aidos* among them.
- 386b-7. In the usual reading of these words, Ph. is saying that we would have two words for these two different things, a statement reflecting the contemporary interest in the "correctness of names"; see, e.g., W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, vol. 3 (Cambridge 1969), 204-18. (On writing in the play, see 858-61n.) Williams (229-30), however, suggests that line 387 means there would be one less thing, not one more name, and presents a subtle explanation as to how this interpretation does not conflict with Ph.'s opening statement in this speech about the cause of our ruin. **what is appropriate:** a reference to the propriety either of speaking or of behavior. I prefer the former; see Kovacs (1980b), 297 n.19. On the wide-ranging meaning of καιρός see *LSJ*, Barrett on 386-7, and J. Wilson, *Glotta* 58 (1980), 177-204.
- 388-90. Pivotal lines, in which Ph. explains (So since, οὖν ἐπειδὴ) that her general principles apply to her own situation (ἐγώ, I, is emphatic); she then (391ff.) relates in detail the course of action she took based on these principles.



**this:** ταῦτα is emphatic by position and vague, referring, it seems, to all that she has expressed until now in this speech: because, she explains, this is her view, she was not going to take a different course of action from the one which led, by stages, to her decision to kill herself. **what I think:** I accept the majority reading φρονοῦς'. In support of the minority reading προγνοῦς', see Willink, 18, and Claus, 233-4. **drug:** later (479; and cf. 516) the Nurse uses the same word (φάρμακον) to refer to a cure for Ph.'s problem. For some suggestions on the significance of this word in the play, esp. connections between it and persuasion, see Goff, 48-53. **weaken:** διαφθερεῖν (lit. "destroy, corrupt") has no clear obj.: either ταῦτα, φρένας (from φρενῶν, ἀπὸ κοινουῦ) or γνώμη (implied from the context) will serve. Cf. *Med.* 1055, where the verb is used of enfeebling one's resolve, and Aesch., *Ag.* 932. **thinking:** φρένας means both "thinking" and "purpose", and, as the context makes clear, the "thinking" Ph. is talking about includes her intended suicide. **τοῦμπαλιῦ πεσεῖν φρενῶν:** one would have expected an εἰς before τοῦμπαλιῦ; see Barrett ad loc.

391. For the first time Ph. will speak openly about her situation, in contrast to her earlier silence and hesitation, a contrast continued when she explains that her first step was silence and concealment (394). **path of thought:** for this metaphor, see 290n.

392. The image of Eros the warrior, implicit in wounded, was commonplace; see 527n.

394. The desirability of concealing one's faults or misfortunes was a commonplace; cf. *F* 460, 553, 683.

395-7. Words which become painfully true when Ph.'s own talking about her troubles (to the Nurse), a course she has previously avoided, will threaten her good name. The Greek also can suggest that the tongue cannot be believed, which also proves true in the play. **of others:** θυραῖος (lit. "outside the door") here stands as a synonym of ἀλλότριος ("belonging to another"), as elsewhere (e.g., *Alc.* 778, and see *LSJ* s.v. θυραῖος I.4), and ἀνδρῶν, lit. "of men (as opposed to women)", is used, as commonly, to refer to the human species as a whole.

398-9. Ph.'s second step—to subdue her feelings actively with virtue (*sophrosune*)—is not at odds with the first but strengthens it. These words contain a mild word play: Ph. took care (lit. "took thought for", προνοησάμην) to bear well her folly (lit. "mindlessness", ἄνοιαν). Cf. *F* 545 for a similar opposition.

400-2. The sentiment that dying is better than living poorly is often expressed in Greek; cf., e.g., *F* 596 and 994. The sound of the lines is impressive, with the alliteration in Κύπριον κρατῆσαι, κατθανεῖν and six "k" sounds in a line and a half (4 κ's and 2 ξ's). There is perhaps a slight etymological play between κρατῆσαι (**master**) and κράτιστον (**best**). **Cypris:** can both refer to the goddess and serve, as often in comedy, as a metonymy for "sexual desire"; in Eur. cf. 465, 1304, *Bacch.* 773, *F* 162.

403-4. Ph. prays for witnesses to her good actions and none for her bad ones, just as earlier (321) she wished not to be *seen* wronging her husband and later (419-21) she explains that she will take her life so that she not be *caught* disgracing her husband and children. The terms she uses are appropriate for Eur.'s contemporary "shame-culture" (see *Intro.*, 43-5), and, it should be noted, she contemns women who act immorally but feign *sophrosune* (413ff.). The issue of being able to escape detection in doing wrong is discussed also in a fragment commonly assigned to Critias (*F* 19) (but more likely from Eur.'s *Sisyphus*) and in Antiphon, D-K B 44, col. 2.3-23; it is treated in Plato's *Republic* (359d-360c) through the story of Gyges' ring. On the theme of witnesses in the play, Goff, 20, n.24, provides bibl.

405-7. Ph. is aware that even her infatuation (sickness), if known, could bring ill repute. **an object of hatred to all:** for the possibility that μίσσημα πᾶσι is capable of suggesting also "sexual deviant in the eyes of everybody", see Michelini, 302, n.105.

407-9. A curse on the first adulteress. The motif of cursing the first to invent (or do) something is attested as early as Soph., *Aj.* 1192ff. An opt. for a wish in past time because such a wish has become formulaic; see K.-G., 1.228 and Kannicht on *Ilel.* 1214-5. **ὦς:** perhaps one should instead print ὦς; see H. Lloyd-Jones and N. Wilson, *Sophoclea* (Oxford 1990) on *El.* 126-7. **with:** see *LSJ* C.I.6.a for the sense of πρός.

411-2. **noble:** ἐθλόος refers to both social and moral categories, a conflation of notions found in many archaic and classical texts. Although the association of nobility (and wealth) and virtue was questioned early on, the ambiguity of the terms remained. (See Denniston on *El.* 253, and, on wealth and poverty, Dover [1974], 109-12.) Both ἦ (πρὸς) and γέ, often in combination, are found in *a fortiori* arguments (see *GP*, 118 n.1, 143-4, and 281-2); with the separation of ἦ and γέ here, cf. Antiphon 5.91. 412 resonates with five "k" sounds, which underscore the rhetorical contrast of shameful things seeming good (καλά) to the base (κακοί), these two words being linked also by their assonance.

413-4. The opposition of word and deed was a cliché in Greek, but it is particularly pointed in this play where speech and reality, seeming and being are frequently contrasted. Contempt for the hypocrite is expressed famously by Achilles to Odysseus in the "embassy scene" (Hom., *Il.* 9.512ff.). With Ph.'s contempt for women who essay evil deeds, cf. Soph., *Trach.* 582-3. **have engaged in:** the use of κτάσμαι (lit. "acquire, possess") with τόλμας (**reckless acts**) as its obj. is unusual; *IT* 1171 is somewhat similar.

415-8. With this imagined face-to-face interaction, cf. Ph.'s words at 403-4, 428-30, and 720-1, and Hipp.'s at 662.

415. **mistress from the sea:** Cypris is invoked here, as by the Nurse at 522, by a title which refers to her origins; see Hes., *Theog.* 188-200. On the associations of the epithet here, see the suggestions of Segal (1965=1986), 178. The line is parodied by Xenarchus (fr. 4.21-2).



- 417-8. The notion, doubtless proverbial, that the house might speak against someone is found as early as Aesch., *Ag.* 37 (also of adultery); cf. *Hermione at And.* 924-5. In Latin, cf. Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 24.60, and *Juv.* 9. 102.
- 419-21. Again Ph. describes her wishes in external terms (see 403-4n. and 321n. and cf. 430 and 719-21). **be convicted:** for the legal sense of ἀλίτσκομαι, see *LSJ* II.2, and see 373-430n. The ὥς clause expresses purpose.
- 421-5. Ph.'s emphasis on her children's good name responds, in part, to the Nurse's appeal through the children at 304-10, and Ph. repeats this concern at 717. In particular she feels that her disgrace would prevent her children from enjoying *parrhesia*, freedom of speech, the right so prized by Athenians (cf., e.g., *Held.* 181-3, *Ion* 670-5, and *Phoen.* 390-1). 424-5 esp. may also call to mind, as Willink, 25, proposes, Ph.'s own painful awareness of her mother's disgraceful deeds (see 337). **boldhearted:** θρασύπλαγχνος is rare, appearing in poetry only here and (adverbially) at *PV* 730. It might call to mind the servant's description of Hipp. at 118.
- 426-7. **with life:** the obvious construction of the dat. βίωι after ἀμιλλάομαι, not "in life" (for which interpretation, see Barrett ad loc.); the metaphor imagines a good and just mind as the only worthy *opponent* of life, what is needed to survive and prosper. Line 427 stands in apposition to the τοῦτο (this) of 426; it is a hybrid between a noun and a nominal clause.
- 428-30. Time's mirror and the simile of the young maiden provide an enigmatic and provocative conclusion to Ph.'s speech. The revelatory power of time was commonplace (see, e.g., 1051-2, 1322-3, *Hipp.* I, F 441, and the multiple examples cited by Pearson on *Soph.*, F 301). The image of a revealing mirror can be found in several places (e.g., Aesch., *Ag.* 839, and F 393, and other examples cited in Barrett ad loc.), but a woman's mirror typically reflects what it sees (cf. *Med.* 1161-2, *El.* 1071), not what is hidden and needs to be revealed. The images in these lines tie in implicitly with the themes of sexuality (the maiden's concern with her image) and those of appearance and revelation (esp. Ph.'s desire not to be seen as bad), which lie at the heart of the speech and of the play. Ph. is not an adulteress (her final words are **may I never be seen in company with these**), nor is she a maiden. This image of the mirror is ambiguous and potent. Much has been written on it: see, *inter alios*, Avery, 31 n.26, J. Pigeaud, *LEC* 44 (1976), 14-16, Zeitlin, 95, 99-100 (and 102-6 for the image's significance for the whole play), Goff, 23 (and 72 for its broader significance).
430. Ph.'s concluding words, which echo those at 321, emphasize the consistently high value she places on reputation.
- 431-2. Between the two set speeches, the chorus leader speaks two lines which serve in part as a buffer, in part as a comment on Ph.'s words. The lines also "perhaps allowed the second speaker to step forward and take up a more prominent position, while the first stepped back" (West on *Or.* 542-3). ὥς often introduces a maxim; see Bond on *III* 62. **harvests:** the metaphorical use of

- καρπίζομαι is unparalleled in tragedy (unless Aesch., *Sept.* 601, with the compound ἐκκαρπίζομαι, is genuine), but metaphorical uses of καρπῶω are not uncommon (cf., e.g., 1427, Aesch., *Pers.* 821, *Ag.* 502, 621, and *Soph.*, *Trach.* 204); for metaphorical uses of the noun καρπός, see *El.* 1436 and *LSJ* III.
- 433-81. **The Nurse's reply to Ph.'s speech.** After hearing of Ph.'s intended suicide and recovering from her earlier shock, the Nurse takes a new tack ("second thoughts are somehow wiser", 436). Whereas initially she had pronounced Ph.'s passion for Hipp. unendurable, she now minimizes the situation, arguing that everyone falls in love. This argument is misleading in that it focuses on passion as a general phenomenon and ignores the particulars of Ph.'s case—adultery with her step-son—and it is somewhat sophistic in trying to argue now for the position opposite from her earlier one. The argument falls into several sections: 1) excuse for her initial response (433-6); 2) passion is nothing unusual and nothing to die for (437-42); 3) the power of Aph. is great and universal and is not sensibly opposed (443-50); 4) examples from the gods demonstrate this (451-61); 5) sensible mortals also accept and endure passions and infidelities (462-72); 6) Ph. should therefore not oppose the goddess and should yield to her passion and take advantage of the Nurse's help (473-81). The Nurse's argument, but not her fundamental attitude and values, have changed, as she seeks only to keep Ph. from death, ignoring Ph.'s concern for honor and right action; her pragmatism sets Ph.'s moral posture in relief. Because Ph. has expressed her views in terms of not seeming—or being seen doing—bad (see esp. 403-4n.), the Nurse is able to exploit this and say that the wise course is for mortals not to see what is not good (esp. 462-3, 465-6). In her speech, although she does not reply point for point to Ph.'s, there are several echoes of it (see 465-6n., 467-9n., 471-2n.). Ph.'s emphasis on reason and intellection (see 373-430n.) is met by the Nurse's appeal to good sense and wisdom (see 435-6, 437, 462, 465, and, implicitly, 473).
- 433-6. The Nurse's tone from the first is deferential: she calls Ph. δέσποινα (lady), not the affectionate and mildly condescending "child" (as at 288, 340, 353). **situation:** by using συμφορά, which can have a neutral sense, and by blaming her initial reaction on her own fear and foolishness, the Nurse diminishes the gravity of Ph.'s circumstances. This last point is underscored by the contrast between foolish (φαῦλος) and wiser (σοφώτεροι). (On this contrast, which Eur. makes elsewhere, see Dodds on *Bacch.* 430-3.) On such "second thoughts", see B. Knox, (1979), 231-49. In this play, second thoughts are either, as here, destructive, or, as in the case of Th., too late.
437. **nothing . . . unaccountable:** οὐδὲν . . . ἔξω λόγου (lit. "nothing beyond speech, reason") is ambiguous. On the one hand it means that Ph.'s passion can be understood, while it also might suggest that it is within the power of (the Nurse's) speech to manipulate Ph. in her attempts to cure her. (See Goldhill, 127-8.) This phrase also answers the Nurse's earlier anxiety about Ph.'s speech (342, 353).



438. **the anger of the goddess:** as at 241 (see n. there), the divine is held responsible for hard-to-explain human behavior or feelings. More specifically, Ph.'s sickness, the Nurse alleges, is caused by Aph.'s anger at her for fighting her passion (444-6). **struck:** κηήπτω in its simple and compound forms (here ἀποκκήπτω) is used elsewhere of harmful divine visitations; cf. 1418 (κατακκήπτω used intransitively), and *Med.* 1333, Aesch., *Pers.* 740, *Ag.* 366, *Eum.* 801 (the simple verb and compound used transitively).
439. A commonplace of love; see Sandbach on *Men.*, *Sam.* 22-3. **what's remarkable about that?:** the parenthetical τί τοῦτο θαῦμα has a colloquial ring to it (see Stevens, 31, on the simple τί τοῦτο), and an alliteration of "t" sounds. For a question used to dismiss another's concerns, cf. 490 and see Mastronarde (1979), 13-4. **along with many mortals:** a variation on the formulaic "not to you alone" of consolation, on which see Kannicht on *Hel.* 464.
440. **your life:** ψυχή is the "regular word for 'life at risk'" (West on *Or.* 644).
441. **There is [no] advantage:** λύει is here the equivalent of λυσιτελεῖ; see *LSJ* s.v. λύω V.2.
445. An echo of the goddess' own words in her prologue speech (6).
446. **you can't imagine:** parenthetical πῶς δοκεῖς; is colloquial (see Stevens, 39) and is not found in Aesch. or Soph.
- 447-50. The Nurse suggests the extensiveness of Aph.'s power by referring to the three basic realms—air (447), water (447-8), and earth (450). Enumerations of her powers go back, appropriately, to the *III Aph.* 2-5 and in tragedy are found at 1276ff., *F* 898, Aesch., *F* 44, Soph., *Ant.* 781ff., and *F* 941.9ff.
- 447-8. Perhaps an echo of 148-50 (of Artemis).
- 451-61. The Nurse now employs mythological examples to support her case, using them as an *a fortiori* argument: the gods do x; you, a mortal, should do x, too. Very similar to the argument presented here is *III F* 1314ff. (on the differences, see Halleran, *CA* 5 [1986], 174 n.12). Cf. also *Tro.* 948-50 and, for comic purposes, Aristoph., *Clouds* 1079-82. (On Eros' effect on the gods, see Soph., *F* 684.) The comparison with divine behavior recalls that the play has already suggested that the two realms, divine and mortal, are in various ways comparable (see, e.g., 5-8, 96-7, and 7-8n.). In each of the two examples which the Nurse chooses, Zeus' passion for Semele and Eos' for Cephalus, a divinity desires a mortal with (ultimately) painful consequences for the mortal. The sorry outcome for mortals in these tales might ironically suggest that the two realms are not, after all, comparable. On the examples here, see Goff, 91, and in general on mythological examples in Greek tragedy, R. Oehler, *Mythologische Exempla in der älteren griechischen Dichtung* (diss. Basel 1925), 78-111, and Friis Johansen, 50-3, and in Eur., R. Eisner, *Arctusa* 12 (1979), 153-74.
- 451-2. **writings of the ancients:** γραφαί (writings) could refer to either "writings" or "(vase) paintings". With most editors, I prefer "writings",

- even though this would be the only time in tragedy that the word refers to literature. For the case for "paintings", see P. E. Easterling, *JHS* 105 (1985), 6 n.26, who accepts it, and Barrett, ad loc., who rejects it. The Nurse's reference to literary texts is, of course, anachronistic; on anachronisms in Greek tragedy, see Easterling, 1-10. **engaged in poetry:** lit. "among the Muses", ἐν μουσῶν refers by metonymy to poetry. The two verses are near equivalents, but the latter suggests a more intense involvement in poetry. For the view that those who *write* poetry are meant, see Sommerstein, 28-30.
- 453-8. **they know how once:** the phrase ἴσασι . . . ποτε, repeated at 454, seems to be a variant of the common narrative formula φαί . . . ποτε ("they say that once"), which often introduced examples and moral tales; on the latter phrase, see Fraenkel on Aesch., *Ag.* 1040. As Fraenkel goes on to observe, the verb τλάω ("endure") was another common feature of certain types of moral tales; in this connection note the etymologically related τόλμα (**endure**) at 476 and ἐτέργουσι (**they put up with**) at 458. The tone conveyed by this formula might suggest a heroic quality to the course of action suggested by the Nurse.
- 453-4. On Zeus' passion for Semele, see 555-64n.
- 454-6. The youth carried off by the Dawn was known also as Tithonus, Clitus and Orion. His aged state (he obtained immortality, not eternal youth) and daily abandonment by the Dawn were basic to the myth.
- 456-8. Cf. *III F* 1318-9. **dwell . . . gods:** since the gods cannot commit suicide, self-imposed exile is the nearest equivalent. **misfortune:** echoes the same word (συμφορά) used of Ph.'s circumstances at 433, although there it probably has a more neutral nuance ("situation").
- 459-61. The Nurse turns from her examples to Ph.: she, too, should be willing to behave as the gods do (cf. *III F* 1320-1). Her specific argument—that Ph.'s father ought to have begotten her under special conditions or under the rule of other gods (a gentle reminder that the gods *are* our rulers)—is meant by its absurdity to persuade Ph. of the wrongness and folly of her intended suicide. Cf. Medea's equally "absurd" argument about Jason and the gods at *Med.* 493ff. **put up with:** ἐτέρξεις echoes ἐτέργουσιν (of the gods) at 458.
- 462-3. The first example from mortal behavior—acceptance of infidelity—is sharply counter to Ph.'s view on the matter, which assumes deception in infidelity is as necessary as it is wrong. **very sensible:** here and at 465 the Nurse appeals to sense and intelligence in her argument. On the gen. φρενῶν, see *LSJ* s.v. ἔχω B.II.2.b; on the μή with the infinitive where one would expect οὐ, see Fraenkel on Aesch., *Ag.* 753.
- 464-5. The second example—fathers helping sons with their amorous adventures—contrasts ironically and tragically with the events of the play, where the father will invoke death upon his son. **help to bear:** the verb συνεκκομίζω is first found in Eur.; cf. *El.* 73, *Or.* 685, and συνεκφέρω at *F* 339.1. **passion:** lit. "Cypris"; see 400-2n. Note the alliteration of p's at the start of 464.



- 465-6. The Nurse takes Ph.'s words of 403, μήτε λαυθάνειν καλά ("[may I] neither be unnoticed [when I do] good things"), and uses them to her advantage—λαυθάνειν τὰ μὴ καλά (what isn't good goes unnoticed). Ph. had made clear that she wanted no part of wrongdoing; the Nurse echoes and alters her words to argue that the ignoring of misconduct is a wise principle.
- 467-9. That life should not be too exacting recalls the Nurse's words at 261ff.; there too (265) she claimed that the wise shared her view. The verb ἐκπρονεῖν (to perfect, 467) echoes Ph.'s use of the word at 381: Ph. said that we do not "toil to accomplish" what is good; the Nurse says we should not try to perfect our lives. In her speech, Ph. imagined that the house might take voice against adulterers; now the Nurse uses the house in an analogy. The roof of a house would not generally be seen, so there is no need to make it perfect, the Nurse argues. (For problems in the text and other interpretations of this architectural analogy, see Barrett ad loc.) Although this precise image is not found elsewhere in tragedy, architectural metaphors are common; cf. *Cretans*, F 472.6-8 and see Kurtz, 546-53. See Goff, 9, for possible connections between the house and Ph. implicit in 465-9.
- 469-70. A variation on the common "sea of troubles" metaphor, for which cf. 822-3 (very similar, Th. of his own situation); elsewhere *Supp.* 824, *IIF* 1087, *Ion* 927ff., Aesch., *Pers.* 433, *Supp.* 470, Soph., *OC* 1746 (elliptical), *PV* 746. Ph.'s troubles, which are caused by Aph., are imagined as being as overwhelming and inescapable as the sea, which in the play is repeatedly associated with Aph.; cf. 448 and see 415n.
- 471-2. This maxim reflects a commonly expressed pessimistic view: cf., e.g., Hom., *Il.* 24.527ff., *Supp.* 196ff., Soph., F 410, and Pl., *Rep.* 379c. And this is a more explicit expression of a general pessimism found in many Greek texts (see examples collected by Collard on *Supp.* 196b-7), including this play at 189-90, 207. The Nurse's words, with their reference to the good (χρηστὰ), here in a material sense, echo and respond to Ph.'s assertion at 380 that we know the good. The implied contrast with the gods (being human) continues the Nurse's argument from the divine situation and leads up to the Nurse's assertion and definition of Ph.'s *hubris* (474-5).
473. Come on: ἀλλά indicates the break from argument to imperative; see *GP*, 14-5. The Nurse implicitly defines "bad thinking" as Ph.'s plans for suicide, challenging again Ph.'s assumptions about our knowledge. For the imperfective imperat. here, followed by the aor. (of the same verb) at 474, see 243n.
475. For not yielding to passion as the equivalent of wishing to be greater than the gods, cf. Helen's words at *Tro.* 948-50.
477. bring an end to: κατατρέφω can mean both "bring to an end" (*LSJ* IV) and, in the mid., typically "subdue" (*LSJ* II.2). These two senses create an ambiguity, as "subdue" corresponds to Ph.'s attempts at combating her passion (398-9), and "bring to an end" (i.e., "satisfy") matches the Nurse's plans. See Gill, 100 n.26.

- 478-9. Further ambiguous words: in context, after the Nurse's plea for Ph. to yield to her passion, they would suggest first an aphrodisiac magic to obtain the compliance of the virgin Hipp., but the words are vague and could also be taken by Ph. to refer to some antaphrodisiac spell. See 509-12n. incantations: cf. Theoc. 2.91 and Xen., *Mem.* 2.6.10.
- 480-1. Women's resourcefulness at discovering contrivances was proverbial and often referred to; cf. 294 and, more pointedly, *IT* 1032 and *And.* 85 and see Stevens ad loc. Maxims commonly end speeches; see Collard on *Supp.* 40-1, and Friis Johansen, 151-9.
- 482-5. The chorus leader, acting, as often, like a judge of a contest, issues a split decision. The two verbs of the first couplet—speaks (λέγει) and praise (αἰνῶ)—are echoed in reverse order in the second—praise (αἶνος) and words (λόγων). more helpfully: χρησιμώτερα is etymologically related to τὰ χρηστὰ ("what's good") of 380 and 471.
- 486-524. In the ensuing dialogue, which culminates in *stichomythia*, the Nurse finally persuades Ph. to let her try to remedy Ph.'s illness. Since tragedy thrives on deceptions and misunderstandings, rather than on whole lies, the Nurse, while planning to approach Hipp., continues to employ ambiguous phrases to persuade Ph. to go along with her. These ambiguities allow Eur. to portray Ph. as no party to the Nurse's revelation to Hipp., while heightening the suspense.
- 486-7. Expressions of contempt for or suspicion of the power of words are commonplace in Eur., a reflection in part of the reaction against the growing success of the skilled public speakers in contemporary Athens; cf., e.g., 503-6, *Med.* 316-7, 576-8, *Hipp. I*, F 439, F 56, 189, 253, 528, and 583. On the destructive power of speech in the play, see *Intro.*, 42-3.
- 488-9. good repute: see 47-8n.
- 490-1a. Why this lofty speech?: σεμνομυθέω is rare, appearing only here and at *And.* 234 in archaic and classical literature; it may be a Eur. coinage.
- 491b-2. The words are ambiguous. They seem, esp. after 478-9, to refer first to talking frankly (εὐθὺν λόγον responding to λόγων εἰς χρημόνων of 490) about Ph.'s situation (see Wilamowitz and Barrett ad loc. for this interpretation). But after hearing the immediately preceding 490-1, and aware of the earlier version of the play, in which Ph. confronted Hipp. directly, the audience might well attach a further meaning to these words—a revelation to Hipp. we must understand things clearly: the mss. are split between διοικτέον, and διοικτέον ("one must bear through?"); sense decides clearly for the former.
494. chaste: i.e., if Ph. did not have such desires (the μέν and δέ clauses linking two aspects of the same situation), but *sophron* suggests "sensible" as well. At 358 the Nurse implicitly included Ph. among those who are *sophron*.
495. sexual pleasure: hendiadys, lit. "for the sake of your bed and your pleasure".



496. **leading you on:** προῆγον (Scaliger's conjecture) makes a more apt rhetorical point (the extent of the Nurse's efforts) than προσῆγον ("leading you to [this]") of the mss.; see *LSJ* s.v. προάγω I.4.
- 498-9. Ph. emphasizes speech (spoken, mouth, and words) and concealment (shut).
- 500-2. Two contrasts structure these lines: between disgraceful and fine and between deed and name. The Nurse, picking up on Ph.'s "such disgraceful words", argues that, although disgraceful, these things (words—and their recommended actions) are better than the fine ones (Ph.'s moralizing). The second opposition is a variation on the common one of "deed" (ἔργον), here vague, referring to Ph. satisfying her desire or, with the scholiast, simply to her preservation, and "name" (ὄνομα or elsewhere λόγος or μῦθος), meaning Ph.'s concern for her reputation. With this commonplace opposition, the Nurse hints that Ph.'s concern for her reputation is insignificant, while the vagueness of the word "deed" allows her to avoid any specific mention of what she has in mind.
501. **if:** εἴπερ implies confidence, not doubt; see 98n.
502. **exult:** γαυρόομαι is first found in Eur., who uses it 10x, and the related γαυριάω once.
- 503-6. Ph. repeats the Nurse's paradox, expressing twice (503, 505) her fear of disgraceful things spoken well. See 486-7n. **Ah!:** The interjection ἄ (restored by Weil's conjecture) followed by Ph.'s appeal to the gods and a prohibition show her desperation. See Barrett ad loc., and in general on ἄ, Dodds on *Bacch.* 810-12. **my soul is well tilled by passion:** the metaphor in ὑπεργάζομαι (in tragedy only here and at *Med.* 871) suggests that Ph. is like ground that has been well tilled and (Ph. fears) consequently ready to receive the Nurse's plans. **I will be consumed:** ἀναλίσκω is used with the preposition εἰς (and πρός) of objects "consumed" on something, but nowhere else is this idiom used of persons; the bold application of it to Ph. suggests that she sees herself as a commodity (see 616-7n.).
- 507-8. **Fine, if this seems best to you:** the phrase εἰ . . . δοκεῖ σοι indicates compliance (see Barrett ad loc.)—or at least token compliance (Fitton, 21), as the Nurse does not actually intend to go along with Ph.'s wishes. I accept (in its essentials) Barrett's interpretation and prefer his punctuation—ellipsis points after σοι. The apodosis to the "if" clause of 507, from which the infin. would be supplied in the εἰ δοκεῖ σοι construction is never expressed; rather the Nurse offers Ph. an alternative which, because of the opening phrase of compliance, would seem to accord with Ph.'s wishes. The Nurse says in essence, "Okay, I'll respect your wishes; you shouldn't be in this situation, but since you are, listen to me—this is next best." The particle τοι in the opening phrase may well suggest impatience ("let's get on with it"; thus Fitton, 21), one of its many nuances. The Nurse reveals her impatience also at 517 and 521.
- obey me:** a paradox as at the moment of the Nurse's (feigned) compliance, she insists on Ph.'s compliance. Cf. Aesch., *Ag.* 943, and, for an explicit

- statement of the paradox, *Soph.*, *Aj.* 1353. **the favor is second best:** a very cryptic phrase; in context it can suggest that the "favor" of compliance with the Nurse's plan is second either to not being in love with Hipp. at all or to satisfying her passion. But since χάρις (favor) often possesses erotic connotations (*LSJ* III.b.2 and IV), it is possible that with this word the Nurse refers to Ph. satisfying her passion as the pian (and thereby saving her life), which is second best to not being in love at all.
- 509-12. **enchantments for passion:** the phrase θελεκτήρια ἔρωτος could mean "enchantments to induce passion (in Hipp.);" or "enchantments to drive away passion (from Ph.);" (cf. Aesch., *Supp.* 447, *Cho.* 670-1, and Eng. "medicines for colds"); see 478-9n. **without disgrace:** also ambiguous, referring to either Ph.'s standards (nothing done against her sense of *sophrosune*) or the Nurse's (nothing known by others). **if you don't become cowardly:** the Nurse couches her recommended behavior in terms of heroic action, as she does again at 519; see 453-8n. For this sense of κακός, cf., e.g., *Med.* 264 and see *LSJ* A.I.3.
- 513-5. **join together one delight from two:** a final ambiguity in the Nurse's brief speech. **delight:** χάρις can, but need not, refer to erotic pleasure (see 507-8n.), and "two" ostensibly refers to the token and the charm, but Ph. and Hipp. also, obviously, come to mind. I accept Reiske's emendation πλόκον (lock of hair) for the mss. λόγον ("word") or λόγων ("of words"); for a defense of the reading λόγον, see Fitton, 28-9. For the necessity of some physical token from the beloved to effect the magic, see Gow on *Theoc.* 2.53.
- 516-20. What this brief *stichomythia* suggests Ph. imagines of the Nurse's plans has been variously explained: Ph. knows what the Nurse plans to do (Winnington-Ingram, 180); Ph. has some suspicion (Wilamowitz, 210); Ph. believes the Nurse's assurance (Barrett ad loc.). But amidst the careful ambiguities of this scene it is impossible to know exactly what we are to imagine Ph. knows or does not know. She simultaneously expresses her fear that the Nurse will tell her secret to Hipp. and permits the Nurse to go on with her plan. Like the spectators, Ph. wonders what the Nurse will do, but, unlike them, she does not know that Aph. plans her death. On this *stichomythia*, see Schwinge, 75-6.
516. Ph. presumably thinks the Nurse is talking about an antaphrodisiac: a remedy applied to herself would be unlikely to be an aphrodisiac for Hipp.; see, however, for an alternative view, Fitton, 21.
517. **I don't know** is at face value an absurd reply to the question; it could reflect the Nurse's duplicity, her impatience or both.
520. Ph.'s response is only loosely connected to 519: μή introduces a subj. of prohibition, with μοι as ethical dat. (please); alternatively, following 519, μή could be construed as introducing a fear-clause, with μοι serving as dat. of disadvantage.
- 521-4. Prayers are often found at the end of a scene or at other important junctures; see Mikalson (1989), 85 with bibl. at n.24, and on this prayer, 91.



521. **I'll arrange these things well:** the phrase ἐγὼ καλῶς θήσω is a formula of reassurance also at *Ilec.* 875, *Or.* 1664, *IA* 401 (all at verse-end), and cf. *El.* 648. It is echoed by Ph. at 709.
- 522-4. It would be very odd if Ph. were to hear the Nurse's concluding prayer to Aph. With Bain (1977), 28-9, I would suggest that by turning away from Ph. and addressing the statue on her way into the palace (*skene*), the Nurse effectively breaks off contact and her words are, by convention, not heard by Ph.; see also Mastronarde (1979), 30 n.48, who compares *IT* 639-42. These cases are related to the more common convention by which characters departing into the *skene* do not hear words spoken "at their back"; see Bain (1977), 34 n.4, and Taplin (1977), 221-2. The prayer is dramatically appropriate and pathetic. Aph. is the cause of Ph.'s illness and the goddess in whose realm the Nurse plans to operate by approaching Hipp. She will not serve as an accomplice of the Nurse's plan, but rather uses the Nurse to accomplish her own. The prayer also serves as an introduction to the following song on the power of Eros and Aph.
522. **mistress from the sea:** see 415n.
523. **accomplice:** cf. Sappho, fr. 1.28, Aph. invoked as a εὐμμάχος ("ally").
524. **friends:** the pl. masc. could refer to women, men, or Hipp. alone, but in context it seems like an unspecified, if obvious, reference to Hipp. On the use of *philos* here, cf. 319 and see 613-4n. and 728-31n. For the Nurse as a go-between in tragedy, see *Sthen.*, F 661.11 and Collard in his *Introduction* to the play (83); cf. also Lys. 1.8 for this situation in "real life".
- 525-64. **The First Stasimon.** The chorus now have their first full opportunity to reflect in lyric mode on the events they have witnessed. The song occurs at a crucial juncture in the play, immediately after the Nurse's ambiguously worded plan to cure her mistress' sickness and immediately before the disclosure that she has revealed Ph.'s passion to Hipp. While the chorus are singing about the destructive power of Eros, the Nurse, we learn later, is revealing Ph.'s secret to Hipp., and Ph., it seems (see 575), waits anxiously at the *skene* door. Structurally the song of four stanzas forms two clearly defined and clearly linked halves (with a strong sense pause after each stanza): first, a general description of Eros' power, then two examples to illustrate the ruinous force of Aph.—Heracles' passion for Iole destroying her native city, Oechalia, and Zeus' for Semele bringing about her fiery death. (On this choral structure, see Kranz, 196.) The first strophic pair, with its martial metaphors and images of violence, expresses Eros' power and potential for violence, while offering a cautionary tale: Eros, who can bring destruction, is foolishly ignored in ritual. We have already seen Hipp. refuse to honor another powerful god of passion, Aph., Eros' mother. The examples of the second strophic pair demand interpretation: what connection do they have with the dramatic action? On one level, these stories, describing the ruinous effects of passion, parallel Ph.'s own story, since passion leads to her ruin, albeit in a different way. It also, indirectly, causes the death of Hipp. and the devastation of Th. as well. More particularly,

- as explained in the notes (see esp. 553n. and 558-62n.), these stories are narrated in terms which suggest a perversion of contemporary marriage rituals, inviting one to view this perversion as the cause of the destruction. See, more fully, *Intro.*, 47-8. Other choral songs in tragedy proclaim the power of Eros and/or Aph.; cf. 1268-82, Soph., *Ant.* 781ff. and *Trach.* 497ff.
- 525-34. The opening of the song takes its form from cult hymns (see Kranz, 187-8), and has all the standard characteristics of that genre: invocation of the god, description of the god's power, and a request to the god. See 61-71n. The description of Eros is traditional; see notes below.
525. For the repeated vocative of this god's name, followed by a descriptive phrase, cf. *Tro.* 841-2 and Soph., *Ant.* 781ff. **down into the eyes:** the eyes were commonly described as both the site of erotic desire (see, e.g., Aesch., *Ag.* 418-9, *PV* 654, 902-3, Soph., *Trach.* 107, *Ant.* 795), and the source of infatuation, sending forth shafts (see, e.g., Aesch. *Supp.* 1003, *Ag.* 742, Soph., F 157, 474, and A. Pearson, *CR* 23 [1909], 256-7); for further references and bibl., see West on Hes., *Theog.* 910. **drip:** the semantically related (κατ)εἶβω is used of desire at Hes., *Theog.* 910, Alcman, fr. 59(a).2.
527. **those you war against:** the military metaphor here and those in "shaft" (530) and "destroys" (541) reflect the common image of Eros as a warrior or fighter; cf., e.g., Soph., *Ant.* 781, Soph., F 684, and Anacreon, fr. 396.2. The paradox of Eros bringing "sweet delight" to those he "wars against" conforms to the traditional view of Eros as bittersweet; see 348n. For the lack of ἄν with the generalizing subj. ἐπιτραπέυει, see *GMT*, §540.
- 528-9. Unlike the much more common prayer for a god to appear or simply to accomplish something from afar, this one is that the god *not* come under certain conditions, a variation on the ἀποπομπή; cf., e.g., *Alc.* 976-7, Soph., *Trach.* 303-4, and see Fraenkel on Aesch., *Ag.* 1573. Prayers for passion in moderation are found also at *Med.* 627-37, *IA* 542ff, esp. 554ff., and cf. F 503, in all of which cases *sophrosune* is hoped for; cf. also *Ilec.* 1105-6. **out of measure:** the metaphor in ἄρρυθμος is from music and uncommon (unique in tragedy and see *LSJ* II); cf. Padel (1992), 126-7.
- 530-4. **shaft of fire:** the contextual connection with stars would seem to suggest the sun or lightning (thus, e.g., Wilamowitz), although it might refer simply to the light produced from fire. Beams of light as weapons create an image that goes back to Homer (cf., e.g., *Od.* 5.479) and is found with some frequency in tragedy (see examples in Diggle on *Pha.* 3, of sunlight). The shafts of love sometimes belong to and/or are shot by Aph. (e.g., *Med.* 632-5, Pind., *Pyth.* 4.213) or Eros (e.g., *Med.* 530-1, *IA* 548-9); here Eros shoots Aph.'s. The subject of this sentence is held back until the end, the end also of the stanza, a mild example of the practice of postponing the name of a god until the end of a long colon or entire stanza; cf. the placement of Κύπρις at 553 and see examples (and bibl.) in Kannicht on *Ilec.* 1117-21. Zeus as Eros' father, making the god that much more impressive, may be Eur.'s invention (it is first found here), an invention made possible because he had no fixed father (Uranus,



Ares, and Zephyrus are among those named as his father by different authors). Aph., whose shafts Eros sends forth, is in most accounts his mother, and she will be the focus of the second half of the song. On the construction of οἶος after the comparative ὑπέρτερον, see K.-G., II.304.5.

- 535-44. A central contrast provides the rhetorical structure for this stanza: Greece appeases Zeus and Apollo by the (controlled) violence of ritual (slaughter of oxen), while Eros, who causes violence whenever he comes, is not worshipped. The phrase οὐ σεβίζομεν (we do not venerate) serves as the pivot for the stanza, repeating in negative form the central idea of its opening and governing the three preceding and two following lines. It also echoes Aph.'s words about the vengeance she will exact from Hipp. because he neglects her worship (12-4). Strophic respersions help to join the song's first two stanzas together: the antistrophe's opening anaphoric ἄλλως ἄλλως (in vain, in vain) matches and rhymes with the opening Ἔρωε Ἔρωε ("Eros, Eros") of the strophe; ἰέντα (sends, 541) corresponds with ἴηεν ("sends", 531); and, although it does not involve any metrical respersion, ἔλθῃ ([whenever] he comes, 544) echoes ἔλθοις ("may you come", 529).
- 535-7. Alpheus: a large river which flowed through Olympia, the site of the Olympic games and one of Zeus' chief shrines. Pythian home of Phoebus: Delphi, the main site of the worship of (Phoebus) Apollo. The antistrophe is a syllable short at 537; Hermann's supplement <αῖ> (<land>) is virtually certain, the loss caused by a type of haplography.
538. tyrant: for Eros τύραννος, see F 136.1 and cf. F 269.
540. inner chambers: θάλαμοι suggests, esp. in this context, its sense "bridal chamber"; see *LSJ* I.2.a.
541. destroys mortals and sends them: Dobree's conjecture ἰέντα . . . θνατοῦς for ἰόντα . . . θνατοῖς provides better sense as well as the correspondence with 531 (see 535-44n.). See, however, the reservations of Stinton in Lloyd-Jones (1965=1990), 428.
544. whenever he comes: whereas in the strophe the chorus pray that Eros not come to their harm, here his negative power is no longer qualified: he brings destruction whenever he comes. Nor is he any longer addressed; the second-person forms of the strophe do not recur.
- 545-54. The stanza relates the first of the two examples, Heracles' passion for Iole (unidentified by name, but clearly indicated by the narrative details), culminating in the destruction of her city, Oechalia. According to Apollodorus (2.6.1), Heracles sacked the city of Oechalia because Iole's father, Eurytus, refused to give her to him in marriage after he was the victor in an archery contest; see also Soph., *Trach.*, esp. 351-68. The lines resonate with wedding terms (see 546-7n., 553n., 554n.).
- 546-7. filly: πῶλος is commonly used of unmarried young women and, less frequently, young men. unyoked: the image of yoking is frequently applied to a man's marrying a woman, and to other sexual unions too; cf. 549. For further examples and other images the Greeks employed for marriage, see

- Halloran (1991), 113, n.27. On associations in the play between the yoke of marriage and the yoke of death, see K. Reckford, *TAPA* 103 (1972), 419-21. The associations of λέκτρων (in marriage), ἀνάνδρον (with no man) and ἀνυμφον (with no wedding) are obvious and significant in their clustering. For the tricolon of privative adjs., see further examples in Kannicht on *IHel.* 1148 and Breitenbach, 226-7.
549. from Eurytus' house: ἄπ' Εὐρυτίων is Buttman's conjecture for ἀπειρεσίαν. This meaningless reading of the mss. has also been emended and interpreted as ἄπ' ἐρείςαι, the preposition ἄπ' joined, with anastrophe, to ζεύξαι, the phrase referring to the subsequent sailing to Trachis. Although trips by sea are associated with "wedding trips" (see 752-3n.), here the action of Aph. in bringing Iole and Heracles together, not the couple's "getaway", is described; see further Barrett ad loc.
- 550-1. For the comparisons, cf. *IHel.* 543 and see Kannicht ad loc.
552. Diggle rightly adopts Barrett's conjecture φονίσις νυμφείσις (in a bloody wedding), for φονίσις τ' ὑμεναίσις of most mss.; see Barrett ad loc.
553. Cypris gave her away in marriage: subj. and verb are emphasized by being held off until the end of the long sentence; see 530-4n. The verb ἐκδίδωμι is the *vox propria* for the *kurios*, the properly empowered male, giving the bride to the groom. Strikingly Cypris, not Eurytus, her father, gave Iole in marriage. While Aph. commonly is found in art and literature in attendance at weddings, it is extraordinary to have her take on this role (see 558-62n.). Eur.'s use of this word, the climax of the many wedding terms in this strophe, suggests a transgression in the wedding ritual; this "wedding" led to the destruction of Oechalia, and, ultimately, of Heracles himself.
554. O wretched in your wedding!: a feature of the wedding songs was the *makarismos*, the declaration of happiness for the bride and groom. In Eur. it is alluded to at *Alc.* 918-9, *And.* 1218, *Supp.* 995-9, *IHel.* 639-40, *IA* 1076-9, *Pha.* 240-4, and *Tro.* 308ff., a parody of the convention; for some non-tragic examples see Diggle on *Pha.* 240. Here, at the end of Iole's perverted "wedding", the chorus's words might be construed as an inverted *makarismos*.
- 555-64. The second example, which was already used, with a different interpretation and for a different purpose by the Nurse at 451-9, is Semele's death from the force of Zeus as thunderbolt. Hera, angered at Zeus' infidelity with the Theban Semele, convinced her to ask her (unidentified) lover to appear in his full glory—the thunderbolt, which caused her fiery death. This union, too, is here described, albeit less elaborately, in wedding terms. The story of a mortal destroyed by a union with an immortal recalls Hipp.'s and Art.'s relationship, esp. as described by Aph. (see 17n. and 19n.). As with the first strophic pair, there are verbal echoes in metrical respersions between strophe and antistrophe: βᾶκ-/χου (Bacchus, 560-1) matches βᾶκ-/χαν ("bacchant", 550-1), φονίωι (bloody, 562) corresponds to φονίσις ("bloody", 552), and, although



it does not involve the same word, *τοκάδα* (560) has the same word shape and vowel pattern as *δρομάδα* (550).

**555-7. Holy wall:** Thebes was renowned for its (seven-gated) wall as early Homer and the Epic Cycle. **Dirce:** one of the two rivers that ran through Thebes; according to the chorus in the *Bacch.* (519ff.), it received the embryonic Dionysus before he was sewn in Zeus' thigh. Segal (1965=1986), 183-4, suggests that the invocation of Thebes and its river hints at the threat Eros brings to civilization.

**558-62. flaming thunderbolt:** for the phrase cf. *Bacch.* 3. **giving in marriage:** the verb *νυμφεύω/-ομαι* (here Kirchoff's probable conjecture *νυμφευσάμενα* for *νυμφευσάμεναν* of the mss.) is used commonly of the one who makes a betrothal and of both the bride and groom getting married. Remarkably it is used here of Cypris' role in the "wedding" (see 553n.), another illicit union which met with disaster (in a bloody doom). Cf. *Pha.* 237, where, with Diggle's emendation, the verb is again used in this way of Aph. **brought her to sleep:** the verb *κατευνά(ζ)ω* lit. = "put to bed", and also refers metaphorically of the "sleep" of death; here both senses obtain.

**563-4.** The enigmatic comparison to the bee has multiple resonances, calling to mind the bee's sting (keeping up the images of violence which permeate the song); both its sting and its honey (which would subtly reinforce the image of Eros the bittersweet); a connection with Art. (see 77n.); and Hipp.'s description of his special garden (76-7). The image also suggests the changing objects of the goddess' attention, as now we turn from her destructive actions in the two examples to the ruin she brings to the play's characters. Ph.'s first word after silencing the chorus is *ἐξεργάσμεθα* ("We are destroyed", 565). See Padel (1992), 122.

**565-731. The Second Episode.** What is formally the second episode has three distinct sections, demarcated by the entrance and departure of Hipp. In the first scene (565-600), Ph., on-stage with the chorus, overhears the Nurse's revelations to Hipp. and concludes that she must die as quickly as possible. In the second (601-68), Hipp., emerging from the palace with the Nurse in close pursuit, expresses his contempt for Ph.—and the female race—and declares his own purity, while asserting in conclusion that he will keep his oath and return when Th. does. The third of the three scenes (669-731) involves Ph.'s recriminations against the Nurse and her exchange with the chorus leader as she goes off to her death.

**565-600.** This brief scene follows easily from the preceding song and prepares for Hipp. bursting onto the stage. The connection between the first *stasimon* and Ph. is emphasized formally by Ph.'s very unusual request for the chorus's silence immediately after a *stasimon* in order to hear what is going on within (cf. Soph., *El.* 1399; *HF* 1042ff. and *Or.* 140ff. are different) and by her immediately proclaiming her own ruin (565), just as the song depicted others ruined by passion. Ph.'s eavesdropping at the door presents a scene unparalleled in Greek tragedy. Whereas in *Hipp.* 1 Ph. approached Hipp. herself, in this drama

they have no direct contact, and the many miscommunications of the play are well expressed by Ph.'s only indirectly hearing Hipp.'s angry response. The scene also increases the suspense leading up to Hipp.'s entrance from the door where Ph. now stands. (On this scene, see Taplin [1978], 70-1.) Since a well established convention of the Attic stage kept the chorus from leaving the *orchestra* during the play, it is unremarkable that they decline Ph.'s request to join her at the *skene* door (575-6), and this refusal allows Ph. to relay to the chorus (and the audience) what is heard from within. As he does elsewhere, Eur. self-consciously draws attention to one of his genre's conventions (see R. Winnington-Ingram, *Arethusa* 2 [1969], 127-42, esp. 131), but this call to the chorus also serves to isolate Ph.—at this crucial point she alone hears the destructive words.

Another unusual practice highlights this scene, as the common pattern of amoeban exchange with alternating rhythms (commonly, as here, dochmiac and iambic) to indicate tension and to create contrast is employed with a twist. (For a survey of this pattern and its characteristics, see Kannicht on *Hel.* 625-99.) Unlike in other cases, it is not the main character Ph., but the chorus who deliver their lines, except for the opening and concluding ones (566, 568, 598), in lyric meter, while Ph., with the exception of 569, speaks in iambic trimeters. Ph., who has already decided on suicide, accepts her lot, knowing what she must do, but Eur. still is able to create excitement in this scene through the chorus leader's response to Ph.'s calamity. The chorus leader, not the entire chorus, most likely delivers these lines. The spoken trimeters of 566, 568, and 598 and the nature of the short, lively dochmiacs suggest this, although they do not establish it; see M. Kaimio, *The Chorus of Greek Drama within the Light of Person and Number Used*. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 46 (Helsinki 1970), 229.

**565.** Ph.'s first word is a command for silence, which, esp. at this important juncture, highlights the play's theme of speech and silence. The following exchange is permeated with references to silence, speech and the spoken word: 565, 567, 568, 571, 573, 576, 579, 580, 581, 583, 585, 586, 589, 590, 596.

**567.** On the syntax of the first person sing. subj. *ἐκμάθω*, following the imperat. *ἐπίσχετε*, see K.-G., I.219-20.

**568. prelude:** the metaphor in *φροίμιον*, derived ultimately from music, is common; see *LSJ* s.v. *φροίμιον* I.2. In Eur. it is typically found, as here, responding (in varying degrees of metaphorical usage) to some inauspicious word(s) of another speaker; cf. 881, *Hec.* 181, *HF* 538, 753, 1179, *Tro.* 712, 895, *Ion* 753, *Phoen.* 1336.

**574. rushes over your mind:** *φρένας* is governed by the verbal notion in *ἐπίστυτος*. 573-4 might echo Aesch., *Ag.* 1150-2 (see Fraenkel on Aesch., *Ag.* 1150); the adj. *ἐπίστυτος* (**rushes over**) appears in Greek only 3x in Aesch. and here in *Hipp.*

**576. falls within the house:** context makes this interpretation (**within**) of *ἐν δόμοις πίπτει* likely; see Barrett ad loc. for a different view.



- 577-8. **to convey the talk within the house:** I accept Barrett's interpretation (the adj. *πομπίμα*, lit. "conveying, conveyed", more broadly = "having to do with conveying"), but no close parallel can be cited.
583. The only time in the play that Ph. refers to Hipp. by name.
- 586-8. The conjectures *γεγώνει δ'* (Schroeder) for *γεγωνεῖν* and *οἷα* (anonymous) for *ὄπα(ι)* neatly restore sense to this passage. **has come, come:** the repetition of *ἔμολεν ἔμολέ* is characteristic of Eur. lyric (see Breitenbach, 214-21), here adding urgency to the chorus's words.
- 589-90. From this distich, as from Hipp.'s later words (549-52), it is evident that the Nurse has not simply explained Ph.'s situation, but proposed to Hipp. a sexual union with Ph.; see Kovacs (1987), 132 n.66. **clearly:** *καφῶς* picks up *καφέε* ("clear") of 585.
- 591-5. **You are betrayed:** the chorus leader takes up the word "betrayal", used of the Nurse's betrayal of her master's bed in Hipp.'s reported speech, and turns it around. The Nurse's betrayal of Ph. is emphasized by the verbal echo between the first and last lines of this short section: **you are betrayed, my dear** (*προδέδοται, φίλα*) and **betrayed by friends** (*πρόδοτος ἐκ φίλων*).
597. Ph. explicitly makes the connection between speech and her ruin, just as the chorus leader made it between revelation and her destruction (594). Ph. recognizes the Nurse's good intentions (as a friend, picking up "friends" of 595; cf. the Nurse's own defense at 698-701). The disease metaphor recurs here (trying to cure this disease) and again at 600 ("cure").
- 599-600. Ph. has already decided on death (see 401-2). Now, after the Nurse's ambiguously offered remedy has gone awry, she reverts to her earlier plan. It is important to remember that the revelation to Hipp., and his ensuing tirade, do not lead Ph. to commit suicide, but only to write her false letter. **I don't know, except one thing:** the phrase has a formulaic ring to it; it is found in Eur. also at *Supp.* 933, *El.* 627, 752, *HF* 1143, *Ion* 311 and also at Soph., *OT* 119, *OC* 1161. Aristoph. parodied it at *Peace* 228. This claim of ignorance might echo the Nurse's at 517.
- 601-68. Hipp. comes forth from the palace, with the Nurse close behind. After a short *stichomythia* (601-15) in which the Nurse tries to silence Hipp., referring to an oath he took within, Hipp. delivers a *rhesis* in which he denounces all women and explains how he will deal with Ph. in the future. Throughout this scene, where is Ph.? Although certainty here is impossible, with most scholars I favor her being on-stage, perhaps behind a leaf of the outward-opening *skene* door or a statue on-stage. The case for her departure (at 600) and later return, made most fully by Smith (see also Østerud, and Kovacs [1987], 54-60, esp. 54 and 60), is unpersuasive both formally (there is, *pace* Smith, no parallel for Ph.'s "exit to death" and return) and dramatically (the scene is weaker with no Ph.). The scene is esp. effective if Ph., having played unwittingly into the Nurse's scheme, is present, the indirect yet obvious target of Hipp.'s vicious attack. On this staging, see, e.g., Taplin (1978), 155-6, Mastronarde (1979),

- 81, and, with greater specificity about the stage movements, G. Ley and M. Ewans, *Ramus* 14 (1985), 75-7.
- 601-15. This short *stichomythia* expresses the Nurse's desperate and seemingly failed (but see 656-8 and Schwinge, 70-1) attempt to dissuade a shocked and disgusted Hipp. from revealing Ph.'s passion, which the Nurse revealed to him. In both the first and second episodes the Nurse attempts a supplication: the first (of Ph.) was for her to speak and was successful; the second (of Hipp.) is for him to be silent and is (apparently) unsuccessful.
- 601-2. With Hipp.'s address to the elements, cf., e.g., 672, *El.* 866, *Med.* 1251, and (element[s] and Zeus) *Med.* 148, *Phoen.* 1290, and see Collard on *Ilec.* 68. This appeal is particularly appropriate because Hipp. seeks the purity of the outdoors after what he thinks of as a violation within the palace (653-5); cf. *IT* 43. **sun-filled sky:** *ἡλίου . . . ἀναπτυχαί* lit. = "unfoldings of the sun", i.e., the wide expanse of a cloudless sky; for the metaphor, see *El.* 868, *Ion* 1445, and Soph., F 956 and cf. *Ion* 1516. (See also Mastronarde on *Phoen.* 84.) Hipp.'s horror at what he has heard is emphasized by four of the five words in 602 pertaining to speech and hearing, the tautological expression *λόγων . . . ὄπα* (words . . . uttered), and the mild paradox of *ἄρρητον* (unspeakable) *ὄπα* (uttered; lit. "utterance").
- 603-4. The two lines present a chiasmic structure: the Nurse says in essence, "(a) Silence before someone (b) hears you", while Hipp. replies, "I can't, when I've (b) heard such things, be (a) silent." The phrasing of 604 falls into three units of increasing length (two, four, and six syllables), and its word order, the phrase *ἀκούεας δειν' (α)* interrupting the construction *οὐκ ἔστι . . . ὄπως εἰγῆσομαι*, might suggest Hipp.'s agitation.
603. **child:** 5x in the seven lines of this *stichomythia* (also 609, 611, 613, 615) the Nurse addresses Hipp. as "child" (either *παῖ* or *τέκνον*), trying to lay claim to his sympathies, while her two lines which do not include this address (605 and 607) express her attempts at physical supplication.
605. The Nurse seeks to supplicate Hipp., attempting to establish contact first with his hand (here), then with his knees (607). (On supplication, see 324n., with references cited there.) The attempted supplication fails, as Hipp., it seems, does not tolerate her touch (606). (I assume, without explicit textual support, that her further attempt at 607 is equally unsuccessful.) **Yes:** *ναί* in entreaties to get someone to alter a refusal is colloquial Attic (Barrett ad loc.).
606. Hipp. refuses to be touched in order to avoid supplication by the Nurse; elsewhere Hipp. is described (by himself and others) as not being "touched" by sex and marriage (14, 1002, 1026).
607. **don't:** in three successive lines (607, 609, 611) the Nurse employs the emphatic adverb *μηδαμῶς / οὐδαμῶς*.
608. One of the Nurse's arguments to Ph. as she supplicated her to reveal her secret (cf. 329ff., esp. 332) is now used on her by Hipp. here and at 610. **Why do you say that:** on the elliptical use of *τί δέ*, see *GP*, 175(iv)a and Barrett ad loc.



611. The Nurse finally refers to the oath which she had Hipp. swear before she revealed Ph.'s passion to him (cf. 657). This oath is instrumental to the plot and to the characterization of Hipp. It provides the otherwise implausible reason why Hipp. does not denounce the seemingly wicked Nurse and Ph. to his father, and his keeping his oath despite the ruin this will bring helps us to evaluate his heroic standing.
612. Famous in antiquity, this line was parodied three times by Aristoph. (*Thest.* 275, *Frogs* 101-2, 1471; and cf. Arist., *Rhet.* 1416a). Later (656ff.) Hipp. will assert his willingness to abide by the oath, but this initial, powerful response to its mention suggests his anger and helps to create an uncertainty—will he or will he not keep his oath? These words also constitute one of many disjunctive expressions in the play; see 1034-5n. (See also Avery on this line and its thematic links within the play.) The fact that the chorus will hear from Hipp. what the Nurse proposed within (651ff.) does not seem to entail a violation of the oath; the Nurse's (and Ph.'s) concern is with Th. **unsworn**: ἀνώμοτος in Greek poetry only here and *Med.* 737.
- 613-4. **friends**: with the term *philos*, the Greeks included those we would call "friends" as well as family connections and anyone linked by bonds of reciprocal obligation. Although formally a pl., the word φίλοι here could refer to Ph., but the vague "friends" is rhetorically more effective. Having been rebuffed in her appeal to his oath, the Nurse entreats Hipp. implicitly on the basis of the standard code of Greek ethics of "help friends/harm enemies". (On this code, see Dover [1974], 180-4, Blundell, 26-59, and 728-31n. for Ph.'s adherence to it.) Hipp. replies by offering his own definition of a *philos*, which in his view excludes Ph. (and the Nurse) and their claim on his *philia*: no one who is unjust can be his *philos*. (See 997ff. for Hipp.'s view of his own treatment of friends.) **I spit this out**: the onomatopoeic ἀπέπτυσε' (α) is a "dramatic aorist"; see 278n. The Greeks imagined spitting as a way to avert an evil omen or anything undesired. Here Hipp. employs (only?) the word to express his disgust and contempt—someone such as Ph. (Hipp. never imagines that the Nurse could be acting on her own) could never be a *philos*.
615. For the sentiment, see 1433-4 and cf. Thuc. 3.40.1. Forgiveness forms a leitmotif in the play: Aph. ignores the servant's plea for forgiveness, Hipp. rejects the Nurse here but will listen to Art. and forgive his father later. See 1442-3n.
- 616-68. Breaking off the *stichomythia* with the Nurse, Hipp. launches into a *rhesis* on the evils of women. This long speech is couched (at least for the first thirty-five lines) as a soliloquy—only at 651 does Hipp. finally address the Nurse; and Ph., who is never addressed, though present (see 601-68n.), he mentions only once (662)—but it is in fact meant to be heard by the other characters on-stage. Instead of addressing his situation specifically, Hipp., in the fashion of many Eur. characters (see Barrett on 616ff.), initially makes only general statements, but in the course of the speech the details conform more and more to his own situation and finally (651ff.) he turns specifically to his present

- circumstances. He begins with a complaint to Zeus about the worthlessness of women (616-24), a contention he then seeks to demonstrate (626). Hipp. speaks in the first person for the first time in expressing his own hatred for the "clever" woman (641-2), which leads him to damn servants who can convey the messages of these evil women, a general complaint which he then applies specifically to the Nurse ("So you too", 651). Hipp. goes on to assert his own piety and to explain that he will in fact abide by his oath and return to observe things when Th. returns (656-62). The speech concludes with a final summary denunciation of women (664-8). (On the speech's structure, see Friis Johansen, 124-6.)
- Throughout the speech Hipp. describes women in terms of the "house" (623, 629, 630, 633, 639, 640, 645, 649 [a vexed line, but it locates women's scheming within the house]), emphasizing the threat to the male's property and *oikos* that a woman poses; see further Goff, 10-11. This speech also contains several economic images: the woman is imagined as a false coin (616-7) and a commodity exchanged between households, costly to the prosperity of each one (627-33); in Hipp.'s fantasy children are purchased at set prices in temples (620-2); and the Nurse's overtures are described as trafficking (652). The misogynist picture of a woman's sloth and costliness goes back as far as Hesiod (esp. *Theog.* 590-612, and see West on 602-12) and Semonides (esp. 7.46-56) and is found in the nearly contemporaneous Aristoph., *Clouds* 46ff.
- 616-24. Hipp.'s opening is remarkable but not without parallel; cf. *Med.* 573-5, and see *Cycl.* 186-7 for a mild send-up of this *topos*. For other bizarre utopian wishes, cf. 925-31, *Med.* 516-9, and *Supp.* 1080-1. Such wishes are the extreme form of a common Eur. practice of having characters suggest that the established order should be different. Hipp.'s fantasy is entirely in keeping with his character presented thus far in the play, as his total rejection of sex (13-14) extends, in his angry denunciation, to a desire that there be no women and no (procreative) sex at all. On utopian wishes in fifth-century Athens, see F. Solmsen, *Intellectual Experiments of the Greek Enlightenment* (Princeton 1975), 66-82, esp. 71-4.
- 616-7. **counterfeit**: κίβδηλος (only here, *Med.* 516, *El.* 550 and fr. adesp. 638.17 in tragedy) is a metaphor from coinage and fundamental to Hipp.'s argument. He implicitly compares women to currency and later in the speech imagines women as a commodity exchanged between households that brings ruin to the wealth of the house (633). His solution to the problem of the false coin of women is for men to procreate by paying a certain amount of (unadulterated) metal, thereby removing from procreation the untrustworthy and dangerous woman and establishing a reliable economic exchange between men and gods. On connections among female sexuality, currency, and language, see N. Rabinowitz, *Helios* 13 (1987), 127-40, and Goff, 45-6.
- 622-3. On this vexed passage I follow, as do Diggle and Stockert, Stinton (*JHS* 97 [1977], 141-2) in reading indefinite του, not the definite τοῦ, with a comma after τιμήματος. What is imagined is not, *pace* Barrett, a sliding scale of



- payment in which each gives according to his means, but each child being purchased at a certain price. The gens. are gens. of price, with the second phrase, τῆς ἀξίας ἕκαστον (each one for its price), standing in apposition to the first, του τιμήματος (at a valuation).
- 625-6. Bothe's deletion of these lines has won virtually universal acceptance. They are internally inconsistent with 628-9, since two incompatible customs (bride-price and dowry) are imagined, and they inelegantly interrupt the flow of the passage from general assertion to proof (627ff.). See further Barrett ad loc.
- 628-33. Father and husband are connected by the repeated verb προστίθημι (gives in addition, 628; when he adds on, 631).
- 630-3. **ruinous:** ἀτηρός elsewhere in Eur. only at *And.* 353 (also of women) and F 913.3. **creature:** φυτόν (commonly "plant"; also any "creature") is used contemptuously of women also at *Med.* 231, Theocletes, F 1a.2, Alexis, fr. 145.1., Men., *Mon.* 398 (Jaekel); cf. the comparable use of θρέμμα (lit. "something nourished") at, e.g., Aesch., *Th.* 182 and Soph., *El.* 622. **statue:** the metaphor in ἀγαλμα (631) is picked up in ἱδρυται ("set up", 639). **toils to deck her out:** an attempt to capture both the verb's root sense and its contextual meaning. **drains:** ὑπεξαίρέω can suggest "destroy secretly or gradually" (*LSJ* 1.2).
- 634-7. Most modern editors accept Barthold's deletion of these lines. They are most out of place in Hipp.'s speech, where the thrust of his attack is the worthlessness of all women, a rhetorical point spoiled by the observation that some are good spouses, as well as by the irrelevant mention of the in-laws. There are also several peculiarities in the Greek, most notably, as Barthold observed, ἔχει ἀνάγκην ὥστε + indic. Without these lines, the image of the statue is neatly continued at 639 (see 630-3n.). For a fuller discussion of these points and other oddities in the Greek, see Barrett ad loc.
- 638-9. The contrast in these lines is created by a type of *epanorthosis*, the speaker "correcting" himself. Hipp. begins by saying that the easiest, i.e., most tolerable, scenario is for one to have a **nothing** as a wife, but he then corrects this view (ἀλλά, but), claiming that even such a woman also is a **bane**. **harmful:** ἀνωφελής lit. means "useless", but this sense is ruled out here by the contrast announced in ἀλλά.
- 640-4. Hipp. now moves closer to what he thinks is the present situation—the clever wife. Ph. earlier expressed her fear of her Nurse being "too clever" (518). For the suspicion and hatred a clever woman might engender, cf. *Med.* 285, 303-5, and 319-20.
641. For the sentiment, cf. *Hclid.* 979.
- 642-4. **foolish wantonness:** μωρία, lit. "folly", here refers to sexual license; cf. 966, *And.* 674, *Ion* 545, *Tro.* 1059, *Ilel.* 1018. As Barrett ad loc. comments, the word denotes a "culpable lack of intelligence". Cf. Collard on *Sthen.*, F 661.5. The use of μωρία also creates the paradox of clever women committing folly, and the unintelligent incapable of it.

- 645-8. A further complaint against the order of the world (see 616-24n.) which bears even more directly on Hipp.'s own situation: women inside the house should not be visited by servants from outside lest messages be conveyed between them. For this notion, without the voiceless **savage beasts**, cf. *And.* 943ff., and see F 410 on the appropriate kind of servant for a woman, and Ph.'s own statement (395-7) about the untrustworthiness of the tongue. For the standard construction of a purpose clause with the imperf. (or aor.) indic. after an unreal statement, see *GMT*, §333-6.
- 649-50. **they devise evil plans within:** a contrast is made between the women's plans *within* and their servants carrying them *outside*, but the text of 649 is corrupt, since δρῶσιν βουλευματα ("do plans") is questionable Greek and does not provide the needed contrast with the servants' activity. Barrett, Diggle, and Stockert all employ daggers, but the emendation of Heiland *post* Wecklein, accepted by Méridier and Hadley and approved by Lloyd-Jones (1965=1990, 429), offers a solution, which I translate: for αἱ μὲν ἔνδον δρῶσιν read ἔνδον ἐννοοῦσιν. The offending "do" is thereby removed, while the essential contrast is preserved. ἐννοέω is found 9x in Eur., while the closest parallel in classical Greek for the sense "devise plans" is Pl., *Laws* 798b, although the phrase βουλεύω βουλευματα ("plan plans") is common enough (cf., e.g., *El.* 1011-2).
651. **evil one:** lit. "evil head"; the word κάρα ("head") in reference to persons commonly expresses affection (note esp. Soph., *Ant.* 1) or respect, but (in Eur.) at times contempt or hatred (see also, e.g., 1054, *Tro.* 1024, *Or.* 481).
652. **traffic:** picking up the commercial metaphor, developed in the opening of the speech; see 616-68n.
- 653-5. Water was commonly used in purification; see Parker, 226-7, and Frazer on Ovid, *Fasti* 2.45. For pollution from hearing, cf. Aesch., *Eum.* 448-50, *El.* 1292-4, *IT* 951, *Or.* 75-6, and *IIF* 1155-6 with Bond ad loc.
- 656-62. Hipp. will, in fact, keep the oath he threatened to break at 612, although his harsh words and promised return give reason for doubting this.
656. This verse contains six "s" sounds. Eur.'s fondness for (or indifference to) sigmatism was well known and parodied by his younger contemporary Plato comicus (fr. 29). For other examples, cf., e.g., 1167, *IT* 765, 1068, and, perhaps most famously, *Med.* 476. Here the repeated "s" sound might suggest his grudging admission that his piety, i.e., keeping his mouth shut, will save the Nurse. In general on this phenomenon, see D. Clayman, *TAPA* 117 (1987), 69-79.
- 659-62. **out of the country:** just as Th.'s absence was dramatically convenient in the first part of the play, so is Hipp.'s in the middle. He will stay away so long as Th. is gone, and then return to see how Ph. and the Nurse can face Th. **that mistress of yours:** the only direct reference to Ph. in the entire speech is effective after this silence about her, coming near the end of Hipp.'s speech, and with its contempt (see 113n. for this use of εός).



**663-8.** Are these lines interpolated? Herwerden suspected 663, and Barrett and Diggle rightly delete it. As it stands, it yields barely tolerable sense in context (**I will know that I have tasted your daring**) and is bathetic and awkward after 662 ends with the sneering reference to Ph. (For a full discussion, see Barrett ad loc.) Valckenacker questioned the authenticity of 664-8, and while no editor has excised these lines, Barrett in his commentary seems inclined to do so, and Kovacs, *GRBS* 29 (1988), 125, further urges their deletion. Arguments against 664-8, however, are inconclusive. (The most detailed arguments are made by Barthold on 664-8, who nonetheless prints the lines in his edition.) While it is true that 662 provides a neat exit line for Hipp. and that after what has preceded these lines might seem somewhat frigid, they fit in well thematically. (Others would argue that the thematic links are what led to "interpolation"; see, e.g., Diggle's *apparatus* on 664-8.) Ph.'s words at 730-1, which close the next scene, clearly echo these, which conclude this one. Cf. also 79f. and 920, both of which places concern the teaching of *sophrosune* (or good sense). The theme of speech and silence is also picked up in 664-5: Hipp.'s undying hatred of women will be marked by (excessive) speech. Although the general and the specific arguments against these lines are not unassailable, they do create unease about their authenticity. Willink, 30, offers a brief interpretative defense of them.

**664-5.** For the sentiment, cf. F 36.

**667.** The claim here is rhetorical: I'll stop abusing them, when they learn chastity, i.e., never.

**668. trample:** the metaphorical use of ἐπεμβάινω is found in tragedy also at Soph., *El.* 456 and 835.

**669-731.** With Hipp.'s departure, Ph. now reoccupies the central acting area and laments her plight. She reproaches the Nurse for ignoring her wishes, and, after swearing the chorus to secrecy (711ff.), hints baldly to them at what she plans to do and explains her motives. Ph., although she has heard Hipp.'s assertions of piety, has also heard his initial denial of his oath, his savage attack on women, and his threat to return and oversee her interactions with Th. That she chooses to prevent his (possible) denunciation of her is entirely plausible and well motivated by her keen interest in her good name. See Mastronarde (1979), 81, Erbse, 43 (with bibl.), and 728-31n.

**669-79.** Ph.'s lyric outburst corresponds metrically to the chorus's at 362-72. (See 362-72n. for this unusual strophic response.) In the strophe, the chorus leader responded to Ph.'s revelation of her passion to the Nurse; in the antistrophe, Ph. reacts to the Nurse's revelation of this secret to Hipp. The mss. are divided in their distribution of lines: while two mss. (A and B) give all these lines to Ph. (and this ascription is implied by the scholiast on 668 and perhaps also at 670), the majority, maybe confused by the fem. pl. participle in 671 (see Barrett ad loc.), assign 669-71 to the chorus and the remainder to Ph. While certainty is impossible, the lines seem to fit Ph. best (and see 679n. for the verbal ring in this stanza), and I follow the almost universal agreement of

editors in assigning the entire stanza to Ph. Arguments that, most unusually, a servant, the Nurse, sings these lines are found in Smith, 169-70, Østerud, and Kovacs (1987), esp. 134, n.80, but this distribution is necessary only for those who place Ph. off-stage for 601-68.

**669. ill-fated destinies of women:** the adj. κακοτυχῆς is rare in poetry, appearing only here, 679 (in the superlative), *Med.* 1247 and *IIF* 133, all but the last in connection with women. (Cf. also *Ion* 400.) On Eur.'s use of such "doubling" of noun and adj., in which the latter contains a cognate or semantically related word of the former, see Breitenbach, 188-9.

**670-1.** With the pl. fem. form of the participle, εφάλλεσθαι (671), Ph. indicates that she is not thinking merely of herself (in Greek tragedy a woman could use a pl. masc. to refer to herself) but sees her present circumstances (now) as part of her sex's misfortune. The pl. here means something like "a woman like myself" (Barrett, ad loc., which see for further discussion). (On the metrical problems in these lines, see N. Conomis, *Hermes* 92 (1964), 36, whose solution Diggle accepts.) **since we've been tripped up:** the verb εφάλλω, which appears more frequently in this play (8x—also at 100, 183, 262, 671, 871 [if genuine], 1232, 1414—and a related adj. at 785 and 968) than in any other of Eur., forms a leitmotif throughout the play. Aph. trips up those who are arrogant towards her (5-6); Hipp. warns his servant not to let his tongue trip up (100); Ph. in her inconstant state is said by the Nurse to be easily tripped up (183); overly precise behavior trips things up (261-2); here Ph. is overthrown; the same verb describes the literal overthrow of Hipp.'s chariot (1232); and, finally, Th. is tripped up in his judgment by the gods (1414). See further Knox (1952=1979), 224. Connected to this image here and elsewhere are those of ropes and knots, on which see Zeitlin, 58-9, and B. Fowler, *Dioniso* 49 (1978), 16-24. **to loose the knot of words:** a play on the proverb "to loose the knot" of any hard-to-resolve undertaking (see Zenobius, IV.46), with **knot of words** an unusual metaphor. **words:** although λόγους (and its textual variants λόγους and λόγων) has drawn several suggested emendations (e.g., νόσου, πόνων, κακοῦ), the metaphor should not be altered (and these proposals would themselves produce unusual images). It is an inexplicit reference, suggesting the Nurse's revelation, (the fear of) Hipp.'s to Th., or his denunciation of women (λόγους picking up λέγειν of 665). At 688, Ph. explains that she needs new words (see 688b-92n.); here she says that she needs some **word** to combat **words**.

**672-4. We've met with retribution:** the pl. verb seems more likely now to refer to Ph. alone, but the pl. in trans. preserves the potential ambiguity. The scholiast renders this phrase "we've been justly punished", and commentators and translators offer similar interpretations, but δίκη can mean both "justice" and "retaliation". Ph. need mean no more than that she, as represented by the Nurse, has met with a (predictable) response, not necessarily that she feels "justly punished". On the appeal to the earth and sky, see 601-2n. **escape . . . hide:** the twin images of escape and concealment are picked up



- by the chorus in the opening of the choral song which follows this scene (732ff.); on the motif of concealment (and revelation), see 42n.
- 675-7.** The three-fold appeal is emphatic and memorable (Aristoph. parodied these lines at *Thes.* 715-6). **accomplice:** ξυνεργός in this context might call to mind the Nurse's prayer to Aph. at 523. **unjust deeds:** a vague phrase alluding, in light of the following explanatory sentence, primarily to Ph.'s suicide. It is unjust either because it is undeserved or because anyone who assists Ph., as depicted in the Nurse's representation of her as an adulteress, will share in her wrongdoing.
- 678. a difficult crossing:** the adj. δυσεκπέρατος appears in Greek literature only here and 883 and may well have been coined for this play. Eur. creates a mild etymological word play, as δυσεκπέρατος contains the same root as πέραν (across) (Wilamowitz's conjecture) and the two words are juxtaposed in Greek. **across:** πέραν is prepositional, but perhaps still felt as enough of a noun (accus. of πέρα) to be modified by the adj. (thus Barrett), or perhaps δυσεκπέρατον is appositional to the sentence (see 755-6n.).
- 679. I am the most ill-fated of women:** the concluding phrase of this brief lyric echoes its opening "Oh wretched, ill-fated destinies of women". The ring-composition technique highlights Ph.'s despair: while she imagines her problems as caused by her sex, she concludes that among (ill-fated) women she is the worst. Cf. *Hipp. I*, F 443.
- 682. most evil one:** cf. *Sthen.*, F 666.1, from a very similar situation.
- 683-4.** Ph.'s father, Minos, was the son of Zeus and Europa. **destroy you by the roots:** the verb ἐκτριβῶ can refer to eradicating vegetation (see *LSJ II*), so it and πρόρριζον (by the roots) reinforce their shared image. Such images were common in curses; cf., e.g., *Soph.*, *Aj.* 1178 and *Aristoph.*, *Frogs* 587.
- 685-8a.** Cf. 518-20. On Ph.'s concern with her reputation, see 47-8n. and 421-5n. Ph. has already decided on death (400-2); now at issue, under the changed circumstances, are the "new words" (the lying ones on the tablet) which will accompany it.
- 688b-92.** Ph.'s new words are meant to combat Hipp.'s imagined ones. Emphasis is given to Hipp.'s presumed attack on her by three disyllabic verbs occurring at verse-initial position in successive lines (690-2) and the anaphoric repetition of ἐπεῖ (will denounce, will tell) at 691-2. Note also the (atypical) rhyme of -αc sounds at verse-end position at 689-91 (at 689 the alpha is short, at 690 and 691 long).
- 689. whetted:** the image of sharpening (or dulling) the mind (or tongue) is common in Greek poetry; see, e.g., *Or.* 1625, *Aesch.*, *Sept.* 715, *PV* 311, 866, and *Soph.*, *Aj.* 584. On the use in similes of the verb συσθήγω, along with its simple form θήγω, see Segal (1965=1986), 185 with n.33.
- 691.** This line, omitted by one ms. (A), was deleted by Brunck, who was followed by, among others, Wilamowitz and Barrett. The reasons for deletion, chiefly the introduction at this moment of Pitheus, are unpersuasive. For

- arguments for keeping this line, see Lloyd-Jones (1965=1990), 430, and Erbse, 35; for deleting it, Barrett ad loc.
- 693-4.** Ph.'s curse echoes, with a twist, the code of "help friends/harm enemies" (see 613-4n.): Ph. curses those who help their *unwilling* friends *improperly*; cf. *Soph.*, *OC* 775. **improperly:** the phrase μὴ καλῶς can imply lack of success, but here lack of propriety is more relevant. See 700-1 for the Nurse's view of success and morality.
- 695. what I did wrong:** κακά is used of both misdeeds and errors (as well as of the wrongs one suffers); the ambiguity suits the Nurse's designs, in which she admits no wrongdoing of her own, while allowing Ph. to be angry at her.
- 696. biting pain:** for the metaphorical use of the verb δάκνω (lit. "bite"), frequent in Eur., cf., e.g., 1303, 1313, *Alc.* 1100, *Med.* 110, 817, 1345, 1370, and, more generally, see West on Hes., *Theog.* 567 and on *WD* 450f.
- 700-1.** The Nurse continues to uphold her pragmatic position: success is what matters, and this is merely a matter of fortune. For κτάομαι = "get (a reputation for)", cf. *Med.* 218 and *IT* 676. For πρός in the sense of "in proportion to, in comparison with", see *LSJ C.III.4*.
- 702-3.** Ph.'s surprise and annoyance are indicated by this use of the particles γάρ (What?!) (see *GP*, 78) and εἶτα (then), which often is used with a finite verb after a participle to express surprise or incongruity (see *LSJ I.2*).
- 704 We're talking too much:** μακρηγορέω is uncommon (in tragedy only here, *Phoen.* 761, and *Aesch.*, *Sept.* 1052, if authentic), and unusually a single word occupies an entire half-verse, up to the caesura.
- 705.** In her last words before Ph.'s death, the Nurse is still concerned with saving Ph.'s life. For the redundant ὥστε, see K.-G., II.11.A.9.
- 706-12.** The almost constant presence of the chorus in Greek tragedy requires their complicity for all on-stage plotting, so a request here for silence is conventional. Cf. *Med.* 259-63, *Ion* 666-7, *IT* 1052-66, *Hel.* 4387-9, *IA* 542, *Aesch.*, *Cho.* 555, 581-2, and *Soph.*, *El.* 468-9. Most similar to the situation in *Hipp.* is that in *Med.*: in both cases the chorus agree to silence concerning actions of which they are still uninformed and of which they will disapprove. In *Hipp.*, emphatically, they indicate their agreement with an oath, just as the unsuspecting Hipp. did.
- 709. I will arrange my own things well:** a strong echo, with the differences of the mid. voice (θήσομαι), of 521. (On this idiom, see Diggle [1994], 263-5.) The latter was followed by the Nurse's prayer to Aph., directed, it seems, to her statue (see 522-4n.), and exit into the palace. Here, the line follows Ph.'s dismissal of the Nurse, who, most likely, exits into the palace (see at end of n.), and the chorus's oath to Art. (directed to her statue?). After the first four lines of her speech, Ph. turns away from the Nurse and addresses the chorus. After Ph.'s dismissal, the Nurse cannot remain on-stage silently listening to Ph.'s thinly veiled talk of suicide; almost certainly she enters the palace at this point.



- 713-4. The chorus swear to Art., appropriately as women and ironically for the plot: their silence, sworn in the name of Art., assures the ruin of Art.'s favorite, Hipp. While they take this oath, they may make some gesture towards the statue of Art., but there is no deictic word in the text.
- 715-21. As she plans for her death, now with a veiled reference to a **remedy**, Ph.'s basic reasons for preferring death have not altered; cf. 391ff., esp. 403-9 and 415-6, 420-7.
715. **Well spoken—thank you:** καλῶς ἐλέξατε (or, more commonly, ἐλεξας) is a formula for approving someone's words; cf., e.g., *Alc.* 1104, *Held.* 726, *El.* 640, *Hel.* 158, *Bacch.* 953. The text in the second half of this line is corrupt, with the mss. presenting προτρέπουσ' ἐγῶ, προστρέπουσ' ἐγῶ or πρέπουσ' ἐγῶ. Hadley offered ἐρῶ for ἐγῶ, which Barrett accepted while offering, *exempli gratia*, πρὸς τοῦτοισι for the three preceding syllables. (See Barrett on 715-6 for a full discussion of the text and these remedies.) This patchwork text gives good sense (Ph., having obtained the chorus's silence, can now tell them, albeit in vague terms, her final action to remedy her plight), solves, with the full stop after ἐρῶ, the problematic δὴ τι in the following line (δῆτα has no place here), and lends a nice balance to the line ("you have spoken well; now I will tell you something more"); but it cannot be thought certain.
- 716-7. Cf. 421ff., as well as Macaria's words at *Held.* 533-4.
718. **things have fallen out:** the metaphor in πεπτωκότα is from dicing; see Bond and Wilamowitz on *HF* 1228 and cf. Pl., *Rep.* 604c.
721. **with disgraceful deeds done:** as in her earlier speech (373ff.), Ph.'s position is that, incapable of controlling her passion, she will take her life before she does anything dishonorable. **for the sake of one life:** the phrase is ambiguous, referring in its immediate context to Ph.'s own suicide, but in light of the following dialogue it might also suggest her plot against Hipp.
723. Cf. 401-2, where Ph. explains that death seemed to her the best plan.
724. Ph. echoes the chorus leader's admonition, εὔ (no *bad* [advice]) replying to εὐφημος ("speak no words of *bad* omen"). For the language of the chorus leader, cf. *Or.* 1327, *IT* 687, *HF* 1185, *Soph.*, *Aj.* 362, and *El.* 1211.
- 725-7. Cf. Aph.'s words at 47ff. **on this day:** see 21-2n.
- 728-31. Ph. now becomes fully the instrument of Aph.'s plan. She will not tolerate Hipp.'s (imagined) haughtiness over her misfortunes, just as Aph. will not accept those who are proud toward her. (On this connection between Ph. and Aph., see further Luschnig, 108.) One facet of the code "help friends/harm enemies" was that an enemy's laughter or gloating at one's misfortunes was intolerable; see esp. Medea in *Med.* (383, 404, 797, 1049-50, 1355, 1362) and Ajax in *Soph.*, *Aj.* (367, 382, 454) and Blundell, *passim*. Just as, through misunderstanding, Hipp. rejects her as a friend (see 613-4 and the n. there), Ph., through the same misunderstanding, will account Hipp. as an enemy, and,

- following standard Greek ethics, seek vengeance upon him. With Ph.'s motives here, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15, 503.
- 730-1. Ph.'s final words resonate: Hipp. has already denigrated those whose *sophrosune* (79-81) is learned and concluded his *rhesis* to the Nurse with the words "Either then let someone teach them [women] to be chaste . . .", (667), a challenge which this line clearly echoes, as Ph. claims that *he* will learn it by sharing in her sickness. See also on these lines Köhnken, 186-7. Since *sophrosune* was often associated with the curing of disease (see North, 380), Ph.'s words are paradoxical.
- 732-75. **The Second Stasimon.** With Ph.'s final and ominous words in the air, the chorus express their desire to escape. The song occupies a central position in the drama and helps to round off the first half of the play, which has been dominated by Ph. Like the first *stasimon*, it consists of four stanzas, structured into two halves. The first half of the song is concerned with the immediate future, semi-mythological geography, fanciful transport, and divine union (Zeus and Hera); the second half focuses initially on a specific event in the past, particular geographical locales (Crete, Athens, Troezen), ordinary human conveyance, and mortal marriage (Ph. and Th.), the consequences of which union lead the chorus to predict Ph.'s suicide. There is a spatial progression from (desired) travel over the sea to the wide expanse of the far western realms to the circumscribed voyage from Crete to Athens, and then, in the final stanza, to Ph.'s actions within her bedchamber. There are, at the same time, many verbal echoes between the two halves. The chorus pray that they fly **over the sea waves** (ἐπὶ πόντιον/κύμα), 735-6, while Ph. comes from Crete **through the roaring sea waves** (διὰ πόντιον/κύμ' ἀλίκτηπον), 753-4, and is said, at the end of the song to be **foundering** (lit. "filled with bilge water"), 767; the chorus's wish is to travel as a **winged bird** (πτεροῦσαν ὄρνιν), 733, **over the sea waves of the Adrian coast** (ἄκτᾶς), 737, and Ph.'s ship is described as **white-winged** (λευκόπτερε), 752, and she herself is attended by **evil omens** (δυσόρνις, lit. "with an ill-[omened] bird"), 759-60, when she arrives at the **shores** (ἄκταϊς) of **Munichus**, 761; the regions desired by the chorus are those where **very holy earth, the giver of prosperity** (ὀλβιόδωρος) **increases blessedness for the gods**, 750-1, while Ph. departs from her **prosperous home** (ὀλβίων ἀπ' οἴκων), 756. The opening image of aerial flight also is echoed in the final stanza, when the chorus describe Ph.'s hanging, her own desperate "aerial" escape. In fact, the chorus's desire to escape might be construed as a type of death wish: they want to travel like a bird (for the associations between avian metamorphosis and death, see 732-41n.) to the far western regions. These regions mark the border between mortals and gods, between life and death; here, the sisters of Phaethon, whose tale (on which see further, 738-41n.) serves as a paradigm of the limitations of mortality, mourn his death. It has been proposed (by, e.g., Grube, 185) that the chorus's opening wish reflects Ph.'s own desires. Certainly their wish serves as a measure of the situation: they, though only indirectly affected by the



actions, are eager to escape, a wish they make in fantastic and lofty expression, symbolically suggesting a wish for death. Ph.'s escape is a literal death, predicted, while it takes place indoors, in grim, if noble, terms. The song then is framed by these two "deaths", one symbolic and only hoped for, the other real and painful. On this ode see esp. Padel (1974), 227-35, and H. Parry, *TAPA* 97 (1966), 317-26, and also Reckford (1974), 325-7.

**732-41.** The song begins with a wish, one of four opts. of wish in the first strophic pair; the second half of the song has none. It is a commonplace in tragedy for one in desperate straits to wish to be elsewhere, the wish often including the desire to become a bird in flight; see the similar wishes of Hermione at *And.* 861ff., and of the female choruses at *Ilel.* 1478ff. and *Soph., Trach.* 953ff., and also those at *Soph., OC* 1081-4 and *F* 476 and cf. the wishes at *Ion* 796ff. and *Soph., Aj.* 1216ff. (Cf. also the two-fold wishes of characters either to be swallowed up into the earth or to take wing into the sky; see, e.g., 1290-3, *Med.* 1296ff., *IIF* 1157ff., *Pha.* 270ff. and other examples cited by Barrett on 1290-3.) The depiction of the departed soul as a bird or winged creature, imported from Egypt, was traditional; cf., e.g., *Hom., Il.* 16.856=22.362, 23.100, *Soph., OT* 175ff., and see the common motif of small winged figures above the heads of the dead and dying on many Greek vases. The several references in this strophic pair to the far west, the typical location of the other world, reinforce the association with death. This opening wish also recalls Ph.'s words at 673-4.

**732. hidden recesses:** *κευθμῶν* is a place which conceals, e.g., a cave or, as here, a mountain cleft.

**735-7. Adrian coast:** the Gulf of Venice. **Eridanus:** this was a fabulous river in the far west, which later became identified with the Po.

**738-41.** According to the best preserved account of the well-known tale of Phaethon (*Ovid, Met.* 1.750-2.400), he doubted his paternity and demanded proof from his father, Helios (the sun god). Helios unwisely allowed his son to steer his chariot, with catastrophic results. His half-sisters were turned into poplar trees, their tears becoming the trees' amber. (Diggle, ed., *Pha.*, 1-46, offers a thorough treatment of the myth and a reconstruction of Eur.'s play on this tale.) The introduction of this tale into the song adds a note of sorrow into the fantastic yearnings of the choristers. They pray for release in the far west, the very place where Phaethon met his death. Phaethon's tale also ties in more specifically with Hipp.'s. Both have a strong association with a god (Helios and Art.); both are killed in a chariot, in each case causing the regret of the father who is in some degree culpable; after their deaths, both are mourned by maidens. See further Padel (1974), 234-5.

**739.** The mss. here need remedy: there is no responson between 739 and 749. While corruption in the corresponding places of strophe and antistrophe is unusual, I accept, along with Barrett, Diggle and Stockert, Barthold's excision of the meaningless *πατρός* here and the troublesome *μελάθρων* at 749. The result is good meter and sense. For a full discussion, see Barthold, p. 162, and

Barrett on 738-41 and 748-9. Musgrave's easy correction (on metrical grounds) of *σταλάσσουσιν* to *σταλάσσουσι* is universally accepted.

**740-1. amber-gleaming tears:** lit. "the amber-gleaming rays of tears"; the adj. *ἠλεκτροφαής* (*amber-gleaming*) only here in Greek literature. *αὐγή* ("ray") was used as a metaphor for the eyes and any gleaming object (see *LSJ* I.5 and I.6); here it is applied to the (bright) tears that fall from the eyes. Note the contrast between the amber-bright tears and the dark swell into which they fall. In general on Eur.'s descriptions of color and light, see Barlow, 8-11.

**742-3.** The **Hesperides** (= "women of the west") guarded the garden where the golden apples given to Hera as a wedding present from her grandmother, Ge (Earth), were planted. (On this tale, see Apollodorus 2.5.11, with Frazer's n.1 on p. 220.) They were typically portrayed as singers; cf. *Hes., Theog.* 275, 518, *IIF* 394, A.R., 4.1399 and 1407.

**742.** The first line of the antistrophe responds rhythmically in several ways to the first line of the strophe: both begin with a four-syllable word followed by a preposition and the final sounds of each line rhyme (*γενοίμαι* and *ἀκτάν*).

**744-7** The western boundary of the sea-faring world was the straits of Gibraltar and the pillars of Heracles (see 3-4n.). Heracles at one time stole the golden apples, with help from Atlas; they were later returned. **lord of the sea:** this figure was given various names—Proteus, Nereus, Glaucus, etc. Heracles forced him to reveal the location of the golden apples (Apollodorus 2.5.11). On the various ways Atlas' role was imagined, see West on *Hes., Theog.* 517.

**744.** Maas's word order (*πορφυρέας ποντομέδων*, with synizesis in the last two syllables of *πορφυρέας*, for *ποντομέδων πορφυρέας*) restores responson with 734. With it, the gen. *λίμνας* goes with *ποντομέδων*, not *ὄδόν*.

**748-51.** Although Zeus had many sexual unions, the reference here seems to be, as the scholiast at 749 asserts, to his original one—with Hera. That Ge's wedding gift of the apples was planted in the garden of the Hesperides ("apple-sown", 742) strongly suggests it.

**748. ambrosial springs:** anything associated with the gods can be called "ambrosial"; see *LSJ* s.v. *ἀμβρόσιος*. **flow:** *χέονται* responds metrically to *σταλάσσουσι* (**drip**) of the strophe. On these recurrent images in the play, see Segal (1965=1986), 186.

**752-63.** The apostrophe to the ship which carried Ph. serves as the transition between the ode's two sections (see 732-75n. for the verbal connections and contrasts between the two pairs of stanzas in this song), and immediately calls to mind her Cretan past and her fateful journey, the source of her ills. See Kranz, 191-2 and 238-9, on Eur.'s use of lyric apostrophes, and 180 on the function of the apostrophe here.

**752-3.** In several of Eur.'s plays a chorus make a fateful ship their focus; cf. *Tro.* 122ff., *El.* 432ff., *Ilel.* 1451ff., in the second two of which the ship is apostrophized. For connections between weddings and sea travel, cf. *IA* 667ff., *Tro.* 455-6 and see R. Seaford, *JHS* 107 (1987), 124, esp. n.181 and n.183.



Immediately the chorus's invocation of the Cretan ship calls to mind the unhappy associations of Crete and erotic passion (see 337-43n.), associations confirmed in the concluding phrase of the first half of the stanza, "a delight that proved most ruinous for the marriage". **white-winged:** for a survey of the divergent views on this adj. (are oars or sails referred to?), see Padel (1974), 228 n.1.

**753-4. roaring sea waves of the deep:** in contrast to strophe a, where the identical phrase πόντιον κῦμα appears, here the description of the sea in the historical account of Ph.'s trip engages not just our sense of sight but also hearing ("roaring"), and perhaps taste, if ἄλμας (**deep**) suggests its lit. meaning "brine"; see Padel (1974), 230.

**755-6. a delight that proved most ruinous for the marriage:** the phrase κακονυφοτάταν ὄνασιν neatly encapsulates the paradox of the ruin that came from a union meant to strengthen, and it is juxtaposed to the phrase ὀλβίων ἀπ' οἴκων (**from her prosperous home**). Similar paradoxes are found at *And.* 103-4, *Ilec.* 948-9, and Aesch., *Ag.* 699ff. Syntactically the phrase is an internal accus., often called "in apposition to the sentence"; see Barrett's full n. ad loc. on this phenomenon. The adj. κακόνυφος occurs only three times in Greek, here and, in different senses, twice in *Med.* (207, 990).

**758-63.** Several textual issues affect interpretation of these lines. The mss. have either ἦ or ἦ or ἦ as the first word of 758 and then either ἦ (or ἦ) Κρησίας at 759. Weil saw that the disjunctive reading (ἦ . . . ἦ) was untenable and, in addition to accepting the majority reading ἦ at 758, he inserted a τ' after Κρησίας and changed δ' to τ' at 761. Diggle accepts Willink's οἱ for the ἦ or ἦ before Κρησίας, but with this reading one must take the ship, not Ph., as subj. of ἔπτατο, which I think unlikely (see 760n. and Stockert [1994], 224-5). (Barrett prints his own suggestive, but unpersuasive, conjecture Μινωίδος, for ἦ [or ἦ] Κρησίας.) The flow of the sentence and the sense of the phrase ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων have also been called into question. **at both ends of her journey:** ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων is preparatory to an emphatic both . . . and (τε . . . τε) (thus Barrett, citing Hom., *Il.* 15.699 and Thuc. 2.84.3; see also the close parallel at Hdt. 7.97); it should be construed with δυσόρνις. The trans. tries to capture that emphasis. Ph.'s voyage was attended by bad omens both at her departure (from Crete) and her arrival (in Athens). Strict parallelism, however, is not followed: while Κρησίας ἐκ γὰρ stands in easy apposition to ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων, the following clause takes a different tack, producing a mild anacolouthon. The adj. δυσόρνις must be carried over (in the pl.) into the second clause. Note that of the three τε's in this section, the first two join the two mildly parallel clauses together, the third links two smaller units together within the second clause.

**759. there were evil omens:** the Greeks were sensitive to the omens surrounding any momentous event, here the departure and arrival of the ship.

**760. she flew:** Ph., from ἀνασσα of the previous sentence, is the likely subj. of ἔπτατο (so interpreted by the scholiast). Some construe the ship as subj., since the image in "white-winged" would continue to be applied to the ship (and "ill-omened" lit. means "with an ill[-omened] bird"), but the switch to another subj. after the apostrophe and second person in ἐπόρευεας would be harsh, and the flow of the passage (δυσόρνις is applied to persons in the second clause) suggests that Ph. is the subject. **Munichus:** the eponymous hero of the older port of Attica, the Munichia.

**761. ἐκδήσαντο:** unaugmented forms are common in Homer and lyric; in tragedy they are confined to lyric passages and messenger speeches.

**764-75.** The chorus progress from the cause of Ph.'s sufferings (her ill-starred wedding voyage to Athens) to its consequences, as they conclude with an almost clairvoyant picture of Ph.'s suicide, which is confirmed immediately after the ode. Closest to the prediction here is the one at *Bacch.* 977ff., where the chorus give a detailed account of the impending murder of Pentheus. On similar, yet different, choral predictions, see *Stagecraft*, 74-6.

**764. Because of this:** the vague phrase ἀνθ' ὧν connects Ph.'s ill-fated voyage and her subsequent fatal passion for Hipp. On the use of the relative at the start of a lyric stanza, see FJW on Aesch., *Supp.* 49.

**764-6.** The two gens. depend on νόσῳ in different ways: ὀσίων ἐρώτων is appositional, further defining disease, while Ἀφροδίτα is a subjective gen., indicating its source or agent. **her wits were crushed:** for the phrase φρένας κατεκλάσθη, cf. the formula in the *Odyssey* κατεκλάσθη φίλον ἦτορ and, less similar, Aristoph., *Birds* 466 and Aesch., *Ag.* 1166.

**767-70.** Like two other women in Greek tragedy who take their lives because of an ill-fated marriage (Jocasta in Soph., *OT* and Deianira in Soph., *Trach.*), Ph. kills herself in her bed chamber, underscoring the crowning unhappiness and distortion of the natural joy of marriage. Ph.'s aerial death (see also 779, 802, and 828-9) responds to the aerial escape wished for by the chorus in the opening of the song. In general, women in Greek tragedy kill themselves by hanging and not by the sword; see N. Loraux, *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman* (Cambridge, Mass. 1987), 7-30. The noose Ph. attaches to her neck calls to mind the knot ("of words") at 671.

**767. foundering:** ὑπέραντλος, lit. "filled with bilge water", is used metaphorically of a person in poetry nowhere else. This metaphor recalls the ship on which Ph. sailed from Crete (narrated in strophe δ). The related verb ἀντλέω, and its compounds, used metaphorically, are relatively frequent in Eur.; see, e.g., 898 and 1049, *Alc.* 354, *Ion* 917, *Or.* 1641, and Dale on *Alc.* 354.

**771-5.** These final lines serve as a summary of Ph.'s major concerns as presented in the first half of the play. She feels shame (καταιδεσθεΐσα) at her fortune and chooses a good name, ridding her mind (see 373-430n. on the terms for intellection in her great speech) of a painful passion only through death. The juxtaposition of the song's final two words (φρενῶν, **mind**, and ἐρώτα,



- passion), which balance ἐρώτων . . . φρένας of the stanza's opening clause, neatly marks the great conflict in Ph.
- 771. fortune:** a δαίμων ("divinity", the one who assigns one's fortune), which could, in a weakened sense, be used as a synonym for one's fortune. See Fraenkel on Aesch., Ag. 1341f., Stevens on *And.* 98, and Mikalson (1991), 22.
- 771-2. repute of good fame:** on the phrase εὐδοξον φήμαν, see 669n.
- 776-1101. The Third Episode.** This episode is varied in action and emotional color, as the play's action now turns on Ph.'s death and its consequences. The first, shorter part contains two revelations which produce strong reactions. First Ph.'s death, already announced by Ph. herself and vividly described by the chorus at the very end of the preceding song, is revealed, and then, no sooner does Th. begin to grieve for this loss than he discovers the tablet, which startles characters and audience alike. Th.'s anguish is underscored by his use of sung rhythms, predominantly dochmiac (see 811-55n.). The longer section of the episode, articulated by the arrival of Hipp. (902), comprises the formal debate (*agon*, on which see 902-1101n.) between father and son concerning Ph.'s allegation of rape. Here the rhythms are exclusively spoken iambic trimeters, as the emotion of the first part of the episode gives way to argument and debate. The false accusation, although a standard part of the tale, is handled differently in this play, and is also the one crucial event not predicted by Aph. in her prologue.
- 776-89.** With the cry from within (on the identity of the speaker, see 776-7n.), the chorus and audience now learn of Ph.'s suicide. Cries from within the *skene* are not rare in Greek tragedy; see, e.g., Aesch., Ag. 1343 and 1345, and also *Med.* 1270a ff., *Ilec.* 1035ff., *El.* 1165ff., *HF* 749ff., *Or.* 1296ff. (In general, see R. Hamilton, *AJP* 108 [1987], 585-99 and the bibl. cited there.) The choral hesitation is also common; cf. *Med.* 1275, *Ilec.* 1042, *Or.* 1539, and the elaborate inaction at Aesch., Ag. 1348ff. Since the chorus very rarely leave the *orchestra*, such inaction is unsurprising (throughout this brief scene they avoid any direct response to the Nurse's appeals), but calling attention to it underscores their helplessness in the face of Ph.'s suicide. The brief exchange also gives some time for the fact of Ph.'s death to sink in before Th. arrives and discovers it for himself. Ph.'s suicide is presented in multiple stages: clearly hinted at by Ph. herself, and vividly imagined at the end of the second *stasimon*; first revealed from within to the chorus; then related by the chorus to Th.; and finally visually displayed in the queen's corpse on the *ekkyklema* (on which see 811n.). The pattern of events in *Hipp.* parallels a common one in which a murder victim goes into the *skene*, followed by a *stasimon* or brief lyric piece and then cries from within to which the chorus then react. (See *Stagecraft*, 74-6.) In *Hipp.*, since suicide, not murder, is involved, the cries are not those of the victim.
- 776-7.** From within a voice cries for help, a voice variously identified in the mss. as Nurse, servant, messenger (ἄγγελος) and messenger from within (ἐξἄγγελος). The character is unseen, but if the actor who played the Nurse

- delivered these lines (and 780-1, 786-7), the audience would probably have imagined the Nurse as the speaker (Wilamowitz, *Analecta*, 204), and so most editors have identified her. The designation "within" derives from the scholiast, not, as, e.g., at *Or.* 1296 and 1301, from the mss. The appeal to those around the palace for help adds a domestic touch, since in tragedy cries for help are usually to the entire *polis*, while in comedy (and everyday life?) to neighbors.
- 778-9. Alas, alas! It's all over:** the chorus spoke the identical phrase as their initial response to the Nurse's failed overtures to Hipp. and his tirade against women (680). The images of knots and loosening them are heavily clustered in this scene (779, 781, 783), where a literal knot (noose) has claimed Ph.'s life. The particle δὴ lends a pathetic tone to 778 (and 789); see *GP*, 214-5.
- 780-1.** These words echo Ph.'s at 671, and fulfill the chorus's prediction at 770.
- 784-5.** The mss. indicate the speaker of these lines as "semi-chorus" or "other semi-chorus"; presumably, as with the case of iambic trimeters ascribed to the chorus, an individual member of the chorus delivers them. For the sentiment of 785, cf. F 193 and 576, and see Bond's note, with citations and bibl., on *HF* 266. **doesn't bring safety in life:** lit. "is not in the not-stumbling of life", ἀσφαλῆς picking up the recurrent image.
- 786. make it straight:** this command (ὀρθώσατ') to attendants concerning Ph.'s body echoes Ph.'s own to her attendants (ὀρθούτε, "hold my head upright", 198).
- 789. stretching out:** the verb ἐκτείνω is the *vox propria* for laying out a corpse; cf., e.g., *Alc.* 366 and Aesch., *Cho.* 983.
- 790-810.** Absent for the first half of the play, Th. now returns at the critical juncture of Ph.'s suicide. His arrival allows for a fuller and longer emotional response to this event, and, since Ph.'s tablet, still unknown to the audience, is addressed to him, he most effectively discovers it. According to the scholiast at 792, the custom of the ancients was for the entire household to greet someone returning garlanded from the oracle, and by the normal conventions of Greek tragedy, his entrance here should be announced (see *Stagecraft*, 20-4). Perhaps the chorus, in their agitation and deliberations at Ph.'s death, have rearranged themselves so that they do not notice the arriving Th.; this seems to be the implication of his initial words (790-3).
- 790-1.** The text of 791 is not sound, the first three words daggered by Barrett and Diggle; my translation attempts to make some sense of the difficulty. Heinze's conjecture κήχῳ for ἠχῳ (*BICS* 31 [1984], 113-4) with Markland's μ' before ἀφίκετο is noteworthy but not totally convincing. See Barrett ad loc. for a discussion of the problems and other proposed solutions, and Sommerstein, 32, in support of Heinze and Markland.
- 792-3.** As often in Greek tragedy, a newly arriving character asks a question followed by an explanation of the question. Th.'s question creates the obvious contrast between the expected joy at the master's return and the disaster which he meets; cf. 787.



794. There is a mild word play, as νέον (**bad**, lit. "new") contrasts with γῆρας (**old**). At 797-8, the chorus leader continues the word play by picking up both γῆρας (**old**) with γέροντας ("old") and νέον with νέοι ("young"). On μῶν in 794, see 318n.
798. **the death of the young:** the pl. νέοι θανόντες, allows for a momentary ambiguity; on such "allusive" plurals, see Bers, 25 n.5. **pains:** I follow many editors, including Wilamowitz, Barrett, Diggle, and Stockert, in accepting the pres. ἀλγύνουσι (the minority reading); for a defense of the fut. ἀλγυνοῦσι (the majority reading), see Sommerstein, 32.
- 799-805. Similar to this brief *stichomythia* in which a newly arrived character learns terrible news are *Med.* 1306-13 and *And.* 1056-65.
799. **plundered:** the metaphor in κυλάω is striking; no precise parallel exists, but cf. Bacchylides 4.76, and Pind., *O.* 9.89 for other examples of this verb's metaphorical usage. μή is commonly used in hesitant or apprehensive questions and suggestions; see Diggle, (1994), 160, and Fraenkel on Aesch., *Ag.* 683.
- 801-5. Just as the chorus leader was evasive in her earlier replies to Th. (see 798n.), at 802 she answers only about the *mode* of Ph.'s death. In response to the even more specific question at 803, the chorus leader no longer equivocates and simply lies in order to keep the oath and, for dramatic purposes, to allow Th. to learn only Ph.'s account of events. On such evasive answers in tragic dialogue, see Mastrorarde (1979), 84-5.
803. **Chilled:** the metaphorical use of παχνόω is found also at Aesch., *Cho.* 83, Hom., *Il.* 17.111-2, Hes., *WD* 360. In general the Greeks imagined fear and many other unpleasant feelings as "chilling"; see Onians, 46 n.6.
- 804-5. The arrival of mourners at the palace would be expected under the circumstances, so the lie is credible. Since πάρειμι can function as the perf. of παριέναι, the accus. δόμου is simply an accus. of motion towards, common in poetic texts.
- 806-7. Th. tearing the crown from his head recalls and contrasts sharply with the opening of the play, when Hipp., who had just arrived on-stage, offered a plaited garland to the statue of Art. (73ff.). Th.'s action also calls to mind Cassandra casting off her garland and other sacred emblems at Aesch., *Ag.* 1264ff., and cf. the more complex situation at *HF* 523ff.
- 808-10. The revelation of Ph.'s suicide now progresses (by means of the *ekkyklema*, on which see 811n.) to the final, visual stage. For the call to servants within the house to unbar the doors so that the speaker can see the painful sight within, cf. the very similar *Med.* 1314-5. **doors of the gate:** on the phrase κληῖθρα . . . πυλωμάτων, see Barrett ad loc.
809. This line does not appear in this form in the mss. after 808. It appears in many mss. after 824, where it clearly intrudes, while after 808 appears the similarly worded ἐκλύσαθ' ἄρμους ὡς ἴδω δυσδαίμονα (τὸν δαίμονα OV). Sense requires here the version of the line that appears after 824. There is a full discussion in Barrett ad loc. **bitter sight:** Th.'s words may contain a

- grim word play. He has just said that he was an "unfortunate visitor to the oracle" (δυστυχῆς θεωρός); now he will see a "bitter sight" (πικρὰν θέαν). Whatever the actual etymology of the word θεωρός (on the uncertainties here, see Chantraine s.v. θεωρός), the audience might connect the two through the similarity of sound and the rhetoric of the passage.
810. **who in dying has destroyed me:** for the paradox cf. 839, *Alc.* 386, *Soph., Ant.* 871, *El.* 808. Different is the paradox of the (already) dead killing the living, as at Aesch., *Cho.* 886, *Soph., Aj.* 1026-7, *Trach.* 1163.
811. Following Th.'s command, the doors are opened from within and a platform, called the *ekkyklema*, is wheeled out with Ph.'s corpse, confirming the choral prediction and the words from within. Since the conventions of the post-*skene* Attic stage had all the action take place outdoors, the *ekkyklema* was a device which allowed the presentation to the audience of an interior scene. Once on-stage, the corpse serves as both the physical object for Th.'s grief and, in conjunction with the attached note, the "ocular proof" condemning Hipp. in his father's eyes (see esp. 958-9 and 971-2). On this device and its use in Eur., see Hourmouziades, 93-108; in general, see the concise discussion, with bibl., in Taplin (1977), 442-3.
- 811-55. Th. expresses his lamentation in a pair of strophic stanzas, which are framed by the brief lyrics (dochmiacs) of the chorus (or chorus leader; it is impossible to determine) and articulated by the leader's two spoken iambic lines (834-5). Each stanza (817-33=836-52) is composed of alternating dochmiacs and iambs in a pattern: four dochmiacs (two to a line), two iambic trimeters, four dochmiacs, two iambic trimeters, four dochmiacs, two iambic trimeters, seven dochmiacs. The sense pauses are heavier at the end of the iambs and thus each stanza falls into four sections. The dochmiacs contain all the instances of apostrophe and self-address in this section (817, 822, 826, 827, 837, 841, 844, 847-8) and of exclamations (817, 830, 844, 845, 848), except ὦ at 819. The dochmiacs, appropriately, are used for Th.'s more emotional expressions, while the iambs are more for intellectual reflection. The alternating rhythms of Th.'s response well portray his grief amid his attempts to control it and comprehend his situation. On this lament, see W. Schadewaldt, *Monolog und Selbstgespräch* (Berlin 1926), 147-51; in general on lamentations shared by actor and chorus (leader) in Eur., see Hose, I.240-6.
- 811-6. Before Th.'s lament, the chorus (chorus leader?) express grief (chiefly in dochmiacs) at Ph.'s death and the ruin it brings the house. Several of their words can be construed in different ways by the audience, who know, and Th., who does not, the true circumstances of Ph.'s death (see 814-5n. and 816n.).
812. **You suffered, you did:** the juxtaposition echoes 810; cf. 839.
813. At once the chorus view Ph.'s deed in terms of its effect on the house (cf. Th. at 819), which continues to be associated with suffering in this section of the play; see also 796, 804, 845, 847, 852, 870.
- 814-5. **unholy misfortune:** cf. 764; the chorus can suggest her erotic passion, while Th. understands merely her suicide. **wrestling match:**



πάλαίμα stands in apposition to the sentence (see 755-6n.), the image being that Ph.'s (victorious) opponent was her own hand. The metaphorical use of the word is found also at *Med.* 1214, *Supp.* 550, while kindred words or other wrestling metaphors appear at *Alc.* 889, *Med.* 585, *Supp.* 1108. *HF* 1206, etc.; see further Page on *Med.* 585. Segal (1988), 275-6, notes the blending of the female method of suicide (see 767-70n.) and this male image.

816. With the disingenuous question of 816, the chorus continue their feigned ignorance: the question can suggest both Hipp. (to the audience) and an unnamed divinity (thus the scholiast ad loc.) to Th. **consigns your life to darkness:** so Lloyd-Jones (1965=1990), 431; the phrase ἀμαυροῖ ζόαν is not exactly paralleled in tragedy, but cf. *Pha.* 273, and see Pind., *Pyth.* 12.13 for this verb used of taking a life.

819-20. Th. imagines, like many characters in Greek tragedy, that his calamity stems not from his own wrongdoing but from an avenging spirit, stirred by some ancestral crime (cf. 831ff., 1379ff.). Ancestors are not specifically mentioned at this point, but in light of the context, the common view, and Th.'s words shortly hereafter, they are reasonably inferred. For inherited guilt, see Dodds (1951), 33-4 and Parker, 198-206, esp. 201-2. **malignant spirit:** an ἄλκτωρ was a "supernatural power, sometimes incarnate, associated with calamity, usually punitive and effecting the downfall of a House" (Willink on *Or.* 337); see also Pearson on *Phoen.* 1556, Fraenkel on Aesch., *Ag.* 1501, and Parker, 108-9. **stain:** κηλίς stands in loose apposition to τύχα ("fortune").

821. **the destruction that makes my life unlivable:** Th. first sees his situation as the working of fortune, then as the result of some defilement; now he corrects himself (for μὲν οὖν of self-correction, see *GP.* 478-9). With the word play in ἀβίωτος βίου (**life unlivable**), see 1144n.

822-4. **sea of ills . . . swim . . . wave of this misfortune:** see 469-70n., and cf. 767.

826. The mss. have τίνα λόγον . . . τίνα τύχαν. προσαιδάω can take a double accus., but the awkward, even fatuous, double question ("what word for what fortune?") remains. Diggle's emendation, changing both interrogatives and only the first noun to the dative case, solves the problem and preserves the effectively repeated interrogative. For the trope of searching for the correct words in a dilemma or calamity, cf. *IT* 1321, Aesch., *Cho.* 418, and *Ag.* 1232-3. **correctly address:** lit. "hit the mark in addressing".

828-9. In her death Ph. is compared to a bird. Her aerial death (see 767-7, 779, 802) is now transformed into metaphor, while the chorus's wish to become winged birds and escape (732ff.) is echoed (see 732-75n.). In general on bird imagery in Eur., see Breitenbach, 154-7.

831-3. As at 820, Th. sees his calamity coming from the crimes of some distant ancestor, distancing himself from the crime by both time and vagueness (**from somewhere long ago . . . of some ancestor**). Cf. F 980 for the classic statement of the principle of the "sins of the fathers".

834-5. Such statements form the commonplaces of consolation. Cf., e.g., *Alc.* 416-9, 892, 931-4, *Med.* 1017-8, *And.* 1037-46, *Ilel.* 464, F 454. The motif is found as early as the *Iliad* (e.g., 5.381-415, 24.525-51); see Kannicht on *Ilel.* 464.

836-8. Being joined in death is another commonplace in consolation, found on epitaphs (see R. Latimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* [Urbana 1962], 247-50), and in Greek tragedy (see, e.g., *Alc.* 363-8, *Tro.* 458-60, *Soph., Ant.* 1240-1, Aesch., *Cho.* 894-5, ironically). With Th.'s wish to go beneath the earth, cf. Art.'s words to him at 1290ff.

840. The text in the first half of the line is corrupt: as it stands it is unmetrical—an interrogative (the mss. give τίνας) is wanted, but no satisfactory solution has been found. I make no attempt to translate the two corrupt words.

844-5. Line 844 is five syllables (at least) too short. The corresponding line in the strophe (826), despite its own textual problems, has two full dochmiacs. Seidler, who first noted the lacuna, suggested, *exempli gratia*, ἰὼ μοι, κτάλαα, ἰὼ μοι ἰὼ μὲν. This supplement is probably not too far off the mark, and I follow it in my translation.

846. **Oh:** for this use of ἀλλά, see *GP.* 7-9.

847. The motif of the house empty because of a spouse's death is most fully developed in *Alc.* (e.g., 861, 944ff.), where, too, the orphaned children are highlighted (165, 276, 297). Cf. *Supp.* 1132ff.

848-51. With this praise, cf. *Alc.* 151 (and cf. 442-3 and 991-4) and *Supp.* 1061. These lines make best sense if delivered by Th.; this and their responson with his lines above (830-3, delivered by Th.) show that the mss. are wrong in attributing these lines to the chorus.

848. This line also is a casualty of the textual transmission, as it is several syllables short. Kirchhoff's supplement αἰαῖ αἰαῖ (**Ah, ah!**), matching exactly this cry in the strophe, is widely and plausibly accepted. **You left, you left:** the repetition of ἔλιπες ἔλιπες corresponds precisely with the repeated μέλεα μέλεα ("miserable, miserable") of the strophe.

853-4. **my eyes are wet with floods of tears:** on the use of the verb καταχέω here, see Barrett, *Addenda*, p. 435.

855. With this line the chorus prepare for Th.'s imminent discovery of Ph.'s tablet. They have had reason to fear since Ph.'s threats (728ff.) and while they do not know about the tablet, their surmise of ills to come is plausible. While they sing 852-5, Th. draws closer to or focuses more clearly on the corpse, and then discovers the tablet.

856-65. Up to this point in this scene Eur. has kept the focus on Ph.'s death and Th.'s response to it; with the discovery of the tablet Hipp. is brought back into the story. The audience has ample reason to expect something to expand the scope of the calamity, but the tablet is a novel element and unmentioned in Aph.'s prologue speech. Eur. draws out the suspense, letting Th. assume at first that a very different message is contained in the tablet, an assumption that is short-lived and wrong. The gradual discovery of the tablet parallels a more



common Eur. pattern of a character's "partial vision" upon arriving from the *eisodos*. (See Mastronarde [1979], 22-6, for this pattern and some of its variations, although he defines it more narrowly.) Th., when the corpse is first wheeled out on the *ekkyklema*, has only partial contact with the tableau, not noticing the tablet. Now, when he does discover it, he cries out ἄ ἄ (Ah, ah!), followed immediately by two agnoetic questions (i.e., ones asked from ignorance); he then addresses Ph.'s corpse. The suspense builds as Th. first notices the tablet, then, in greater detail, its seal (the further stage of discovery indicated by the particles καὶ μὴν [Look!]), and finally begins to unwind the string that binds its two halves. This brief ten-line speech is framed by the initial announcement of discovery and agnoetic question about what it might wish to say and the concluding hortatory statement that he will now learn what it wishes to say (865 closely echoes 857). Th. returns in this speech to spoken iambic trimeters; it is composed of five clearly defined two-line distichs.

**856-7. wish:** while it is true that the verb (ἐ)θέλω can be used of inanimate objects in "phrases expressive of meaning" (*LSJ* II.3), the tablet and its contents are personified several times in this scene—877 ("cries out, cries out"), 879-80 ("giving voice"), and at 881 ("leader")—and θέλει here and at 865 probably forms part of this personification. The personification strengthens the verbal echo in ἠρτημένη (*hanging*, 857), used also of Ph. at 779.

**858-61.** Th. assumes, following the folkloric stereotype of the cruel step-mother, that Ph. is requesting that he not remarry (cf. *Alc.* 305-7 and 328-31) and accedes in advance to the anticipated request. The opening question, however, contains a painful irony: Ph.'s letter is indeed about their marriage bed and children, but its contents are not what Th. imagined. His promise that no new woman will come into his bed (λέκτρα is emphatic in its placement) also stands in contrast to the false assertion of the letter, that another man violated their marriage (bed). In at least three other plays (*IT*, *IA*, and *Sthen.*) Eur. employs letter writing as a crucial plot device. On women's literacy in contemporary Athens and Greek tragedy, see F. D. Harvey, *REG* 79 (1966), 621-3.

**858. What:** ἄλλ' ἦ suggests that the thought that the speaker is about to express has just occurred to him; see *GP*, 27-8, and Barrett ad loc.

**862-5. Look:** καὶ μὴν indicates a further point of discovery, the imprint of the ring. On this combination of particles (frequently used to introduce new characters onto the stage), see *GP*, 356-7.

**862-3.** On the uses of such seals in the fifth century, see J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (London 1970), 235-8.

**863. seeks my attention:** αἰνῶ, along with its compound προσαἰνῶ, lit. refers to a dog wagging its tail, fawning. Metaphorically it can be used of a "sight or a sound which appeals for recognition by vividly striking our senses" (Jebb on Soph., *Ant.* 1213f.); cf. *Ion* 685, Soph., *Ant.* 1?14, *PV* 835.

**864-5.** The tablet is made of two wooden plates, joined by a hinge; the string tying together the plates is held on by sealing wax, which bears the ring's imprint. The writing is on the wax-coated inner sides of the wooden boards.

**866-70.** These lyric verses (predominantly dochmiac) are delivered by the chorus or chorus leader while Th. removes the string and begins to read the tablet. He gives no indication of hearing these words.

**867-8.** The text is corrupt here (there is no good sense), with no ready remedy. The phrase μὲν οὖν ἀβίωτος βίου seems to be taken from 821 and probably displaced the true reading. Barrett, at the end of a full discussion of the textual issues involved, points to *Med.* 1290, where, in the wake of Medea's infanticide, the chorus ask τί δῆτ' οὖν γένοιτ' ἄν ἔτι δεινόν: ("What additional horror could there be?") and suggests something like <τινος ἔτ' ἄν δεινοῦ> πρὸς τὸ κρανθὲν εἶη τυχεῖν ("In light of what has happened, what terrible thing could there be to meet with?"). This suggestion may be close to the original, and I translate it (within daggers), but it cannot be thought more than possible.

**871-3.** Already the scholiast recorded that some mss. did not contain these lines. They seem to be intended to replace 867-70, an attempt by a later hand to avoid the chorus's knowing that the tablet holds another calamity in advance of Th. reading it. (See 855n.) Most editors follow Nauck in excising them. The flatness of the sentiment (the chorus reverting from certainty to doubt about the house's ruin) and the meter (iambics after excited dochmiacs) tell against them. Furthermore, this prayer is "addressed to a *daimon* who lacks all definition and qualification; nowhere else in Greek tragedy is a prayer of petition directed to such a *daimon*" (Mikalson [1989], 91).

**874. ill upon ill:** further examples of such repetitions in Gygli-Wyss, 75-6, esp. 75 n.3 and 76 n.1.

**875. unendurable, unspeakable:** Th. had used almost identical words at 846 in response to the first "ill", Ph.'s death. Wilamowitz, following Hartung, deleted this line, finding the following 876 ("Tell me, if I may be told") intolerable after Th. has just said that the matter is "unspeakable", and Barrett followed him. But the phrase has a strong rhetorical coloring and should not be taken literally (Mérider glosses it with "affreux"); cf. *Hec.* 714-20, *Ion* 782, and see Lloyd-Jones (1965=1990), 431.

**876. What is it?:** τί χρῆμα is colloquial; see Stevens, 21-2, and Fraenkel on Aesch., Ag. 1306.

**877-80.** Th. abandons simple spoken iambics. The first line is an iambic trimeter, but with the substitution of a choriamb for the second iamb; the second line is a trimeter, but with two resolutions in the second iamb; the rest is dochmiac. This short passage is framed by the "speech" of the tablet: **cries out, cries out** (877) and **giving voice** (880).

**877-8.** The desire to escape an intolerable situation is commonly expressed in tragedy; see 732-41n. Moments ago Th. was eager to go inside the palace; now he wishes to escape. **weight of ills:** cf. 819.



- 879-80. **I've seen . . . a song giving voice in writing:** the combination of the senses of sight and sound (synaesthesia) might underscore Th.'s distraught state. On synaesthesia in Greek poetry, see W. B. Stanford, *Greek Metaphor: Studies in Theory and Practice* (Oxford 1936), 46-62, and cf. C. Segal, *ICS* 2 (1977) 88-96. **giving voice:** φθέγγομαι is properly used of persons and animals, although by extension it is used of objects as well.
881. **leader of ills:** cf. Aesch., *Ag.* 1628. The phrase calls to mind the common ἀρχὴ κακῶν ("source of ills"). **leader:** ἀρχηγός is only very rarely in poetry applied to an inanimate object; cf. Men., fr. 333.10 (Koerte<sup>2</sup>).
- 882-90. Th. begins in lyric rhythms (dochmiacs) but returns to spoken iambs when he finally declares (885ff.) the contents (as opposed to the horror) of the tablet and calls down a curse upon Hipp.
- 882-3. **gates of my mouth:** reminiscent of the well-known Homeric phrase "barrier of my teeth", but with no exact parallel. **hard to express:** the adj. δυσεκπέρατος lit. = "hard to cross through" (the gates of Th.'s mouth). See 678n.
884. Th. calls the city to witness the wrong done to him. In tragedy such a cry was common for suppliants (e.g., *Held.* 69ff., Aesch., *Supp.* 905ff., Soph., *OC* 884ff.) and others who had been wronged (e.g., *Ilec.* 1091ff., Aesch., *Ag.* 1315, Soph., *Ant.* 940ff.) and it reflected contemporary practice. (On this custom and the convention in tragedy, see Taplin [1977], 218-21, and further references in Mastrorade on *Phoen.* 613.) It is possible, as some have suggested, that some (mute) characters representing Trozenian citizens enter at this point. No reference to them is ever made, however, and such an entrance now would distract from Hipp.'s arrival a few lines later.
- 885-6. **marriage bed:** εὐνή by metonymy refers to the partner of one's marriage bed (cf. 1011), but I have kept the more literal translation. **showing no honor for the revered eye of Zeus:** Th. refers to Hipp.'s (alleged) crime as an offense against Zeus, chiefly because Zeus is associated with Justice (*Dike*) (cf. Th. at 1171-2) and is commonly thought to oversee all the actions of mortals (see, e.g., 1363 [implicitly], Hes., *WD* 267 and West ad loc., and cf. F 506). That the violation is against Th.'s marriage may also lie behind the appeal to Zeus, since marriage was included in the domains of his authority, and he was called ζύγιος ("of the yoke [of marriage]"). The same verb ἀτιμάζω ("dishonor") is used again by both Th. (1040) and Hipp. (1192), each of his treatment at the other's hands.
- 887-90. Feeling that he has been betrayed by his son, Th. now turns to his father, Poseidon, and asks him to kill Hipp., fulfilling the curses he gave to him. Th. is referred to as Poseidon's son only in connection with the curse (also at 1169, 1315, 1318, 1411); elsewhere (1283, 1431) he is Aegeus'; see *Intro.*, 23, for Th.'s double paternity. **three curses; with one:** the curse invoked here is clearly the first one of the three, the efficacy of which remains untried (see esp. 1169-70). It is likely, albeit uncertain, that tradition fixed the number of wishes at three (ἄρά can be "wish" or, more commonly in Attic

- "curse"). Eur., while working with the traditional number, manipulates the tradition (here the *first* one is used against Hipp. instead of the last) so that he is able at the same time to maintain suspense concerning the curse's fulfillment. See, more fully, Barrett on 43-6 and 887-9. For the view that the granting of *three* wishes was Eur.'s invention, see J. Kakridis, *RM* 77 (1928), 21-33. **if:** εἴπερ normally implies confidence (see 98n.), but the phrase does remind us that the outcome of the curse is uncertain. In Greek and Latin literature curses are, however, pronounced in order to be fulfilled; only rarely is a curse uttered without effect. **may he not escape this day:** added emphasis on the significance of this day, already highlighted by Aph. at 21 (see 21-2n.).
- 893-8. Th. now makes a proclamation of exile, adding a human punishment to the divine one. On the level of character, Th. can plausibly pronounce exile immediately after invoking the curse because of his doubts about its efficacy (see 890 and 1169-70). This double penalty also allows for Hipp. to go into exile, where the miraculous death (from the curse) meets him. In the following contest between father and son, no mention is made of the curse, only of the exile, over which Th. has control. A debate on a curse would, in any case, be ridiculous. (See Strohm, 11, and Barrett on 887-9.) Both the curse and the proclamation of exile are speech acts, and both, like virtually all speech acts in the play, are destructive. Structurally the two punishments announced by Th. at the end of this scene, death (by the curse), and exile, are each presented in six-line sections of spoken iambic trimeter (885-90 and 893-8, separated by the chorus leader, 891-2), each of which falls into two sections of two and four lines.
893. **Impossible:** Th. has no interest in recalling his curse, and Greek literature offers no example of a curse being recalled after its proclamation. **drive him from this land:** exile was for the Greeks a more severe punishment than it might seem to us. The depth of loss in losing one's homeland and the pain of exile are frequently remarked in tragedy; see, e.g., *Phoen.* 388ff., *Med.* 645ff., *El.* 236, 352.
894. **will be stricken:** the fut. perf. πεπλήξεται marks a strong assertion for the future; Th. is confident that one *or* the other punishment will be effective.
895. **into the house of Hades:** cf. 55-6, where immediately before Hipp. first arrived on-stage from the *eisodos* Aph. announced that he did not know that the gates of Hades lay open for him. The divine prediction of death and the prayer for a divinely caused one echo each other and help to articulate the dramatic structure: each occurs before Hipp.'s arrival onto the scene from the same *eisodos* and into situations about which he is equally ignorant (see 56 and 904). See Luschnig, 83. The copyist of M, which has πύλας ("gates") instead of δόμου (house), might have been led astray by the earlier phrase.
898. **will exhaust:** ἀντλέω lit. refers to draining out bilge water; see 767n.
- 899-901. **at just the right moment:** characters in Greek tragedy often appear appropriately, and Hipp. explains (902-3) that he has come in response to Th.'s cry. While this motivates his entrance on the level of character, dramati-



cally, after the curse and proclamation of exile have been issued, there is nothing left but the inevitable confrontation of father and son.

**902-1101.** With Hipp.'s arrival, the scene is set for the *agon* between him and his father. The *agon* was a formalized debate between two parties, sometimes with a third acting as judge, and is found in almost all of the plays of Eur. (debates in Soph. and Aesch. tend to be less formalized). These debates allowed for the expression of opposing views on an issue, typically, as here, one integral to the play. The development of this dramatic form coincided with the increased interest in rhetoric and the agonistic speeches of many contemporary intellectuals. It also reflected the Athenians' well-known love of debate and in several respects resembled trials in the law courts of the litigious Athenians. The pattern here conforms to what is found in many other plays of Eur., although the structure of the *agon* was flexible (see esp. Duchemin, 156-66): initial exchange between participants (902-35); set speeches in which each lays out his arguments (936-80, 983-1035); bland intervening choral comments (981-2, 1036-7); dialogue, here chiefly in distichs (1038-1101). As is typically the case in *agones*, neither side persuades the other; the conflict only deepens (Strohm, 11). The debate is essentially retrospective, each party detailing and defending his views. Because of his position of authority, Th. can serve as judge as well as plaintiff, as he retains the power to act regardless of the arguments.

The *agon*, then, does not advance the plot, but it does serve several purposes. First of all, it provides a frame for the inevitable conflict between father and son. The formally structured debate makes a prolonged and dramatic conflict possible, as it provides a controlled rhetorical forum for Th.'s implacable anger and Hipp.'s useless defense. (In fact, one of the impressive achievements of this *agon*, and of others, is to create a strong dramatic interest in an issue that has already been settled.) It also allows for the articulation of Th.'s views of Hipp. and a further view of Hipp.'s self-definition. Both of these accounts, however, are refracted through Ph.'s lie. Th.'s entire portrait of Hipp. is shaped to conform to that of the rapist his wife has claimed him to be. Hipp.'s defense and self-portrait are constructed in response to this lie, as he explains how he is not the *sort* of person who would commit such a crime (see 983-1035n. for arguments from probability). (Cf. Goff, 38-9, for a somewhat different perspective on this aspect of the *agon*.) At the same time, the debate helps to shape our sympathies, showing the rashness of Th.'s punishment against his son (see also 891-2 and cf. 1323-4), about whom he has been painfully lied to (see esp. 1336-7), and Hipp.'s virtue in keeping his oath (see 1060-3n.) and his self-righteousness. In speaking, Th. goes first, presenting, as it were, the prosecution's case; Hipp., the "defendant", speaks second. More than many such speeches in *agones*, Th.'s is blended smoothly into the larger scene. First, it actually comes in the middle of a larger episode. Second, it begins as the third of three general reflections on mankind made by Th.; what proves to be a full-fledged *rhesis*, the first speech of an *agon*, begins as the third of three reflec-

tions, which grows in length with the addition of an example—Hipp. On the *agon* in general, see *General Intro.*, 12-3, and, to the bibl. cited there, add Strohm, 3-49.

**902-15.** Like Th., Hipp. comes on-stage after hearing cries, and ironically, in coming to aid his father, he finds himself the source of his father's outrage. (See further Taplin [1978], 115.) Upon his initial arrival, Hipp. has only partial vision of what is on-stage (see 856-65n.), but, unlike the pattern often developed by Eur., the partial vision here is not prolonged or exploited. (Cf. the similar situation at *Supp.* 87ff.) While Hipp. addresses his father in his opening line and three times thereafter (905, 910, 915), Th. refuses to speak to him (note esp. 911), and when he does speak at 916 it is in the form of an apostrophe to mankind. In fact, despite Hipp.'s repeated attempts to establish contact with his father, Th. avoids any reference to him until 943 and does not address him until 946, and then only to mock him. (On the avoidance of contact in this and similar scenes, see Mastrorarde [1979], 78.) Just as the Nurse tried to get Ph. to speak in the first episode and Hipp. *not* to speak in the second, Hipp. here attempts to break through his father's silence.

**903.** The text is uncertain: most mss. offer ἐφ' ᾧ(ι)τινι ἐτένεις, but the form ᾧτινι is not found elsewhere in tragedy. Diggle's remedy, ὄτωι ἐτένεις ἐπι, neatly rids the text of an unwanted form while being palaeographically unobjectionable. Barrett, however, objects further that Hipp. has not heard Th.'s lament, only his cry to the city, and proposes ἐφ' ᾧ ἐτήρα ἐχέεις ("at which you have raised it"). This corruption would be difficult to explain, however, and the lack of "realism" that troubles Barrett did not trouble the ancient dramatists, esp. in a case like this where we cannot be sure what Hipp. is imagined to have heard. Diggle's suggestion should be accepted, as it is by Stockert.

**905. Ah!** on ἔα, see Stevens on *And.* 896. **What's this?:** see 876n.

**907-8. I left:** the imperf. of λείπω is "used of events where the verb's subject would possibly or probably return, while the aor. signifies the finality of desertion, forsaking, leaving a legacy on dying, etc." (Davies on Soph., *Trach.* 234-5); it should be preferred here over the aor. of mss. ΟΥΚΔ. **not long ago:** the phrase οὐπω χρόνος παλαιός (Lehrs' conjecture for χρόνον παλαιόν) is a parenthetical phrase (with ἔστι understood).

**909-11.** Hipp.'s three short questions in a few lines might suggest his agitation. 910 repeats in essence 904; the earlier line concluded the opening of the speech, up to the discovery of the corpse, while this one rounds off his questions about Ph.

**912-3.** Diggle follows Barrett in deleting these lines. The sentiment (in essence, "Tell me because I am greedy to hear") does not belong here and is unflattering to Hipp. (λίχνος and ἀλίσκεται are both pejorative in context).

**914-5.** In his ignorance, Hipp. has no idea that the person he hopes to help on the basis of *philia* (on which see 613-4n.) has already prayed for his death and exiled him.



- 916-20.** A similar sentiment is found at Theognis, 430-1, a similar trope at *Ilec.* 814-9. The rhetorical structure of these lines (A, B, C, but not X) is a priamel (focusing device), enhanced by the assonance of the repeated 2nd person pl. endings (-τε and -θε). Th.'s words here share similarities with the opening of Hipp.'s speech at 616ff.; see Friis Johansen, 124. The marvelous inventions of mankind serve as a foil also at Soph., *Ant.* 332ff. (note esp. 361-2). Th.'s criticism of the way things are is a less strong version of the wishes for a different world seen, e.g., at 616ff. and 925ff.; see 616-24n.
- 920.** **good sense:** the verb φρονεῖν forms part of the compound εωφρονεῖν (lit. "to be safe-minded"); see Hipp.'s immediate response on the teaching of good sense (921-2) and his earlier views on the teaching of *sophrosune* (79-80, 667). Appeals to good thinking, sense, and wisdom are particularly common in *agones*; see also 1012 and further examples in Duchemin, 200.
- 921-2.** **clever man:** σοφιστής refers to one who was an expert in any field (music, poetry, etc.). In the later fifth century it came to be used of "experts" in rhetoric and instruction, the "sophists", men like Protagoras, Prodicus, and Gorgias, who instructed others for a fee.
- 923-4.** **being subtle:** λεπτοργέω (lit. "do fine or detailed work") is used primarily of artisans; it appears (in a metaphorical sense) uniquely here in tragedy. With the potential excesses of the tongue (speech), cf. 395-7 and (implicitly) 646-8. Hipp.'s dismissal of his father's fine words echoes the Nurse's similar dismissal of Ph.'s at 490-1.
- 925-31.** Very similar to Th.'s wish is *Med.* 516-9 (note τεκμήρια, 517). (Cf. also Hipp.'s wish, expressed earlier, that procreation occur without women—see 616-24 and n. ad loc.—the equally fantastic wish of the chorus at *IIF* 655ff., that the gods give a second youth to virtuous mortals, so that the good and the bad could be distinguished, and F 402 [from *Ino*], on methods for selecting a good, and not a base, wife.) The difficulty of making an ethical evaluation is expressed also at *El.* 367ff. (and cf. Theognis 117-28 and 889 PMG).
- 928-9.** **two voices:** one is just, the other how it happened to be, that is to say one's "normal" voice, which, when it contemplates unjust things, can be refuted by the just voice. (The imperf. ἐτύγχανεν stands in a relative clause dependent on a purpose clause, after a contrary-to-fact statement; see K.-G. I.257-8.) For the suggestion that in this passage Eur. was influenced by the contemporary practice of ventriloquism, and a generally useful discussion of this passage, see R. Musurillo, *TAPA* 104 (1974), 231-8. This passage might also recall F 439 from *Hipp. I*, also probably spoken by Th. in the *agon* (see *Intro.*, 36). If so, the present passage is an interesting "rewriting" of the earlier one, as Th. goes a step further and not merely laments the rhetoric that makes deception possible, but wishes for a fantasy world where a second voice would make it impossible. Cf. also *Ilec.* 1187-91.
- 931.** **and we would not be deceived:** these words do not form part of the preceding purpose clause, as the ἄν and οὐκ (not μή) make clear.

- 933.** **afflicted with this sickness:** the sickness motif that has been used almost exclusively in connection with Ph.'s condition stemming from her passion for Hipp. (see 38-40n.), is now applied to Hipp. himself; Ph.'s final wish (730-1) has come true.
- 934-5.** As Hipp. is on the verge of learning the cause of Th.'s anger, these lines and the following one echo the Nurse's words when on the verge of learning the object of Ph.'s passion: ἐκ τοι πέπληγμαί (I'm alarmed), in the identical position in the verse, is found also at 342, referring also to astonishment caused by speech (λόγος at 342 and λόγοι at 935), and ποῖ προβήσεται, ("where will it end up?") occurs in the same verse position, at 342 and 936. **your words, going astray, beyond sense:** a combination of the common image of "straying from (the path of) good sense" (see 232n.; only here it is one's words, not the person, who strays) with an image of being uprooted from one's proper place. The adj. ἔξεδρος is found in tragedy only here, *IT* 80, and twice in Soph. As at the end of his previous four-line response to his father (921-4), Hipp. expresses his concern with his father's excess, there of his tongue, here of his words.
- 936-80.** Th.'s speech, the first of the pair, is structured in four sections. 1) 936-42: Th. begins with a general reflection on the progressive depravity of mortals; 2) 943-57: he then turns his attention to Hipp. as an (implied) example of his general point and proceeds to mock his asceticism and ostensible piety; 3) 958-70: Th. anticipates what he imagines might be three of Hipp.'s arguments and offers refutations of them; 4) 971-80: Th. breaks off his argument and exiles Hipp. (On the structure, see also Friis Johansen, 82-3.) Since Th. already is convinced of Hipp.'s guilt (he twice refers to the corpse as the surest proof of this, 944-5 and 971-2) and acts as judge as well as plaintiff, he does not have to make a strong case against his son. In fact, much of the speech is devoted not to argument but to attack and banishment, and the actual charge against Hipp. is only indirectly referred to (944 and 966-7). The speech picks up on many of the themes of the play and, because of Th.'s ignorance, many of his points have an ironic reading. On similarities between Th. here and Hipp. at 616ff., see 940-2n., 946-7n., and 953n., and Kovacs (1987), 62.
- 936-42.** In his third reflection (each of which begins with an exclamation), Th. imagines a fantasy world, one in which the gods will have to expand earth's capacity in order to contain the wicked, and, like the previous fantasy, this one deals with, albeit less directly, a way of distinguishing the bad from the good: the addition to earth will contain the unjust. The progressive depravity of mankind is an idea as old as Hesiod (*WD* 106-201), where it is already traditional. The last word of Th.'s first line (φρενός, mind) echoes the last word of Hipp.'s speech (φρενῶν, "senses").
- 937.** Commenting on another character's **daring** (τόλμα in its bad sense) is not uncommon in dramatic disputes; cf. *Med.* 469, Soph., *Ant.* 449, *OC* 761.



- 938. generation after generation:** I follow most editors and translators in rendering κατ' ἀνδρὸς βίον. Barrett suggests, more literally but less plausibly, "in the course of a man's lifetime".
- 940-2.** As Hipp. imagines a world in which men would not have to mix with women (616ff.), Th. envisions two distinct worlds: one for the wicked, and (implicitly) the current one for the good. And as Hipp. is concerned with one's character by nature (79-81 and see 79-80n.), Th.'s other world is for the *inherently* wicked.
- 943. Look at this man:** with κέψαθε, Th. leaves behind his general reflections and invites those present (and, implicitly, the audience) to consider the specific case of Hipp.'s depravity. (The change in person from third to second often marks the transition from the opening, polemical section of a speech to its body; see Friis Johansen, 82.) This imperat. (for such imperats. in the orators, see, e.g., Lysias, 1.37, 39, 43, and other examples in Lloyd, 45 n.24), the forensic use of ὄδε (on which see Lloyd, 86 n.59), and the verb ἐξελέγχεται ("is convicted", 944) all suggest the language of the law courts. The strong sibilant sound of this line (eight sigmas) might suggest Th.'s anger and contempt.
- 944. disgraced:** αἰσχύνω, and its compound κατααἰσχύνω appear 7x in this play: once it refers to the woman who first disgraced her marriage bed (408); it is used twice by Ph. in strong assertions of *not* disgracing, in yielding to passion, her husband or her home (420, 719); three times by Th. in regard to Hipp.'s alleged violation (here, 1165 and 1172); and Art. uses it in her opening attack on Th. (1291). This verb is similarly used of sexual disgrace at, e.g., *El.* 44, Aesch., *Ag.* 1626, Hom., *Od.* 8.268, and cf. Aesch., *Ag.* 1363, *Cho.* 990.
- 946-7. show your face here:** Hipp., under the force of hearing for the first time the actual charge against him, has either turned or moved away or covered himself. **before your father:** Hipp. planned to return when his father did to observe how Ph. and the Nurse could look at Th. (661-2). Now he is gazing on Ph. before Th., but he himself is called before his father's gaze. Cf. Soph., *Aj.* 462ff. for the extreme power of a father's gaze. **I've come into pollution:** Musgrave's correction ἐλήλυθα (I've come) for ἐλήλυθα ("you've come") of the mss. is certain: rhetorically the pollution must be not that posed to Hipp. by the corpse, but to Th. by Hipp. The Greeks imagined that pollution could be spread by sight (cf. *HF* 1155-6. and Bond ad loc.). Th.'s feeling that he has been exposed to pollution matches Hipp.'s feeling of pollution at 653-5.
- 948-9.** Th.'s attack on Hipp.'s character undercuts Hipp.'s potential argument based on character (see 1007), while belittling his self-presentation. These lines and this section of the speech echo and challenge Hipp.'s self-portrait as drawn in his speech to Art.'s statue in the first scene in the play, as Th. attacks the basic aspects of Hipp.'s self-identity. **You:** strong irony and contempt are expressed in the particle δή; see *GP*, 207-9. **consort with:** ξύνειμι was used by Hipp. of his connection to Art. at 85 (and cf. 17, where see n.). **virtuous:** the word fundamental to Hipp.'s self-definition (see 80 and 79-80n.). **pure of**

- evils:** the third echo of Hipp.'s earlier speech to Art.'s statue, where the adj. ἀκήρατος (pure, there "untouched") is used twice (73, where see n., and 76).
- 950-1.** Th., in attacking Hipp.'s professed piety, employs the gods as allies in his argument—if he believed Hipp. he would be thinking the gods stupid. **couldn't be persuaded:** ironic in light of the great weight that is placed on his being (wrongly) persuaded by Ph.'s words; see 1288-9n.
- 952-4.** In these lines Th. taunts Hipp.'s ostensible piety by presenting a ridiculous picture of his religious life. Orpheus was a legendary character, around whom developed a religious movement, called Orphism, and a body of "Orphic" writings. Our knowledge of Orphism is scanty, but among its tenets was a belief in an immortal soul, which needed to be purified through asceticism, including vegetarianism, and various rituals. It probably also mandated sexual restraint; see Parker, 301. Hipp. is not meant to be portrayed as a recognizable Orphic; Th.'s rhetorical point here is that Hipp. is a hypocrite. He accordingly taunts him with a caricature of his religious life for the purpose of ridicule, and in contrast with, according to Th., his real, base nature. Hipp., whose hunting activities are emphasized in the drama, is difficult to imagine as a vegetarian (see 112n.). (Hunting itself may have been forbidden to Orphics.) The reference to Dionysus (a bacchant was a worshipper of the god) may reflect actual connections between the worship of the two figures, but it may also stem from Th.'s angry creation of a composite holy man, the very combination adding to the derision.
- 952. diet:** for the connotations of βορά, see 112n.
- 953. be a huckster:** καπηλεύω (lit. "be a salesman") is rare in tragedy, only here and Aesch., *Sept.* 545; the tone is clearly contemptuous. It contrasts with ἔμπορος ("merchant") of Ph. at 964. For other commercial metaphors in the play, see 616-68n.
- 954. many vaporous writings:** lit. "the smoke of many writings"; the use of καπνός ("smoke") for something insubstantial was commonplace (see *LSJ* I), and Plato (*Rep.* 364e) refers to the worthlessness of Orphic writings.
- 956-7. hunt you down with their solemn words:** the hunting image, explicit in the verb θηρεύουσι (957) calls to mind Hipp. as an actual hunter, and also, retrospectively, colors the earlier ἐλήφθη ("you're caught", 955); the hunter has been apprehended. For the language here, cf. *Sthen.*, F 661.8. The image often appears in sexual contexts; see Collard on the passage from *Sthen.*
- 958-70.** Th. rebuts in advance Hipp.'s potential arguments from probability (on which see 983-1035n.). Such a practice of answering an imagined objection was common in the law courts (the formal term was *prokatalēpsis*) and in Eur.'s *agones*; see Lloyd, 30-1.
- 958.** The new section of the speech begins emphatically with τέθνηκεν (is dead) as the first word, followed by the deictic pronoun (ἧδε), presumably accompanied by a gesture towards the corpse.



- 958-9. **you are convicted:** ἀλίκομαι was a standard legal term (see 419-21n.), and the phrase αἰτίαν φυγεῖν ("escape the charge", 961), although it is not commonly found, has a legal ring.
- 960-1. Again, Th. gestures towards the corpse (τῆςδε, 961), asserting the strength of the dead (silent) Ph. against any oaths or words, as he does also at 970-1. The play's theme of speech and silence is implicit here. For the audience the reference to oaths is ironic, since the one oath that Hipp. has already taken swears him to *silence*, so that he cannot mount a proper defense.
- 962-5. Friction between the bastard and the legitimate has already been acknowledged in the play, where Hipp.'s illegitimate status is emphasized (see 10-2n.). Again, Th.'s words suggest more than he can know: it was in fact Ph.'s concern for her children, along with her own desire for a good reputation, that drove her to her death, and Hipp. had become for her the enemy who threatened these goals; cf. 419ff., 719, and 728ff.
- 966-70. Such a view is implicit in Hipp.'s view of women and was commonplace (see Dover [1974], 101-2). Th. is correct that such a view is wrong (within the play see, e.g., the Nurse's remarks to Ph., 464-5), but he is ignorant of the fact that in this case it is Ph., not the male Hipp., who has been struck by Aph.
966. **Or:** ἀλλά is used to indicate a new (imagined) suggestion from the speaker, after his rejecting the previous one. Proposing and rejecting successive suggestions, a device known as *hypophora*, was popular with the orators and with Eur.; see *GP*, 10-11. **will you say:** added in translation; it is omitted in the Greek through an ellipse. **sexual folly:** see 642-4n. As in that earlier passage, there is felt here also some of the intellectual sense of the word: sexual folly inheres in men too, whenever Cyprus stirs up their *mind*.
- 969-70. Cf. *El*. 1039-40.
- 971-2. **why do I contend like this with your arguments:** cf. *Or*. 532-3. Th. is referring to Hipp.'s *imagined* arguments, with which he has been debating. **contend:** ἀμιλλῶμαι is a self-conscious reference to this debate as an *agon*; see parallels at Lloyd, 4-5. **corpse . . . surest witness:** For other references in the play to mute witnesses, cf. 417-8, 977-80, 1022-3, and 1074-5.
- 973-5. Th. had already made this proclamation before Hipp. arrived on the scene (893, 897-8); now the conclusion reached before the *agon* began is confirmed in Hipp.'s hearing. On Th.'s silence concerning his other "sentence"—the curse—see 893-8n. Since Athens is Th.'s home, Trozen offering merely temporary domicile, the exile includes Athens as well as Trozen.
- 976-80. Cf. *IIF* 181-6 and 368ff. for appeals to such witnesses of heroic deeds. **Isthmian Sinis:** one of the many brigands (from the perspective of Th.'s legend) dispatched by Th. on his original journey from Trozen to Athens. **Scironian rocks:** a cliff on the coast of the Saronic coast of the Isthmus, SW of Megara, named after Sciron, another villain killed by Th. on the same journey. Th. puts his contest with Hipp. (note ἡεεηθήσομαι, **I am to be**

- worsted, 976) into the same category as his earlier ones; he will lose face if he does not live up to those earlier deeds. Like Ph.'s, Th.'s standards are to a degree directed outwards—to what others will say of him. He fears that he will have no witnesses of his earlier deeds of glory (note μαρτυρήσει, **will bear witness**, 977). Ph. also was concerned with witnesses (403-4), as Hipp. will be later in this scene (1022, 1074-5). Th. has earlier referred to Hipp.'s boasts (950); he will not allow his own claims to be called such. See further Goff, 43-4, for the consequences of the defeat viewed in linguistic terms.
976. **cou:** a type of comparative gen. after ἡεεθήσομαι. The interlocked word order is explained by "the tendency of enclitics to gravitate towards the beginning of their clause, even at the cost of intruding between words forming a syntactical unity" (Barrett ad loc.).
- 981-2. The sentiment is a cliché of Greek thought; cf., e.g., *Tro*. 1203-6, *Ion* 381-3, F 536.
- 983-1035. A Kafkaesque situation—an innocent man has been falsely accused by his own father of a most heinous crime, and now, knowing that judgment has already been passed, he must make his defense. Lacking any evidence or witnesses (1022) and unable to question Ph. herself (1023), Hipp. must rely solely on his sworn oath and, the stock-in-trade of the orators, arguments from probability, the sort that Th. in his speech imagined Hipp. would use (see 958-70n.). Arguing from probability (*eikos*) was one of the chief developments in Greek rhetoric in the fifth century. (See, e.g., G. Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* [Princeton 1963], 30-2.) It allowed the speaker great range for exploring possible arguments to refute, thereby making his case seem the more plausible. The "refutation" of these arguments *proves* nothing, of course, but in doing so, Hipp. can imagine a victory of words, while revealing more about his own self-image. The defense speech resembles in its structure and proportion Th.'s prosecution speech: 1) an opening *proem*, in which Hipp. professes to have unpolished skills for speaking before a crowd (983-91~36-942, 9 lines matching 7); 2) Hipp. replies to Th.'s attacks on his character (991-1006~943-57; 16 lines matching 15); 3) he then, as did Th., considers and rebuts three of his opponent's potential arguments (1007-20~658-70, 15 lines matching 13); 4) Hipp. expresses regret over the lack of witnesses for himself and Ph.'s inability to participate in the debate and then swears an oath that he did not violate Ph. (1021-31; while this section does not properly match any one in Th.'s, it replies to Th.'s breaking off his argument and turning to sentencing in light of Ph.'s corpse, "the surest witness"); 5) in conclusion Hipp. neither summarizes the events nor pleads, but refers enigmatically both to his oath sworn to the Nurse and his own interpretation of Ph.'s action (1032-35).
- Th.'s speech had several points of irony because of his ignorance of the truth; Hipp.'s speech has them because his oath keeps him from revealing the truth. The two men are thus kept from any full communication. To Th. Hipp. in this speech will seem like some "enchanter and sorcerer" (1038), and to many critics



he has seemed stiff, self-absorbed, and immodest. (Grube, 188, offers the extreme negative view: "Hipp. surpasses himself in tactlessness, frigidity and self-conceit.") There is a lack of emotion in this speech (not simply the result of the formal agonistic structure; contrast, e.g., Medea at *Med.* 465ff.), but in the following exchange with Th. he does express anger and grief (see 1038-1101n.). Deprived of any natural proof (witnesses, physical evidence, etc.), he must respond primarily to the issue of his character, about which he has a very high opinion and to which he will try to be faithful.

**983-91.** This motif ("I am not skilled") was a commonplace of the *prooemium* in courtroom speeches (cf., e.g., Lys. 12.3, 19.2, and most famously, Socrates in Pl., *Apol.* 17a-b), but Hipp. uses it with a twist. Typically the point of this motif was to curry sympathy from the jury—"I'm new at this, take it easy on me"; Hipp., however, uses it to express his contempt for the crowd; see also 958-9 and 990-1. (On this point, see Lloyd, 48.) The Platonic Socrates expressed similar contempt for the process, and like that Socrates, Hipp. prefers the company and judgment of the few. On Socrates and Hipp., see Michelini, 304-10, and H. North, "Socrates *Deinos Legein*" in *Language and the Tragic Hero*, ed. P. Pucci (Atlanta 1988), 127-8.

**983-4. Father:** whereas Th. could barely bring himself to address his son, and will not call him by name or refer to him as "child", "father" is the first word of Hipp.'s speech, and it recurs at 1000. (Cf. Soph., *Ant.* 635.) **intensity:** ξύντασις, Herwerden's conjecture, corrects the virtually meaningless ξύστασις ("conflict, engagement") of the mss.; see Barrett ad loc. **terrible:** δεινός, emphatic in its enjambed position at the beginning of 984, has a range of meanings, including "terrible, awesome, clever". It was commonly associated with skilled or clever speakers, an association which, in light of the following lines, is suggested here.

**984-5.** The contrast between seeming and substance (here rhetorically underscored by the repetition of καλός [fine] in the same metrical position in each of the two lines) was commonplace. For this contrast in a defendant's speech, see Cropp on *El.* 1015-6. For the ruinous quality of "overly fine words", cf. Ph. at 486-7. **unfold:** διαπτύσσω, like the related ἀναπτύσσω, is found in similar metaphors at, e.g., *Tro.* 662 and Soph., *Ant.* 709 (and cf. *Med.* 658-61 and fr. 889 PMG); see also 601-2n. The precise image here in "unfolding", if there is one, is unclear, but it ties in with the play's imagery of concealment and revelation.

**986-7.** Cf. Xen., *Mem.* 3.7.4. **unaccomplished:** lit. "unadorned", ἀκομψός in tragedy only here and F 473.1; the positive form of the adj. is used pejoratively of clever speech and speakers at *Supp.* 426, *Tro.* 651, F 16.2, and 188.5. See also L. Carter, *The Quiet Athenian* (Oxford 1986), 54 n.7. **crowd:** with the chorus, Th. and his attendants, and perhaps some of Hipp.'s companions on-stage, Hipp. can refer to a "crowd". On ὄχλος, here mildly pejorative, see Collard on *Supp.* 410b-11.

**988-9.** Cf. Aristoph., *Clouds* 891-2, where "Unjust Logos (Argument)" declares that he will be more likely to win before the many.

**990-1.** A further commonplace of the *prooemium*, often joined with the plea of inexperience; cf., e.g., Lys. 19.1, 12.3, Antiphon 1.1. Here, too, Hipp. uses a commonplace in a way that alienates potential sympathy.

**991-2. first . . . first:** on such rhetorical repetitions, see Collard on *Supp.* 517.

**993-5.** Hipp. earlier (601-2) invoked the earth and the light of the sun to bear witness to what he had suffered at the Nurse's hands; here he invokes the earth and the light as the limits of his claim of surpassing *sophrosune* (cf. Th. on Ph. at 848-51). (For the paradox of this claim, see 1365n.) The word also has the sense of sexual moderation, which nuance is stronger a few lines later (1007). Hipp.'s assertion is meant to rebut Th.'s attack on his *sophrosune* at 949. And again he refers to one's *inherent* qualities; cf. 79-80n. Although he wants to win his father over to his position, this assertion holds, he maintains, independently of Th.'s approval.

**996-1001.** Part of Hipp.'s definition of *sophrosune* is quite conventional (revere the gods), but his attitude towards friendship is (again) restrictive: he wants as his friends those who attempt no wrongdoing (cf. 614 and see 613-4n.) and do not command or engage in base deeds. (The uncommon verb ἀνθυπουργέω [repay in kind], in tragedy only here [999] and Soph. F 339, helps to underscore the unusualness of his claim.) In offering his definition of friendship, Hipp. implicitly alludes to, and excludes (again) from his friendship, Ph., one who, in his view, essayed evil and commanded another to do evil. His assertion of constancy to friends when away also implicitly contrasts with Ph.'s (imagined) inconstancy in Th.'s absence. For the connection between *sophrosune* and piety, cf. *Bacch.* 1150-51 and F 1067.

**1000-1.** This was a common standard of friendship; cf. *Supp.* 867-8 and Collard ad loc. Hipp. implies that he would not mistreat his father (by violating Ph.) in his absence. **laughs at:** see 728-31n.

**1002. And:** With the particle δέ, Hipp. moves from the general (indicated by μέν at 996) to the specific. **untouched:** ἄθικτος, used by Hipp. also of Th.'s marriage bed at 652, can have both an active ("not having touched") and a passive ("untouched") sense. For Hipp. the word well applies in both senses—he is undefiled ("untouched") by sex by not having "touched" it; see Aph.'s very similar language of him at 14 and Th.'s at 885, and cf. 1026 and 1044. **have:** the mss. split in having either ἔχειν ("have", i.e., "caught") or ἐλεῖν ("have caught"). Either is possible (I favor ἔχειν) and either echoes Th.'s emphatic ἐλήφθη ("you're caught") at 955, and ἀλίκτη ("you are convicted") at 949.

**1003. to this very moment:** for the idiom ἐκ τῶδ' ἡμέρας, cf. *Alc.* 9, where it appears for the first time in extant literature. **my body is pure of sex:** an echo of the chorus's words of Ph. at 138, "she has kept her body pure of Demeter's grain".



- 1004-5. pictures:** γραφήι presumably refers to the painting on vases, which frequently displayed sexually explicit scenes. For knowledge coming from paintings, cf. *Tro.* 686-7.
- 1006. virgin soul:** an unusual phrase; cf. Bacchylides 11.47.
- 1007-20.** Like Th., Hipp., in the third section of his speech, imagines and rebuts possible arguments of his opponent. Like Th., he brings up three arguments, the second two of which are related (on the textual issues involved here, see 1014-5n.).
- 1007. Suppose:** καὶ δὴ here denotes “imaginary realization, ‘suppose so-and-so happens’” (*GP*, 253). Murray’s conjecture of ἴτω for the unanimous reading ἴτωσ of the mss. both restores sense (ἴτωσ is unintelligible with καὶ δὴ) and offers an idiom common for dismissing a thought and accepting the consequences of that dismissal (cf., e.g., *Med.* 819, *Ilel.* 1278, *Bacch.* 365, where Dodds explains, “ἴτω is the Greek for a shrug of the shoulders”).
- 1008. corrupted:** διαφθείρω often has a moral sense; see 376n.
- 1009-10.** Hipp. never tries to answer this first argument, either because it was *prima facie* absurd or perhaps too sensitive a topic for refutation. Reference to Ph.’s surpassing beauty focuses again on her body, the concern of much of the play (see 131n.), and the supposed excellence might echo Th.’s earlier words about her (849-51).
- 1010-2.** The second argument, like the next one, assumes that Th. has been done away with as well, yet this is not mentioned at all. It also assumes a legal situation different from that of contemporary Athens. In Athenian law an ἐπίκληρος (heirress), properly speaking, was a woman through whom a father’s property could pass on to male descendants. But in myth being the husband of a widow seems to have offered some claim to the dead man’s household; cf. the stories of Penelope and her suitors, Jocasta and Oedipus, and Clytemnestra and Aegisthus. On the legal issues involved here, and a different interpretation, namely that the argument would seem ridiculous because Ph. was not an ἐπίκληρος, see J. Kells, *CQ* 17 (1967), 181-3.
- 1010. dwell as lord in your house:** οἰκέω οἶκον can have the sense “dwell as ruler in one’s house”; cf. *Phoen.* 486, 602, *IA* 331, *And.* 581, and cf. F 144 and its parody at Aristoph., *Frogs* 105.
- 1013.** The second argument concerns property; the third is about political power. **Or will you say:** see 966n. **sensible:** Hipp. elsewhere uses the word *sophron* only in its moral, not its intellectual, sense, although here the latter sense of the word seems primary and he clearly includes himself among the “sensible”. Although the corruption in 1014 (see 1014-5n.) makes it difficult to evaluate Markland’s proposal to punctuate 1013 with a question mark after ἦδύ (adopted by, e.g., Weil, Méridier, Stockert), I suspect it is correct and I translate accordingly.
- 1014-5.** The text is troubled. Barrett and Diggle dagger the first three and five syllables of 1014 respectively. As they stand, the lines say, bizarrely, that rule is not at all sweet unless it has ruined the mind of those who like rule. Barrett’s

- suggestion ἦκιστ’, ἐπεὶ τοι for the opening is plausible. The corruption, however, might extend beyond these few syllables; Wecklein, Weil, Nauck and Barrett deleted—or considered deleting—1012, 1014-5 or 1012-5, and Kovacs (*GRBS* 23 [1982], 45-7) offered supplementary reasons for excising all four. Against excision, see esp. Sommerstein, 33-5.
- 1016-20.** The rejection of the attraction of rule was commonplace; cf., e.g., Archilochus, fr. 19, Solon, fr. 33, *Ion* 621ff., *Phoen.* 549ff., and *Sthen.*, F 661.12-4. Very similar are Creon’s arguments at Soph., *OT* 583ff.
- 1019. political power:** see *LSJ* s.v. πράσσω III.5.
- 1021-31.** This portion of the speech resonates with legal language and procedures: Hipp. argues that since he has no witnesses (1022), and he is not being tried (1023) while Ph. is alive, so that Th. could determine the truth by examining . . . with the facts (1024), he will swear an oath (1025-6).
- 1021. you have the rest:** for such formulas as τὰ δ’ ἄλλ’ ἔχεις at or near the conclusion of a speech, see Fraenkel on Aesch., *Ag.* 1045f.
- 1022-3.** By appealing to his lack of witnesses, Hipp. responds to Th.’s claim that Ph. is the “surest witness” (972), as the reference to the dead Ph. in the next line makes clear. This appeal, like Th.’s, is to a mute (non-existent) witness; see 971-2n. **a witness to my true character:** οἶός εἰμ’ ἐγώ is potentially ambiguous, meaning either “(a witness) such as I am” or “(a witness) to what sort I am”; context favors the latter.
- 1024.** Hipp.’s assertion that a proper trial would allow Th. to discern the bad recalls Th.’s earlier wish for a way to distinguish the true from the false friend (925ff.), the good from the wicked (936ff.). At the same time it declares that this is not a fair trial.
- 1025.** In taking an oath, Hipp. echoes Th.’s rhetorical question of 960-1. A great number of different gods are invoked in swearing and the adj. ὄρκιος (of oaths) is used of many of them, but esp. of Zeus.
- 1026-7.** The oath is rhetorically emphatic: a tricolon, with anaphora, and with a strong development of thought. **touched:** see 1002n.
- 1028-31.** The typical punishment that the oath-taker would invoke for falsely swearing (the same as for breaking a truce or treaty) was for his and his household’s total destruction (ἐξώλεια) (see, e.g., Aristoph., *Frogs* 587-8 and *Dover ad loc.*); with no household to include, Hipp. focuses solely on his own ruin. Strikingly he does not call down this punishment if he has sworn falsely, but if he is inherently a bad man, expressing his concern with innate character more than specific actions, as he has before and will again in the enigmatic words at the end of this speech (see 1034-5n.). On this oath see also Segal (1972), esp. 165-70.
- 1028. may I perish with no glory, no name:** this imprecation ironically resumes the play’s themes of reputation and fame, as ἀκλεής (with no glory) is an opposite of εὐκλεής (on which see 47-8n.), and ἀνώνυμος (no name) is used by Aph. (1) and Art. (1429, where, she explains, in the context of establishing a cult for Hipp., that she will immortalize Ph.’s passion for



- him). Th., at the end of his speech, imagined his defeat in this contest as resulting in the loss of his reputation (see 976-80n.); Hipp., at the end of his, prays for the total loss of his reputation if he is wrong about his character.
- 1029.** This line, bathetic in the context (a reference to exile amidst a highly rhetorical pronouncement of total destruction and rejection even in death) and adapted in part from 1048, was deleted by Valckenaer and is bracketed by virtually all editors; for a defense, see Willink, 34.
- 1030-1.** Cf. the very similar and equally qualified wish of Pylades at *Or.* 1086-8, and see West ad loc. both for the general sentiment and for parallels to rejection by the cosmic elements.
- 1032.** Bothe's correction of εἰ ("whether") to τί (what) should be accepted.
- 1033.** for it's not right for me to say more: immediately after swearing an oath to his father, Hipp. cryptically alludes to the earlier oath he swore to the Nurse. 1032-3 also offer a response to Th.'s mocking assertion at 964-5.
- 1034-5.** Central to understanding these enigmatic lines are the different verbal aspects and the shifting semantics of the verb *σωφρονέω* (on which see *Intro.*, 45-6). Ph., who was not able to be virtuous (as a characteristic—this is the imperfective aspect), performed one act of virtue (this is the aor. aspect). Hipp., on the other hand, was virtuous in general (imperfective aspect again), but did not make good use of it (ἐχρῶμεθα is also imperf., excluding the possibility of the one, discrete act that Ph. took). The meaning of *σωφρονέω* (be virtuous . . . act virtuously) and its references in these lines are slippery, as the verb resonates among this root's several meanings. Ph., from Hipp.'s point of view, was unable to control her lust—except through her death (which was in fact Ph.'s thinking, 400ff.). When Hipp. explains that he did not make good use of being *sophron*, he is speaking in a practical sense—his response to the situation presented to him was, it has turned out, a poor choice, but he has no doubt about his general moral character. (Cf. 700-1n. for the Nurse's view of such a practical interpretation of behavior.) Goff, 39-40, suggests that "silence" could serve as a gloss for *sophrosune* at a number of points in the play, including here: Ph. could not be silent (to the Nurse, and indirectly to Hipp.) about her passion, except in death, while Hipp. can maintain his silence (by keeping his oath to the Nurse), but it does not serve him well. These lines also connect with the play's many other statements of doubleness (e.g., 317, 385-7, 612), on which see esp. Gill, 81-5. These lines are artfully structured—line 1034 framed by the forms of the verb *σωφρονέω* and the two lines forming an elegant chiasmus: a) ἐσωφρόνησε δ' b) οὐκ ἔχουσα σωφρονεῖν/ b) ἡμεῖς δ' ἔχοντες a) οὐ καλῶς ἐχρῶμεθα. The interlocked word order underscores the paradox of the words.
- 1036-7.** While maintaining her vow of silence (see 706-12n.), the chorus leader offers her own judgment—Hipp. has rebutted the charge by swearing an oath to the gods. Cf. Jocasta's comparable acceptance of Creon's oath that he did no wrong (*Soph.*, *OT* 644-8). **rebuttal of the charge:** the closest parallel for the phrase αἰτίας ἀποτροπὴν is at Aristoph., *Clouds* 776.

- 1038-1101.** The two set speeches give way to lively dialogue, primarily, but not exclusively, in distichs. After three lines spoken by Th., four by Hipp. and six (or five) by Th., the dialogue for the next forty-nine lines (1051-89) is in alternating distichs, except for 1056-63 (three lines of Th., four of Hipp., the break in structure corresponding with Hipp.'s realization that his exile is actually going to happen); the final twelve lines (1090-1101) are spoken by Hipp. The taut dialogue shows the emotional final appeals of Hipp. played out against the intransigence of Th., the whole scene colored by the irony of the speakers' ignorance. Th. has been unmoved by Hipp.'s defense and displays no pity or misgivings but rather contempt, hatred, and impatience. Hipp., for his part, expresses more disbelief than anger (and anger more at the situation than at his father) and is the more emotional character, contrasting with the lack of emotion expressed in his *rhesis* (see 983-1035n.). He asks several incredulous or rhetorical questions (1051-2, 1055-6, 1060-1, 1066-7) and frequently employs exclamations and apostrophes (1051, 1060, 1070, 1074, 1078, 1082). His attempts to win a stay of his punishment, whether by rhetoric (1041-4) or by "evidence" (1050-1, 1055-6) fail. He keeps his oath and loses the debate, yielding to his father's power. On this scene, see Schwinge, 43-7, esp. 46-7.
- 1038-40. enchanter and sorcerer:** γόης and ἐπωιδός are contemptuous and uncommon in tragedy, the former appearing only here and *Bacch.* 234, where the two are combined, the latter also at *Hec.* 1272 (adj. in a different sense), and Aesch., *Ag.* 1418; the related ἐπωιδή is slightly more common. Dodds, on *Bacch.* 234, observes that this was most likely a contemporary accusation against propagators of the Mystery cults at Athens. Cf. Pl., *Rep.* 364b-c, and *Symp.* 203d. Like Hipp. at 1031, Th. refers to Hipp.'s *inherent* character. **easy disposition:** εὐοργησία in tragedy only here and *Bacch.* 641. **dishonored:** see 885-6n.
- 1041-4.** Hipp. matches his father's (feigned?) marveling. In imagining this reversal of roles in which he as father would have killed a son he thought had violated his wife, he is in continued and ironic ignorance of the curse, through which Th. has already consigned him to death. For such hypothetical role-reversals in rhetorical argument, see Lloyd, 32 n.50 and his note on *And.* 668-71.
- 1041.** As earlier in this scene (see 902-15n.), Hipp. in his first words, after his defense speech, addresses his father.
- 1044. you dared:** the reading ἡξιούς is to be preferred to ἡξιούνς; the verb means lit. "to think [something] worthy (ἄξιον)"; see Barrett ad loc.
- 1045-50.** Th. reasserts his own authority, which Hipp. had briefly turned upside down in his contrary-to-fact assertions.
- 1045. like:** with ἄξιον (lit. "worthy") Th. picks up Hipp.'s ἡξιούς of 1044.
- 1047. death:** for "Hades" as an equivalent of "death", see *LSJ* II.1.
- 1049-50.** 1049 repeats exactly, with the necessary change in the verb from third to second person, Th.'s original description of Hipp.'s exile at 898. Repetition of a verse within a play, although it arouses suspicion, does not by itself warrant excision (see D. Page, *Actors' Interpolations in Greek Tragedy* [Oxford



1934], 103-5, for repetitions within plays, and on this phenomenon in Eur., see P. Harsh, *Hermes* 72 [1937], 435-49), and here the excision would cause another problem, namely that the participle ἀλητεύων would then stand bare and awkward. Remedies for this problem, including transpositions, bring with them other problems (a full discussion in Barrett ad loc.). 1049 should therefore stay. The repeated verse underscores Th.'s intransigence: Hipp.'s words have had no impact on him. Verse 898 was Th.'s final one before Hipp.'s entrance was announced, while here the line changes the debate, as Hipp. now sees that his attempts at persuasion have failed and he turns to despair, indicated by his opening cry at 1051. The gnomic 1050, on the other hand, is not, the scholiast reports, contained in many mss., offers a bathetic conclusion to this brief speech, and produces an awkward echo of 1047. This line should be deleted, as first done by Nauck, followed by, *inter alios*, Wilamowitz, Barrett, Diggle, Stockert. In defense of this line see Schwinge, 45, n.21, and Segal (1972), 179 n.25.

**1051. to inform:** μηνυτής was a legal term for "informer", commonly found in the orators, but in tragedy only here, *Antiope*, F 48.107 (Kambitsis), where this image is paralleled exactly, and Aesch., *Eum.* 245. Time was proverbially thought to bring all things to light (see 428-30n.), and Ph., also, thought that time reveals one's character (428-30). **against me:** I take the phrase καθ' ἡμῶν in its common, hostile sense (not a neutral one), assuming that Hipp. is talking from Th.'s perspective.

**1053-4.** In his anger, Th. echoes Aph. on the range of her power (3).

**1055-6.** Several of Hipp.'s words have a legal sense: **oath** (ὄρκος), **pledge** (πίστις); **examining** (ἐλέγξας); **without a trial** (ἄκριτος). The thrice repeated οὐδέ (without . . . or . . . or) in a tricolon crescendo is rhetorically effective.

**1057-9.** Fifth-century Athenians were familiar with prophets and various forms of divination, in addition to oracular shrines, both from everyday life and from literature. This is one of only two passages in Greek tragedy where someone dismisses the validity of omens in principle, as opposed to mortal prophecy or a specific prophet (Soph., *OT* 964-7 is the other); see Mikalson (1991), 105. Prophets and prophecies, while frequently derided (see esp. *Ilel.* 744-60), are never wrong in tragedy. On prophecy, divination and oracles, see Burkert (1985), 109-18.

**1057-8.** Th. again (see 856-7n.) personifies the tablet, and in his reply echoes Hipp.'s words at 1051-2 and 1055: δεδεγμένη (receiving) corresponds to δέξει ([won't] wait for, 1052), while the legal word κατηγορεῖ (accuses) matches the legal term μηνυτής (to inform, 1051), and πιστά (persuasively) is etymologically related to πίστις (pledge, 1055). **mantic lot:** lit. κλήρος = "lot", but, as the following lines suggest, here it is one derived from augury.

**1058-9.** Th.'s curt dismissal of augury recalls Hipp.'s harsh rebuke of Aph. at 113, as the second half of 1059 is identical to the second half of 113. For the tone of this language, see 113n.

**1060-3.** These lines, ostensibly addressed to the gods, are not an aside, as Th. responds to them immediately (τὸ σεμνόν, **your piety**, 1064, picks up εἰβῶ, **I am revering**, 1061); he hears but does not listen to his son. (See Bain [1977], 30-1.) Hipp. considers, if only briefly, violating his oath. Some critics have emphasized the fact that Hipp. rejects the notion of breaking his oath only because of the presumed ineffectiveness of doing so. But it is important to recognize that when faced fully with the reality of exile (his next lines concern where he might go in exile) he does not in fact break his oath. Eur. both heightens the drama of the moment ("Will Hipp. violate his oath?") and adds another stroke to his painting of Hipp.'s character. In his desperate straits, Hipp. turns to the gods, and realizing that his hope of successful human persuasion is impossible, keeps inviolate his relationship to the gods implicit in the oath.

**1064-5.** Th. here mocks Hipp.'s piety (feigned in Th.'s view), as in his *rhesis* he derided his religious observances. Both οἶμοι (Ah) and ἀποκτενεῖ (**will kill**) are in this context colloquial; see Stevens, 17 and 11-2.

**1066-7.** The first question is a tragic commonplace; cf., e.g., *Med.* 502, *Heracl.* 440, *Ilec.* 1099, *Bacch.* 1366, and see R. Fowler, *IJSCP* 91 (1987), 31 n.56.

**1068-9.** The mocking tone of Th.'s reply to Hipp.'s rhetorical question is underscored by his use of two uncommon words (λυμεῶνας, **those who corrupt**, in tragedy only here, F 260 and Soph., *Aj.* 573, and the unique ξυνοικούρους, **who . . . while helping to guard**) and the seven "k" sounds in 1069. **who do wrong while helping to guard their houses:** this trans. of the very condensed phrase ξυνοικούρους κακῶν makes sense contextually (κακῶν is obj. gen.) and is a modification of Barrett's; his trans. "share with them [the wives] in an evil guarding of the house" implies the women, like Clytemnestra, are culpable, but such an implication in Th.'s words is intolerable.

**1070-1. heart:** ἥπαρ lit. means "liver"; for the liver as the seat of emotions, see Kamerbeek on Soph., *Aj.* 938 and Padel (1992), 19. The particle δή following εἰ ("if") suggests some (hoped for) doubt on Hipp.'s part; see 98n.

**1072. wailed and learned beforehand:** the *hysteron proteron* (illogical order of events; in this case rather slight) is not uncommon in Greek, esp. when, as here, attention is placed on the logically second element—Th.'s reference to Hipp.'s wailing, which picks up the latter's comment "this is near tears" at 1070.

**1073. act outrageously:** ὑβρίζω of sexual violation (or adultery) also at *IT* 13, *Sthen.*, F 661.20, and *Lys.* 1.16.

**1074-5.** In his next three distichs Hipp., turning to the house, to himself and to his mother, expresses wishes, the first two formally, the third implicitly, of impossible realization. His invocation to the house as witness, which contin-



ues the quasi-legal tone of this scene, recalls not only his and his father's referring to his exile in terms of others' houses (1066-9), but also Ph.'s words about the house as (potential) witness; see 417-8 and n. there. Cf. also *Phoen.* 1342-4.

**1076-7.** In reply, Th. employs the language of the courtroom (witnesses, and reveals—μηνύω is cognate with the noun μηνυτής, on which see 1051n.) and draws on the play's theme of speech and silence. Th. compliments (sarcastically) Hipp.'s appeal to mute witnesses, and then adduces his own mute witness, the deed.

**1080-1.** Athenians considered reverence towards one's parents the greatest obligation in the mortal realm; see Dover (1974), 273-5 and cf. F 852. Th. combines with this cultural commonplace the most extraordinary phrase, *καυτὸν . . . κέβειν* (revering yourself), for which I can find no exact parallel in fifth-century literature (although Soph., *Ant.* 744 is similar). The cluster of "s" sounds in the second half of 1080 draws attention to the unusual phrase. Applied to Hipp., κέβειν echoes his earlier assertion that he reveres the gods (1061).

**1082-3.** As had Ph. at an earlier moment of crisis (337), Hipp. apostrophizes his mother and his birth. To lament motherhood that proved to be in vain was a commonplace, cf. 1144-5, *Ilec.* 765-6, *Supp.* 918-24, 1134-7, and F 385.

**1084-7.** Th. tries to end the scene by commanding his attendants to remove Hipp. forcibly. Normally in Greek tragedy commands to servants are carried out. Here Hipp.'s threat to the servants thwarts their efforts, and it takes Th.'s personal intervention (1088-9) to bring about Hipp.'s departure from the scene, and from Trozen. See Bain (1981), esp. 14-20, for this sort of action replacing the execution of a command, and also Mastronarde (1979), 105-13, esp. 107-8.

**1085. slaves:** either attendants who accompanied Th. on his return or servants who entered after he arrived.

**1086. will regret it:** the use of the participle κλαίω in this sense is colloquial; see Stevens, 15-6. ἄρα here = ἄρα; see *GP*, 44-5.

**1088-9. I'll do this:** δράσω τᾶδε is a "formula regularly concluding a discussion with the announcement of an intent" (Collard on *Supp.* 346-7); cf. *Med.* 927, 1019, *IIF* 606, etc.

**1090-1101.** The scene concludes with Hipp.'s 12-line speech, corresponding to his opening one (902-15; an exact correspondence if 912-3 are deleted).

**1092-3.** As when he first arrived on-stage, Hipp. addresses the statue of Art. His three-fold invocation of Art. sums up neatly his relationship with the goddess, as already described in Aph.'s words in the prologue (16-8).

**1093.** The particle δὴ adds a pathetic touch to the verb φευξοῦμεθα; see 778-9n.

**1095. plain of Trozen:** πέδον Τροζήνιον may be a "mere synonym of γῆ Τροζηνία ["land of Trozen"]" (Barrett ad loc.), but it was by the "plain" (πέδον) of the land that Hipp. took his emphatic oath of innocence (1025), the only other occurrence of this word in the play.

**1096. to be young in:** ἐγκαθηβᾶν should be construed as a final-consecutive infin. after πολλὰ ἔχει εὐδαίμονα.

**1098-9.** addressed to his companions; see 1102-50n.

**1100-1. even if this doesn't seem so to my father:** an echo of Hipp.'s earlier words expressing concern for his father's approval (1071). In this conclusion, he asserts his virtue *independently* of his father's determination; cf. 994-5. Just as his father's opinion is unchanged by the *agon*, so too is Hipp.'s.

**1101. Th. exits:** While it is possible that Th. exits immediately after his final words to Hipp. (1089) (so both Wilamowitz and Murray), it is highly unlikely. Having just made clear his intention of personally sending Hipp. from the land if he does not go into exile of his own accord, and having expressed his growing anger over Hipp.'s lack of compliance, Th. cannot depart before any reply from Hipp. Nor can he leave during Hipp.'s final speech. Not only would his exit be distracting (and difficult to locate—there is no obvious point when he might leave), but the *ekkyklema* with Ph.'s corpse must also be returned into the palace. Ph.'s body, the powerful visual stage property of the entire scene, cannot be left on display while Th. enters the palace on his own. And there is no known parallel for the *ekkyklema* being wheeled back into the *skene* during a character's speech. The staging presumed here offers several advantages. Dramatically it is more effective if Hipp. yields not only to his father's command but in his father's presence. The rift between father and son reaches its appropriate conclusion as in his final words, Hipp., who has so consistently addressed his father throughout the scene, says nothing *to* him, in bidding farewell to patron and city, but speaks his final words *about* him. Th.'s silence during Hipp.'s concluding speech also parallels his silence during his opening one. When characters of (roughly) equal status exit simultaneously usually the *dramatically* more dominant one has the last word (Taplin [1977], 310). In the finale of this scene, the focus is on Hipp.'s pathetic farewell to his homeland and his proud continued assertion of his *sophrosune*. With his silence, however, Th. plays an important role in creating the full force of the scene. On this staging, see also Sommerstein, 37 n.69.

**1102-50. The Third Stasimon.** A seeming grammatical anomaly in this ode may inform us about its structure and performance. In at least two places (1105, 1107) and possibly a third (1121), the speakers refer to themselves with a *masc.* participle, while two other times (1111, 1118) they use the expected *fem.* participle. No account of this situation, it should be acknowledged at the outset, is without difficulties, and none can be thought certain. Wilamowitz (on 1103) attempted to explain the situation by maintaining that a *masc.* participle can refer to female characters. The evidence for this "principle", however, is mixed (against Barrett's dismissal of examples of this point, see, however, Kannicht on *Ilec.* 1630), and, more importantly, contains nothing even close to a parallel for the alternating *masc.* and *fem.* participles in this ode. A radical solution, first made by Verrall (ed., Aesch., *Ag.*, p. 1 of the Introduction), has,



esp. since the edition of Barrett (who did not accept it), found favor with many scholars, including Diggle. Since the masc. parts. are found only in strophe a (and perhaps strophe b) and the fem. parts. are found only in antistrophe a, Verrall suggested that not one, but two choruses sing this song: a subsidiary chorus of Hipp.'s companions singing the strophes, the regular chorus of Trozenian women the antistrophes and epode. (A subsidiary chorus *per se* is unproblematic: several plays of Eur. employ them; see 58-71n. These singers would be, no doubt, the same ones who sang the opening hymn to Art., and would have either entered with Hipp. at 902 or arrived in response to 1098-9.) In addition to solving the riddle of the alternating genders found in the mss., this solution offers several advantages. It makes good sense of 1098-9, fulfilling, it seems, the request Hipp. makes for his companions to accompany him and address him as he departs. The alternation of singing groups also, in the view of some, accounts better for the development of thought in the ode. In this view (represented most fully by Bond, 60-1; see also, e.g., Luschnig, 57-8), the song has some features of an *amoebean*, namely the echoing  $\mu\omicron\iota \dots \theta\epsilon\omega\upsilon/\mu\omicron\iota \dots \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\upsilon$  (1102, 1111) and  $\omicron\upsilon\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota/\omicron\upsilon\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$  (1120, 1131). Furthermore, the contents of the strophes and antistrophes might seem to belong to two different groups. Strophe a expresses doubt and despondency; antistrophe a offers a prayer and acceptance, a response to the sentiment of the strophe. The two stanzas of the second strophic pair are less sharply distinct, but the former, with its more emotional tone and focus on hunting, is arguably more appropriate for Hipp.'s companions (and conforms more to the tone of strophe a), while the latter, dealing with his horsemanship, but more with his music, worship of Art., and his loss as a potential bridegroom, well suits the chorus of women. Finally, this proposed solution offers a neat symmetry with Hipp.'s first entrance: he arrived escorted by a band of companions, singing at his command, and he leaves accompanied by companions, presumably the same ones, singing at his command. In the first instance they sang a joyous hymn to Art.; here they express their doubts about the divine scheme.

But although the proposal of two choruses solves the basic problem of the mss. and offers several apparent dramatic advantages, it presents a true anomaly in the antiphony of the two choruses and is not free of troubles. Whenever the (proposed) male chorus leave (Dimock [1977], 248-9 n.3, proposes that they depart after singing only the *first* strophe; but a departure at any point *within* a *stasimon* would be peculiar), they must do so in such a way that they seem to accompany Hipp., who, following the previous scene, cannot stand idly waiting for the end of their part of the song (see 1101n.). Also, although by convention the amount of time imagined to have transpired during a choral song was very fluid (see Taplin [1977], 290-4), it might be asking too much for that time to elapse while the characters who are said to accompany the chief actor to the off-stage action remain on-stage singing. (Dimock's suggestion of an earlier departure would ease these two problems, at the price of spoiling the symmetry of the split strophic pairs.) Moreover not all would agree that the thought in the

ode can be easily divided up between two groups. Sommerstein, 35-9, who presents this case most cogently, argues that the opening three stanzas of the ode offer a reasonably unified sequence of thought: we are dismayed by the events we see, life is inconstant; so we pray for a flexible life without distress in a world where things are ephemeral; look at the example of Hipp. The structure of the song is thus a variation on a common one, in which the first strophic pair describes a general principle, the second an example of it (on this choral pattern, see Kranz, 198-201). Sommerstein also argues that Hipp.'s request to be addressed as he goes off into exile is *not* met by assigning the two strophes to a subsidiary male chorus, since he is never addressed by them, and, in fact, when Hipp. is referred to in the second person it is by the chorus of women.

There is one pair of emendations, proposed without conviction by Barrett—but accepted by Willink, 42, and Sommerstein, and printed by Stockert (see also Stockert [1994], 228-9)—that solves the grammatical irregularity and allows for the song to be sung entirely by the chorus of Trozenian women: for  $\xi\upsilon\nu\epsilon\epsilon\iota\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\iota\upsilon'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\iota \kappa\epsilon\upsilon\theta\omega\nu \lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  (1105-6) read  $\xi\upsilon\nu\epsilon\epsilon\iota\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\iota \kappa\epsilon\upsilon\theta\omega\nu \lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ . The corruption in the mss. would be two-stage: first the assimilation of  $\tau\iota\varsigma$  to the ending or case of  $\xi\upsilon\nu\epsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ , then the concomitant change to the first person. (With this proposal, one also accepts  $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\omega$ , not  $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\omega\nu$ , at 1121.) The frequent first-person statements in this song do not argue for the shift to the third-person reflection here, but I am unable to persuade myself that this song is sung by two groups. I translate, with misgivings, Barrett's suggestion; the solution to this crux, however, may lie deeper or elsewhere.

No matter how it was delivered, this song, the last full *stasimon* of the play, provides an emotional commentary on Hipp.'s departure, the last words before the arrival of the messenger with the horrifying tale of his ruin. While the first two stanzas establish a mood of general anxiety at the human condition, in the second pair the appeal to Hipp.'s now former haunts and the descriptions of the emptiness and loss caused by his exile paint a pathetic and sympathetic portrait of the unjustly banished young man. The very emotional coloring of the epode strengthens the effect already created in the strophic pairs. Silent for the last sixty-plus lines of the preceding scene (that is, since their immediate favorable reaction to Hipp.'s defense), in this ode the chorus express their grief at his exile, belief in his innocence, and anger at the gods. About the curse they say not one word during the entire song, continuing the silence about it in the preceding scene between father and son. The messenger's report of Hipp.'s miraculous ruin, a ruin expected in some degree since Aph.'s prediction in the prologue, satisfies that early expectation, while gaining in its shock and power from the immediately preceding silence about the curse.

**1102. the gods' concern:** both context and the conventional nature of the thought suggest that the gen. in  $\tau\acute{\alpha} \theta\epsilon\omega\upsilon\nu \mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\theta'(\alpha)$  is subjective. **concern:**  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\delta\eta\mu\alpha$  is rare in tragedy: elsewhere only at F 910.9.



- 1104. relieve my distress:** after *παραίρει*, *λύπας* can be either (partitive) gen. sing. or acc. pl., more likely the former; *μέγα* is adverbial.
- 1105-7.** Difficult and capable of more than one meaning, these lines are generally interpreted in a more or less optimistic fashion: the concealment of hope construed as something good (despite what the chorus see in the world, they maintain hope), and this optimism contrasts with the following *falls short*. But even the phrase *conceals his understanding in hope* might suggest “fragility, helplessness, uncertainty, and doubt in the confrontation of wish and reality” (Segal [1988], 266), and for the Greeks *ἐλπίς* (hope) was by no means an unmixed good. This passage raises the fundamental question of divine justice, which is often inferred from the punishment of the *wicked* (cf., e.g., Aesch., *Ag.* 369ff., *Iff* 772-4, *Supp.* 731, and see Fraenkel on Aesch., *Ag.* 1578). For the emendation of these lines translated here, see 1102-50n.
- understanding:** *ξύνεσις* is not found in Aesch. or Soph., but was favored by Eur. (8x; parody at Aristoph., *Frogs* 893). On this word, see Wilamowitz on *Iff* 655 and West on *Or.* 396. **looking:** for the intrans. use of *λεύεω*, cf., e.g., *Phoen.* 596 and see *LSJ* I.2.
- 1108-10.** The inconstancy of mortal life was commonly expressed by the Greeks, in various ways. Cf. *Iff* 104 with Bond ad loc.
- 1111-4.** Cf. Soph., *OT* 863ff. **destiny from the gods:** although originally distinct, *μοῖρα* (destiny) and *θεοί* (“gods”) often overlap in their functions as early as Homer (see examples in W. Greene, *Moirai: Fate, Good and Evil in Greek Thought* [Cambridge, Mass. 1942], 15); on this historical development, see Barrett ad loc. **untouched:** see 73n.
- 1115-9.** The sentiments expressed here might comment (ironically) on Hipp.’s behavior.
- 1115-6. exacting:** *ἀτρεκής* also at 261 (of “exacting” behavior). This adj. is found in tragedy only in these two passages and at *Cretans*, F 472.8 (of fastenings). **counterfeit:** *παράσημος* only here and Aesch., *Ag.* 780 in tragedy; see 616-7n.
- 1117-9.** This wish for an adaptable nature echoes the Nurse’s attitude expressed at 253ff. and contrasts with Hipp.’s prayer at 87. Cf. Theognis 215ff.
- 1120. For:** with *γάρ* the chorus explain their prayer and turn to the specific example of Hipp.’s banishment. **a clear mind:** the adj. *καθαρός* suggests an unpolluted, untroubled mind (it is particularly used of water; cf. 209); on this image, see Padel (1992), 85-8, esp. 88 n.35.
- 1121. what I see is contrary to my hope:** an echo of strophe a (“although one conceals his understanding in hope, he falls short of it when looking”). Along with Barrett, Diggle, and Stockert, I accept Musgrave’s conjecture *παρὰ δ’ ἐλπίδ’ ἄ* for the mss. tradition, which is divided chiefly between *παρὰ δ’ ἐλπίδα*, which lacks an obj. for *λεύεω*(ν), and *παρ’ ἐλπίδα*, which lacks an obj. and a syllable. The mss. split between *λεύεω* and *λεύεω*; the latter is required by Musgrave’s conjecture, helps to produce

- the best sense, and has the added advantage of ridding the text of the third troublesome masc. part. (see above, 1102-50n.).
- 1122-3.** The text here is corrupt. With minor variations, the mss. read *ἐπέϊ τὸν Ἑλλανίαν φανερώτατον ἀστέρ’ Ἀθήνας* (“since [we saw, we saw] the brightest star of Greek Athena”). As Barrett observes, in this context one would expect a reference to a land, not to a deity, esp. one who has no other role in the play. Furthermore, the scholiast’s remark also suggests that a land was originally referred to. Accordingly Hartung proposed, and I accept, *ἀστέρων γαίαν* (star of the [Greek] land) for *ἀστέρ’ Ἀθήνας*, paleographically not difficult. In his text, Diggle adopts a conjecture proposed by Fitton and supported by Huxley, 331-3: for *Ἀθήνας*, read *Ἀφαισος* (“[star of Greek] Aphaca”), the reference being to an Aeginetan goddess associated with Dictynna and Art. But what has this Aeginetan goddess to do with Hipp.? And this still leaves a deity, not a place. (See also Sommerstein’s suggestion [39-41] of *Ἀλθηπία* . . . *γαίαν* for *Ἑλλανίαν* . . . *Ἀθάναν*, *Ἀλθηπία* being an older name for Trozen.) See further 1459n.
- 1123. star:** persons are sometimes referred to as a “light” (see, e.g., *φέγγος* at Pindar, *Nem.* 9.42 and Aristoph., *Knights* 1319, and *φάος* at *Ilec.* 841 and *El.* 449; see also Fraenkel on Aesch., *Ag.* 522), but only here before the Hellenistic age is someone called a star. On images of light in Eur., see Breitenbach, 157-9.
- 1124. we saw, we saw:** on Eur.’s noted fondness for repetition, here creating pathos, see 586-8n. For the choral assertion of eyewitness testimony, cf. *Med.* 652-3, and see Page ad loc.
- 1126-30.** Apostrophes to physical surroundings are a potent way to heighten pathos at a departure; cf., most impressively, Soph., *Phil.* 1452ff. The portrait of Hipp.’s haunts and engagement with Art. recall Aph.’s original descriptions of Hipp. in the prologue (17-9) and Ph.’s delirious longings, esp. 215ff.
- 1131. No longer:** *οὐκέτι* is the opening word of the antistrophe and strophe; for comparable strophic correspondence, see 535-44n. and 555-64n.
- 1131-4.** Cf. Ph.’s words at 228ff.
- 1133-4. as you exercise your horses:** lit. “with the foot of your exercised horse”, accepting Musgrave’s conjecture of *γυμνάδος ἵππου* for the ungrammatical *γυμνάδας ἵππους*.
- 1135-6.** Cf. *Alc.* 343-6, where Admetus, in mourning over his wife’s death, puts an end to music (and sympotic garlands) in his house. **beneath the strings’ frame:** *ἄντυξ*, usually of a chariot’s rim, is here uniquely used of a lyre’s frame, which has a comparable shape. Perhaps the atypical usage draws together the two juxtaposed activities—chariot riding and lyre playing.
- 1137-8.** The absence of the garlands for Art. vividly recalls Hipp.’s opening presentation of a wreath to that goddess’s statue. **ungarlanded:** *ἀστέρφανος* is rare, in tragedy only here and *And.* 1021. **in the deep verdure** recalls both Aph.’s words (17) and Hipp.’s own elaborate description of his sacred meadow (73ff.).



- 1139-41.** A reference to the loss of a bridal contest for Hipp.'s bed might come as a surprise at this point in the drama, but it prepares, in some measure, for the establishment at the end of the play of the cult in his honor, where he will be venerated by young women about to be married. This detail, along with the references to the cessation of music (1135-6) and the mother's vain labor (1144-5), might suggest not lamentation at Hipp.'s exile, but at his death, i.e., a *threnos*; see R. Meridor, *CQ* 22 (1972), 231-5.
- 1142. But I:** The emphatic ἐγὼ δέ at the start of the epode contrasts the lot of the married women who comprise the chorus with the unmarried girls who are referred to in the last word of the preceding stanza. It also moves the song from the imagined future to the present; see Kranz, 204-7, for other formulas for refocusing at the conclusion of choral songs, more commonly from the past to the present or from the general to the specific.
- 1142-4.** The chorus's tears at Hipp.'s misfortune call to mind those which he had wished he could shed for himself (1079). Note the alliteration in δυστυχίαι/δάκρυον διοίω.
- 1144. luckless lot:** Eur., and the other tragedians, often used oxymoronic phrases such as ἄποτμος πότμος. In Eur., cf., e.g., *HF* 1061, *IT* 889, *Hel.* 363. Further Eur. examples in Breitenbach, 236-7, and a general discussion with bibl. in Kannicht on *Hel.* 363 (with addendum). Bushala, 28, n.11, suggests that this oxymoron might suggest that Hipp.'s lot can be thought both undeserved (from the mortal perspective) but at the same time simply his fate (from the divine).
- 1144-5.** An echo of Hipp.'s own words at 1082-3.
- 1146. I am furious at the gods:** a very strong statement, without parallel for a tragic chorus, and in contrast to the tentative piety of the song's opening.
- 1148. Yoked Graces:** in art the Charites, often associated with Aph., are routinely depicted joined together. The adj. συζύγιος might refer to this familiar representation, but it might also suggest these goddesses' role in marriage and procreation, a suggestion as old as the scholiast and developed at length by Bushala. The appeal to the Charites to escort Hipp. perhaps also resembles a farewell at a wedding; see A. Burnett, "Hearth and Hunt in Euripides' *Hippolytus*" in *Greek Tragedy and its Legacy: Essays Presented in Honour of D. J. Conacher*, eds. M. Cropp, etc. (Calgary 1986), 173-4. This line would then pick up the chorus's lament over the lost contest for Hipp.'s marriage bed (1140-1).
- 1151-1267. The Fourth Episode.** An unnamed companion of Hipp. arrives and reports Hipp.'s ruin caused by a miraculous bull from the sea. The so-called messenger scene (so-called although the person brings news not a message) was a staple of Eur. drama. Just as the choral lyrics offered a mode different from the spoken words of the actors, the lengthy narrative of the messenger speech expanded the scope of the drama, both formally in that the sustained narrative, with its epic elements, was unlike any other feature of tragedy, and also in the places and events it covered. Eur. generally devoted an

- entire scene to this reporting of events; the speech itself was on average about eighty lines in length, preceded and followed by dialogue. In the initial dialogue, the messenger reports the essence of his news ("Hipp. is no more") before moving into the narrative proper. The concluding dialogue allows for an immediate response to the events, although the major response to them occurs in the following scene. The liveliness of the narrative is achieved in several ways, including the frequent use of the "historic present" (7x in *Hipp.*; 17x at *HF* 922-1015), and the shifts between the larger scenic backdrops and the character(s) involved. The messenger in Eur. is typically given little character or color (contrast the well-developed guard in Soph., *Ant.* or the lying Lichas in Soph., *Trach.*): he has no name, is limited in his descriptive and affective vocabulary (see Barlow, 61-2), and disappears from the scene as readily as he appeared on it. He does, however, often have a clear point of view, and in conclusion typically offers his own commentary on the action (here at 1249ff.; a list at de Jong, 191). The messenger in *Hipp.*, one of Hipp.'s attendants, is, unsurprisingly, convinced of Hipp.'s innocence, blames Th., and offers a pathetic portrait of Hipp.'s catastrophe. In many ways these speeches are indebted to Greek epic, the chief model for any Greek narrative, and in fact they contain several epic features, among them direct speech (see 1182-4n.) and the use of epic dialect (see 1195-7n., 1247n.). (In general on epic features in messenger speeches, see the bibl. at Kannicht on *Hel.* 1512-1618 [p.399].) On messenger scenes in Eur., see *General Intro.*, 12, Collard on *Supp.* 634-777, with bibl., in which see esp. Barlow for an appreciation of the literary technique of the speeches, and to which add J. Bremer, "Why Messenger-Speeches?" in *Miscellanea Tragica in Honorem J. C. Kamerbeek*, eds. J. M. Bremer, etc. (Amsterdam 1976), 9-48.
- 1151-2.** An announcement for an arrival immediately after an uninterrupted strophic song is unusual. If there was an exit within the preceding song, that might account for the atypical announcement here (see *Stagecraft*, 11-20, esp. 20), but this seems improbable (see 1102-50n.). **with a gloomy look:** Eur. was fond of the word κκυθρωπός, using it 8x, including of a messenger at *Phoen.* 1333; elsewhere in tragedy only at Aesch., *Chc.* 738. **hastening quickly:** arriving messengers are often so depicted in Eur., the description foreboding bad news; cf. *Med.* 1118-9, *Ilec.* 216-7, *Tro.* 232, *Ion* 1109-10.
- 1153-6.** With this reintroduction of Th. ("Where is the king?", "Here he comes."), cf. *IT* 1153ff., and see *Stagecraft*, 43-6.
- 1157-9.** As is typically the case, the messenger begins his report with a short (and often, as here, vague) reference to what has occurred; cf. *And.* 1070-1, *Hel.* 1512-3, *Or.* 852-4, *Bacch.* 1024-7 (in all of which cases the news is bad; the same pattern is followed also when the news is good—cf. *El.* 761-4). Cf. Mastronarde (1979), 69 and n.55.
- 1160-1. What is it?:** Th.'s initial response is a common reply to a messenger's vague opening; cf. *Ion* 1109, *Hel.* 600, *Bacch.* 1029, and further examples at Mastronarde (1979), 69 n.55. This question is then followed up with



- another, more specific one, as also in the examples cited. **upsetting:** νεώτερον can refer to a *further* problem (as at *Med. 62, Or. 1327*), but also simply to something untoward or upsetting (Soph., *Phil. 560*, probably *Bacch. 214*). I favor the latter interpretation, but the former cannot be excluded. **has befallen:** καταλαμβάνω is commonly used of disasters; see *LSJ* I.2. **neighboring cities:** the adj. ἀτυγείτων in tragedy only here and Aesch., *Ag. 309*. The connection here is political rather than geographic.
- 1162-3.** The messenger now states in thumbnail fashion the essence of his report—Hipp. is dead. **nearly so:** for the common phrase ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν (lit. “to speak a word”), see *LSJ* s.v. ἔπος II.4. **precariously balanced in the scales:** more lit. “on a small turn of the scale”; cf. Soph., *OT 961, OC 1508*, and Pl., *Rep. 556c*. The image evokes that of the scales of death, well-known from Homer (cf. *Il. 22.209-13*).
- 1164-5.** The words echo the exchange between father and son in the previous scene (1066-9). **got angry at him:** for δι’ ἔχθρας ἦν ἀφιγμένος, see *LSJ* s.v. ἀφικνέομαι I.3; similarly with other verbs of motion; see Barrett on 542-4. **disgraced:** see 944n.
- 1166-8.** **His own:** οἰκέτοσ is the first word of 1166, but Th.’s responsibility is underscored with the three-fold (four-fold in trans.) repetition of the second-person pronoun and adj. On Th.’s prayers to his father to curse his son, see 887-90n.
- 1169-72.** Th. sees Hipp.’s disaster as proof that Poseidon is his father and as the workings of Justice. Cf. *El. 771-3*, in a messenger scene. **club of Justice:** see E. Bushala, *AJP* 89 (1969), 437-43 on the word ῥόπτρον.
- 1173-1254.** The speech’s structure smoothly articulates the movement of events. First, the messenger describes the setting, the shore where Hipp.’s companions have heard the news and where Hipp. arrives, announcing that he must go into exile (1173-1184, held together by a μέν . . . δέ clause); then he turns to Hipp.’s departure and prayer (1185-97). Next comes the central event of the narrative, the bull from the sea and its destruction of Hipp., occupying fifty-one lines (1198-1248). This long section is broken into smaller units by clear markers: ἔνθεν (**from there**, 1201), καὶ πεῖτα (**and then**, 1210), εὐθύς (**at once**), 1217, the coordinated εἰ μέν . . . εἰ δέ (**and whenever . . . and whenever**, 1226-30), αὐτὸς δέ (**and [he] himself**, 1236). The conclusion of Hipp.’s direct speech at 1242 then prepares for the last lines of this central section, and a final evaluation of these events by the messenger ends the speech (1249-54). The speech contains many elements favorable to Hipp.: an initial portrait of loyal and mournful attendants and friends; three direct quotations from Hipp., which underscore his belief in his own innocence and his willingness nevertheless to obey his father; the literal monstrosity of the bull that causes his death; the pathos of the skilled horseman done in by the horses he reared; the concluding final assertion of Hipp.’s innocence. On this favorable portrait of Hipp., see Heath, 155-7, and de Jong, 106.

- 1173-77.** Eur. has within a messenger speech another messenger, a device which allows for the very opening to be colored by the sympathetic response of his companions. **wave-beaten:** κυμοδέγμων (lit. “wave-receiving”) is striking as a *hapax* in Greek and appearing in the first line of the speech. It is a significant detail: the bull will come from a gigantic wave onto the shore (1205-14).
- 1175. in tears:** the description of the mundane activity of combing horses is charged with the postponed and enjambed participle κλαίοντες.
- 1176. dwell:** more commonly the idiom is simply ἀνατρέφομαι (without πόδα); see *LSJ* s.v. ἀνατρέφω B.II and cf. Aristoph., *Thes. 985*.
- 1177. wretched:** the adj. τλήμων is one of the few sympathetic adjs. allowed to messengers; see Barlow, 62 with n.6.
- 1178-80. strain of tears:** with the striking musical image in μέλος δακρύων, cf. *Tro. 119*, and with this bold use of μέλος, cf. 879 above. **behind him:** the adj. ὀπισθόπουσ is rare, found in tragedy also only at Aesch., *Cho. 713* and above at 54, where Aph. announces Hipp.’s arrival. These two arrivals in the play are linked: the first (on-stage) preceded by Aph.’s prediction of death, about which Hipp. is ignorant, the second (off-stage) accompanied by the song of tears and still without Hipp. knowing his impending death.
- 1182-4.** The first of three direct quotations from Hipp. in this speech; also 1191-3, 1240-2. A line introducing the direct speech is a borrowing from Homer, and 1181 has the feel of the frequent formulas that introduce speeches in epic; see also 1190 and 1239.
- 1182. My father’s words must be obeyed:** the language forms part of the play’s exploration of words and persuasion, as πειστέον (**must be obeyed**) is an impersonal pass. form of the verb πείθω (“I persuade”); see 1288-9n.
- 1185-7.** For the servants’ loyalty, seen here in their immediate obedience, see also 1196-7, and 1173-1254n. **faster than one could say it:** for the expression θᾶρρον ἢ λέγοι, cf. *IT 837* and *F 1083.10*; the phrase, without exact parallel, may come from colloquial speech (see Bers, 131). On the potential opt. λέγοι without ἄν, see Barrett ad loc.
- 1189. footstalls:** the scholiast says that ἀρβύλαι means something like “footstalls” (trans. Barrett) on the chariot floor, not its customary “shoes” or “boots”; this makes sense contextually, but see the reservations of Fitton, 34.
- 1190-3. if I am by nature an evil man:** with this identical half line, Hipp.’s prayer to Zeus echoes his earlier oath to the same god (1025ff.); this phrase appears also at 1075.
- 1190. he opened his palms upwards:** the habitual gesture for praying to gods of the upper air in the Greek world.
- 1192. dishonors:** see 885-6n.
- 1194-5.** Several times in this speech Hipp.’s skill in horsemanship is emphasized; also at 1189, and 1219 ff.



- 1195-7. The servants' following him on foot shows again their loyalty to Hipp. and also explains how the messenger can offer eye-witness testimony (cf. *Med.* 1143 and *Bacch.* 1046). **straight to:** εὐθύς in this sense is a "mild epicism" (Barrett ad loc.).
- 1198ff. This long central section of the speech is very lively, mixing auditory and visual responses to the supernatural events; see de Jong, 146-7. It focuses less on the bull (which is given no physical description) than on the extraordinary wave and the doomed heroics of Hipp. A constructive contrast with the comparable scene in Seneca's *Ph.* (1035ff.) is offered by Barlow, 70-3.
- 1198-1200. The majority of messenger speeches in Eur. begin with an ἐπεὶ ("when") clause; here this formula is reserved for the beginning of the longest section of the narrative. **desolate territory:** it is characteristic of Greek myth that miraculous phenomena occur in isolated areas (cf., e.g., the miracles in the *Bacch.*, which occur in the mountains), and Hipp. must be at the seashore for Poseidon to effect his magic from the sea. **there is a headland . . .** **From there:** this type of narrative formula ("there is a place where") goes back to Homer (e.g., *Il.* 2.811); it is found also at, e.g., *IT* 262, *El.* 1258, Aesch., *Pers.* 447, and in Hyllus' "messenger" speech at Soph., *Trach.* 752-3 (the identical phrase). See further Barrett on 125-8 and Davies on Soph., *Trach.* 752-3. **beyond:** ἐπέκεινα is a prose word, in poetry only here and at Aesch., *Supp.* 257. **by then the Saronic Gulf:** that is, they have reached the point along the coast where the water is no longer called the smaller Bay of Methana, but the larger Saronic Gulf. On the relevant topography and the route taken by Hipp. in this speech, see the detailed discussion (with map) in Barrett ad loc.
- 1201-2. The miraculous begins with a chthonic rumbling, highlighted by the alliteration of labials and the recurrent r's in βροντῆ Διός./βάρυν βρόμον μεθῆκε, φρικώδη.
- 1203-5. The reaction of the horses, whose fear of the bull will lead to Hipp.'s death, is given first. With Barrett, and against Diggle (and most editors), I prefer, as rhetorically more effective, τε (of Λ) to δέ (of the papyrus, ω and V) after ὀρθόν at 1203. **lively:** νεανικός, properly "youthful", and hence "vigorous, lively" as well as "violent", is generally beneath tragic diction (elsewhere in tragedy only at F 185.6) and perhaps adds to the characterization of the messenger; see Barrett ad loc.
- 1205-9. A huge, supernatural wave blocks their view of the coast of Sciron, (more commonly called "the rocks of Sciron"; see 976-80n.), which was across the Saronic Gulf and SW of Megara, the (Corinthian) Isthmus, and the rock of Asclepius (of unknown location, but presumably near Epidaurus, where the god of healing was particularly worshipped). (See Barrett on 1198-1200 on the geography.) The phrase ἀκτὰς . . . εἰσορᾶν is probably retained accus. (i.e., that which is taken from the person) in the pass. construction with ὄμμα as subj.; ἀφαίρω in the pass. can govern an inf. (either with or without μή) in the sense of "prevent, obstruct" (see *LSJ* II.3).

- 1210-2. The description of the supernatural wave is marked by uncommon tragic diction: ἀνοιδέω ("swell") is unique in tragedy, and the onomatopoeic καχλάζω ("foam") elsewhere only in two sea metaphors at Aesch., *Sept.* 115 and 760.
- 1213-4. **triple crest:** reflects the Greek belief that the third wave of a group was the largest; cf. Pl., *Rep.* 472a. **bull:** Poseidon, like his brother Zeus, had associations with bulls, creatures of vigorous masculinity. On bulls in the family history of both Ph. and Th., see *Intro.*, 23 n.8. **monster:** τέρας could be applied to any extraordinary sign or object, whether a portent, a centaur or, here, a bull from the sea. The word retains some of its sense of "marvelous".
- 1218-22. **very familiar with:** lit. "dwelling much with"; συνοικέω is frequently used metaphorically (see *LSJ* I.3). **the way a sailor does an oar:** the nautical image, which recurs at 1224 ("helmsman") and 1227 ("holding the tiller"), is esp. appropriate since the monster comes from the sea.
1225. **reins:** ἵππόδεσμον only here in Greek. **well-made:** κολλητός, in Homer but nowhere else in tragedy, adds a further epic touch to the description.
1231. The bull's hostile and silent following of the chariot grimly echoes the earlier description of the attendants following Hipp. and the chariot (1195-6).
1232. **tripped up and overturned:** with the exception of the description of Hipp. snatching the reins at 1220, all the finite verbs since the appearance of the bull (1214) have been imperfective (4 imperf. and 2 historical pres.). Now at the climax of this section of the narrative, two aors. signify the completed (and fatal) action. The messenger then returns to the imperfective aspect until the conclusion of the next stage of his tale, the disappearance of the horses (1247). **overturned:** ἀναχατίζω usually refers to a horse overturning its rider.
1234. **mixed together:** σύμφυρτος only here and perhaps F 151.iii.10 (Austin) in classical Greek; the verb συμφύρω appears in tragedy only at *Med.* 1199.
1235. Cf. *Phoen.* 1194 for very similar language.
1236. After the attention paid to the bull and the terrified horses, the messenger returns to Hipp., beginning almost at once with the sympathetic adj. τλήμων (**wretch**), on which see 1177n.
- 1236-7. The play's images of entanglement and loosening reach a painfully literal climax. **is being dragged:** the pass. ἔλκεται recalls the act. form of the verb used of Hipp. shortly before ("pulls [them]", 1221). **bound up in the reins' inextricable bond:** the word play (*figura etymologica*) is underscored by the two words **bond** and **bound** framing line 1237 (δεσμόν as an internal accus. with δεθείς). **inextricable:** δυσεξέλικτον is a textual variant and found only here in Greek poetry, but it is certainly the correct reading to adopt; see Barrett on the text. It may be a Eur. coinage and may recall the rare and similarly formed δυσεκπέρατος ("hard to cross through") at 678 and 883.



1239. **smashing:** parallelism and the reflexive φίλον suggest that σποδούμενος is mid., not pass. **shattering his flesh:** θραύω is boldly used with **flesh** as its obj. **terrible to hear:** recalls the original description of the noise that presaged the bull's appearance ("hair-raising to hear", 1202).
1241. **don't wipe me out:** the image is from erasing the writing on a wax writing tablet; the same use of this metaphor is found at *IT* 698 and Aesch., *Cho.* 503, and cf. *Ilec.* 590, *Ilel.* 262, *IA* 1486, *F* 618, and Aesch., *Sept.* 15. **my father's wretched curse:** the playwright does not tell us when Hipp. learned of his father's curse (he was off-stage when it was delivered, but he refers to it here and later at 1349, 1362, 1378, and 1411), but he could easily be imagined to have heard of it at some point, and, besides, such matters do not customarily trouble ancient playwrights.
1242. **the best of men:** cf. 994-5, 1100, 1365.
1245. **cut:** τηρτός is an ornamental epithet, standard for reins; cf. *Soph.*, *El.* 747, 863 and *Hom.*, *Il.* 10.567.
1247. **disappeared:** ἔκρυφθεν is an epic form (= Attic ἐκρύφθησαν), paralleled in the non-lyric sections of tragedy only at *Phoen.* 1246 (also in a messenger speech).
- 1247-8. Just as the bull's appearance was sudden and supernatural, his disappearance is abrupt and unaccounted for. **the disastrous monstrous bull:** an impressive cluster of dental sounds: τὸ δὺςτηνον τέρας/ταύρου.
- 1249-54. A concluding evaluation was a standard feature of the messenger speech, just as any *rhexis* might end with a general reflection (see 480-1n.). The evaluation could be specific to the situation, as is the case here, or of a more general sort. It was often introduced by a word like τοιοῦτος ("such") or, as here, the particle (μέν) οὖν. The messenger's loyalty and sympathy are expressly and boldly stated in these final lines. Like Hipp. himself, the messenger insists on the young man's virtue.
1251. **your son:** in his conclusion, for the first time, the messenger refers to Hipp. as Th.'s son (as also at 1264), not as "my master" (as at 1187, 1196, 1219); see de Jong, 97.
- 1251-4. The grotesque exaggeration in which these sentiments are expressed, reminiscent of Hipp.'s own bold words about women (cf., e.g., 668), may suggest an unreasonable position (see Dover [1974], 194), yet this hyperbole effectively shows the extent of the messenger's loyalty to Hipp., even while it fails to persuade Th.
- 1253-4. **pine forest on Ida:** while πύκη (lit. "pine tree") could be used for writing tablets (cf. *IA* 39), here it is used as a collective, as the messenger imagines (all) the forest's wood being written on. **Ida:** a reference to either of two wooded mountains, in the Troad or on Crete. The former was more famous (from Homer) and the more likely reference in the messenger's hyperbole, but one cannot rule out a reference to Crete, Ph.'s homeland.
- 1255-67. As is often the case, the messenger speech is followed by choral comment and a brief exchange between the messenger and an interlocutor to end

- the scene. In the wake of the moving and piteous description of Hipp.'s end, and the two favorable views of the chorus leader and the messenger, Th.'s anger is tempered (1258-60), but he is still eager to refute his son with his presumed wrongdoing (1265-7-6).
- 1258-9. **gods:** no specific gods are mentioned, and perhaps the reference is no more precise than Th.'s invocation of "gods" at 1169. In general the gods had an interest in protecting family relationships; see *LSJ* s.v. ὁμόγγιος II.
- 1261-4. This request prepares for Hipp.'s arrival, and the advice to Th. not to be savage toward his son offers one last sympathetic touch and contrast.
1265. **seeing him before my eyes:** see 280n. and 946-7n.
- 1267-6. The mss. split over the order of the final two lines: OAV give this order, and B and Λ the opposite. There is not much to choose between the two, but the order accepted here, with **the one who denied that he defiled my bed** as the emphatic final words, offers a stronger conclusion. **defiled:** χραίνω of sexual defilement also at *Soph.*, *OT* 1384.
1267. **refute with arguments and misfortunes from the gods:** for Th. this catastrophe offers further "proof" of his son's guilt, a reasonable belief since the gods were thought to punish the wicked; see 1105-7n. Th. repeats the chorus leader's word συμφορά ("misfortune", 1255) but as proof of Hipp.'s guilt. **refute:** on the legal term (ἐξ)ελέγχω in this play, see 298n.
- 1268-82. **The Fourth Stasimon.** Typically in Greek tragedy the final choral song is the shortest (less time is given to reflection as the climax is reached), but this lyric is unusually brief (fourteen lines) and astrophic. Although the messenger has focused on the (wrongful) destructiveness of Th.'s curse, the chorus sing, from a broader perspective, of Aph.'s destructive force, which, with Ph. dead, Hipp. on the brink of death, and Th. devastated by ruin and grief, has reached its fulfillment. The choral song serves in part as a short, and further, commentary on Aph.'s power before the play enters its final movement with the entrance of Art. The song also offers a strong contrast with the following entrance and forms part of a larger architectonic symmetry in the play. Aph.'s prologue speech was followed immediately by Hipp. and his men hymning Art.; now a song on the power of Aph. (and Eros) will be followed immediately by the entrance of Art. The song also occurs immediately after the affecting account of Hipp.'s valiant struggle against his bull-crazed horses and before the final scene in which Art. will exonerate him and his own visible suffering will add to our sympathy for him. (In fact it is Hipp.'s entrance, prepared for at the end of the previous scene, that is anticipated after the song; Art.'s appearance comes as a surprise.) Interrupting, as it were, the play's long concluding sympathetic portrayal of Hipp. is this song, which proclaims the beautiful and painful truth of Aph.'s power, which Hipp. has slighted at extreme cost. Formally, the song is a hymn (see 525-34n.), addressed to Cypris and celebrating her and Eros' power, the same gods hymned in the first *stasimon* (525ff.). Whereas the earlier song viewed Aph. as a destructive force, and destructive primarily under particular circumstances—when worship is denied or



rituals are violated—this song emphasizes not destruction but the unique and universal power of the goddess.

**1268-71. You . . . Cypris:** the song begins emphatically with εὐ (you), followed shortly by the name Cypris. The goddess will be addressed in the song's final line as well. **unbending:** ἄκαμπτος is rare in tragedy (only here and Aesch., *Cho.* 455); it stands in contrast to the wing of Eros, which "encompasses", and hints at Hipp.'s behavior (see 1115-9n.). **lead captive . . . encompassing:** the same collocation in the context of hunting at Soph., *Ant.* 343 suggests a similar image here (and see Ibycus, fr. 287 for Eros as hunter). But ἄγω is employed in many contexts, including both hunting and military (see *LSJ* I.3) and ἀμφιβάλλω ("encompass") also can be used of fighting (Hom., *Od.* 4.454-5) as well as hunting (Soph., *Ant.* 343). Along with the verb ἐφορμάω ("rush against") at 1275, these words might also evoke a martial image, a common metaphor for Eros and Aph. (see, e.g., 527ff.). **the one with many-colored wings:** the adj. ποικιλόπτερος only here and at Pratinas, F 3.3. Eros is typically described as winged, as in this song 3x (1269-70, 1271, 1275).

**1272-3.** The power of Eros extends over the two basic elements—land and sea; cf. 447-8 (of Aph.) and Soph., *Ant.* 785-6 (of Eros), and see Breitenbach, 204.

**1272. bewitches:** often of Eros' power: *Bacch.* 404 (the adj. θελξιφρονεσ "mind-bewitching"), Soph., *Trach.* 355, Pl., *Symp.* 197c, *Od.* 18.212 and cf. *PV* 865 (of ἵμερος, "desire").

**1274. maddened heart:** madness caused by erotic passion was a commonplace; see 241n.

**1275. gold-shining:** χρυσοφάης of an attendant of Aph. is found in a Lesbian poet (inc. auct. fr. 23) and, its only other occurrence in tragedy, of Helios at *Ilec.* 636; Eros is "gold-winged" at Aristoph., *Birds* 1738. For the omission of ἄν with ἐφορμάει, see 527n.

**1276-80.** Eros' power extends over all of nature, expressed here in catalogue form, concluding emphatically with the single word and enjambed ἄνδρες (men), which serves to isolate Eros' power over mortals (as opposed to animals of the earth and sea), the focus of the play. For similar expressions of Aph.'s power, see 447-50n. The list does not offer neat parallelism either in content or syntax: there is overlap among the five categories mentioned, and the first and fifth are much narrower than the central three; the first two items are simple direct objs., expressed with the periphrasis φύειν + gen., the second two are relative clauses, and the last a simple, one-word direct obj. The text of the mss. has been improved in several small ways in this passage, for reasons of both sense and meter; see Barrett ad loc. for a brief discussion of these issues.

**1276-7. young:** κκύμνων Wilamowitz's conjecture for the mss. κυλάκων ("puppies") is rightly accepted by Barrett, Diggle, and Stockert. The periphrasis of φύειν + gen. (lit. "nature of the young") is common; see *LSJ* s.v. φύειν II.5.

**1280-2. you alone hold sway in royal power:** rhetorical exaggeration: as Barrett observes ad loc., the common use of μόνος (alone) to describe a god's unique power is here applied not to the nature of Cypris' power but to its extent; cf. *Ilec.* 816. **power:** the word is τιμή (more commonly "honor"); for Aph.'s "honor", see 7-8, 21 and *Intro.*, 45.

**1283-1466. The Exodos.** Divine epiphanies were part of Greek literature, from Homer onwards. In tragedy such appearances at the end of the drama were particularly favored by Eur.: at least nine of the extant plays (*Ilipp.*, *And.*, *Supp.*, *El.*, *IT*, *Ion*, *Hel.*, *Or.*, *Bacch.*, where the lacunose ending presents difficulties, and perhaps originally *IA*), as well as many of the fragmentary ones (including *Antiope*, *Erectheus*, and *Hypsipyle*) have divine epiphanies near the conclusion of the drama; cf. also *Med.* 1317ff. with Knox (1979), 295-322, esp. 303-6. (*IIF* has a god in mid-play.) Only occasionally does the god intervene to resolve a dramatic crisis; "the god therefore contributes hardly at all to the play's action; the poet's purpose is rather its external validation or an 'enlargement of meaning'" (Collard on *Supp.* 1165-1234, p. 407). More specifically the god at the end of the play has several functions, which include interrupting a violent action; informing characters of actions and motives that they could not know otherwise; predicting the future and establishing cults which connect the mythological past to the present; giving commands and/or advice to the characters; and, in a few instances, setting the play on a course that conforms to the received myth. The mortals, for their part, only rarely question the god's pronouncements. Typically they accept the god's view and yield to his or her commands, and accordingly have relatively few lines in these finales, while the gods dominate with words as well as power. Interpretation of these scenes is difficult and varied; see esp. A. Spira, *Untersuchungen zum Deus ex Machina bei Sophokles und Euripides* (Kallmünz 1960), and F. Dunn, *Tragedy's End: Closure and Innovation in Euripidean Drama* (Oxford 1996). For a brief survey of their general characteristics, see Mikalson (1991), 64-8.

The divine epiphany near the play's close is traditionally called the *deus ex machina* ("god from machine"). While certainty is impossible on this issue, it is most likely that the god appeared on high and very likely that this appearance was effected by the use of the *mechane*, a crane-like device which enabled playwrights to present a character aloft and/or to place the character on the roof (as probably here). On this matter, see most recently Mastrorarde (1990), 274-5 (and 283 on Art.'s appearance in *Ilipp.*), and also Hourmouziades, 146-69, and Taplin (1977), 443-7. Art. is not announced, but at once identifies herself (1285-6). (The actor's costume may also have helped the audience in identifying the character.) Nowhere is a god announced by name upon arrival; see *Stagecraft*, 24-6.

Art.'s appearance in the *exodos* balances Aph.'s in the prologue. (See 1268-82n. on the structural balance involved here.) The two goddesses are opposed in many ways throughout the drama, an opposition visually suggested in part by their statues which appear on-stage. They have, however, much in common, as



verbal echoes between the two scenes make clear. (See 1297n., 1298n., 1339-41n., 1422n., and Knox (1952=1979), 226-7, and Frischer, 87-90.) Art. comes, now that Aph.'s vengeance is complete, to assert her authority. She explains, blames, exculpates, and promises revenge and a future cult for Hipp. She explains to Th. Aph.'s role (1301-4, 1327-8), the Nurse's machinations (1305-6), and Ph.'s lying tablet (1310-2), and she blames Th. for his rash actions (1288-9, 1321-4), while later (1333-4, 1433-4) acknowledging the mitigating involvement of Aph. She does not blame Ph., referring instead to her "nobility" (1301). She could not protect her favored Hipp. (see her explanation at 1328-33), but she can take vengeance on one of Aph.'s favorites in return (1416-22), and she can also offer to Hipp. the solace of a cult in his honor (1423-30). She is also able to help bring about the final reconciliation between father and son (1435-6). For her the loss of a favorite can be satisfied by vengeance; death and forgiveness, two defining characteristics of mortals, are left for Hipp. as he lies in his father's embrace.

This is the only play in which the appearance of the *deus ex machina* in the *exodos* is followed by another entrance—that of the dying Hipp. Eur. has artfully constructed the scene to juxtapose twice divine and mortal perspectives. First, the goddess explains to Th. his ignorance and impetuous action; then, after Hipp.'s arrival, his extraordinary pain and death cries are heard as the goddess Art. looks on. The contrast between god and mortal, even a highly favored mortal, is further underscored in the words of leave-taking near the end of the scene (1437-43).

1283-95. Art. delivers the first part of her speech in anapaestic dimeters, then starting at 1296 speaks in iambic trimeters. The only parallel for a *deus ex machina* with a proem in a meter different from the body of the speech is Heracles in Soph., *Phil.*

1283-5. The command to listen and the early self-identification are both typical of the opening of a *deus'* speech. For the command, cf. (to listen) *Supp.* 1183, *El.* 1238, *IT* 1435-6, (other commands) *Ion* 1553, *Hel.* 1642, *Or.* 1625; for the self-identification, cf. *And.* 1232, *Supp.* 1183, *El.* 1238-40, *IT* 1436, *Ion* 1556, *Hel.* 1643-4, *Or.* 1626.

1283-4. **You:** for the emphatic pronoun placed first, followed by a descriptive apposition and a verb of commanding, cf. *Med.* 271 and *ITF* 1214-5. **noble-born:** see 151-4n. **son of Aegeus:** see 887-90n.

1286. **take delight:** cf. 1257-60. For the somewhat illogical use of the verb *συνήδομαι*, see Barrett ad loc.

1287. **impiously:** although he is only indirectly responsible for Hipp.'s (imminent) death, Th.'s action is impious, as any murder of kin would be; see Mikalson (1991), 171 n.32, for many tragic examples. The same locution is used of Ph.'s passion at 764.

1288-9. **persuaded:** *πιίθω* weaves a pattern throughout the play: Th. fell prey to his wife's persuasion (see also 1312 and 1337), just as she had fallen prey to the Nurse's (508; and cf. 303); neither the chorus nor Hipp., on the

other hand, could persuade Th. of his son's innocence (see 892, 950, 1007, 1062, 1088; and cf. 1039), nor could the messenger be persuaded of his guilt (1251); and Hipp., who felt obliged to obey his father (*πειστέον*, 1182), will forgive him at the urging of Art., whom he has obeyed (*ἐπειθόμεν*, 1443) before. **unclear . . . clear:** the juxtaposition of *ἀφανῆ* and *φανερὰν* makes the point effectively. Cf. 346. **ruin:** see 241n.

1290-3. For Art.'s two clichéd alternatives for escape see 732-41n. and cf. *Or.* 1377-8 (an apparent parody of the cliché). Atypically, here the question is asked of, not by, the character in dire straits.

1290-1. Cf. 243ff., where Ph., feeling shame at what she had said in her "delirium", asked to be covered up (*κρύπτω* is used in both places).

1292. The mss. unanimously present *πηνός/πανός . . . μεταβάς βίστον*, leaving the syntax of *βίστον* uncertain. Diggle accepts Valckenaer's simple conjecture *πηνόν*, with which *βίστον* = *εἰς βίστον*. Barrett's objection that the parallels to this expression of escape mandate that the adj. "winged" must describe the escape, and not the new life escaped to, seems overly fastidious in distinguishing too sharply between the person's escaping "on wings" and his new "winged" life, which effects the escape. Cf. Willink, 42.

1293. **lift your foot out of this pain:** a modification of the proverbial expression "keep one's foot out of the mud"; the proverb is found at Aesch., *Cho.* 679 and variations of it at *Hclld.* 109, Soph., *Phil.* 1260, and *PV* 263-4.

1296. Art. began her initial anapaestic section with the command that Th. listen (*ἐπακοῦσαι*); the first word of this iambic section is the imperat. *ἀκουε* (**Listen**), and *ἀκούεαι* ("hearing") appears near the start of her next speech (1314).

1297. **I'll accomplish nothing:** cf. Aph. at 23; *προκόπτω* (**accomplish**) only in these two places and *Alc.* 1079 and *Hec.* 961 in tragedy. The *δέ* (**except to**) contrasts with *οὐδέν* (**nothing**), while *καίτοι* (**And yet**) is countered by *ἀλλά* (**But**) in the next line.

1298. **reveal:** cf. Aph. at 42.

1299. **good reputation:** see 47-8n. Just as Ph. died in part to ensure her good reputation, so Art. seeks to ensure Hipp.'s good name.

1300-1. **frenzied lust or . . . nobility:** Art.'s alternative expression boldly juxtaposes two aspects of Ph.'s situation—the divinely-caused passion for her step-son, and her innate nobility in combating this. In what follows, 1301-3 refer to her passion, 1304-5 to her nobility. Cf. *Phoen.* 1680, where Creon says to Antigone, "You have nobility, and some craziness." **frenzied lust:** *οἶτρος*, lit. "gadfly", and then more generally "sting", can, like its related verbs, refer more specifically to sexual passion; see Headlam on Herondas 1.57. **nobility:** *γενναιότης* in poetry only in Eur. (5x), although the adj. *γενναῖος* is common.

1303. **stung by the goads:** the image, begun with *οἶτρος* (1300), is continued here; on amatory goads, see 38-40n.



- 1304-5. Cf. Ph.'s words at 398-401. **Cypris:** i.e., her passion; see 400-2n. **she was destroyed . . . by the contrivances of her Nurse:** in fact, Ph. decided to die *before* the Nurse's intervention, but the circumstances of her death were changed by the Nurse's contrivances. **against her will:** as Ph. had already said at 693-4. She felt compelled to act in the face of another's (the Nurse's) action and the goddess's plans; see Rickert, 79 n.2, and Köhnken, 188 n.2.
- 1307-8. **in fact:** for this sense of οὖν after ὡς περ, see *GP*, 421-2 and Barrett ad loc. **did not go along with these words:** an implicit contrast between Hipp., who did not comply with the Nurse's words, and Th., who was persuaded by Ph.'s lying ones (see 1288).
1309. Cf. 656, Hipp. to the Nurse: "my piety saves you".
1310. **found out:** lit. "fall into scrutiny/refutation"; the unusual expression πίπτω εἰς ἔλεγχον is found (in a different sense) at *IIF* 73. Ph. destroyed the possibility of scrutiny of the facts (see also 1336-7), just as Th. did (1055-6, 1322).
- 1311-2. **destroyed your son by her tricks:** the verbal echoes of 1305 reveal the symmetrical matrix of destruction: Ph. was destroyed by the contrivances of the Nurse and in turn destroyed Hipp. by her own tricks.
1313. **sting:** echoes "stung by her goads" of Ph. at 1303. **be still:** ἔχ' ἤσυχος is colloquial, in Eur. always in response to an interruption; see Stevens, 34-5.
- 1318-9. A god's fulfillment of a promise to a mortal is not always in the mortal's best interest; cf. the famous example of Zeus and Semele, on which see 555-64n. **being well disposed towards you:** context suggests this interpretation of φρονῶν καλῶς (κοι probably goes with this phrase, although it could be construed only with ἔδωκε), but the intellectual term (lit. "thinking well") also connects with the many other such terms in this play; see Goff, 86-7. **only what:** for this sense of ὅσον περ, see *LSJ* s.v. ὅσον IV.2.
1320. **in his eyes:** Barrett, less plausibly, interprets ἐν to mean "in the case of, against".
- 1321-3. Here are several clear echoes of Hipp.'s words to his father in the *agon*; cf. 1051-2 and 1055-6.
1324. **hurled curses:** cf. Aesch., *Sept.* 785-7 (of curses); in general on words as missiles, see Kamerbeek on Soph., *OT* 784 and Collard on *Supp.* 456.
1325. Th. speaks only half a line before Art. continues. In fact, he speaks only three words in his scene with Art. and does not speak again until 1408, after he is addressed by Hipp.
- 1325-41. In her anapaestic proem, Art. admonished Th.; in her first speech she related, from her divine perspective, what happened; now she explains at the deeper level of divine principle her lack of intervention, laying the blame squarely on Cypris, and reassesses Th.'s culpability by pointing to his ignorance.

1326. Art. does not say that she forgives Th. (although many so interpret her words), only that he can obtain forgiveness, preparing for the forgiveness granted, at her urging, by Hipp. (1435-6, 1449ff.). Forgiveness is not a commonly found characteristic of Greek gods; see Dover (1974), 78-9. On the theme of forgiveness in this play, see Knox (1952=1979), 227-8, Luschnig, 48-9, and Dover (1991).
- 1328-34. The principle of divine non-intervention, sanctioned by Zeus, while nowhere else so baldly formulated, is implicit in the divine activities in Homer, where for all their fighting against each other, the gods ultimately respect Zeus' will and/or fate; see Grube, 192 n.2., and Erbse, 45-6. In tragedy cf. the divine statements at *IIF* 827ff., *IHel.* 1658-61, and *El.* 1301-02. The *deus ex machina* often states that the final responsibility for events lies with Zeus; cf., e.g., *And.* 1269, *El.* 1247-8, *IHel.* 1669, *Or.* 1633-5, *Bacch.* 1333, 1349. A corollary of this principle is that of permissible retaliation, enunciated, e.g., by Hera at Hom., *Il.* 4.51-67, in explaining to Zeus that he may destroy one of her cities, provided that she may destroy Troy. See Art.'s words at 1416-22.
- 1334-5. The Greeks recognized ignorance as a mitigating factor in assigning blame (see, e.g., Arist., *NE* 1113b 23-7), but Th.'s rashness is still, of course, partly to blame for the tragedy. On ignorance in this play, see *Intro.*, 48-9.
- 1336-7. Cf. Th.'s own words at 971-2. **did away with:** ἀναλίκεω λόγους can = "waste words" (Soph., *Aj.* 1049), but this sense does not apply here.
- 1339-41. Art.'s concluding maxim echoes Aph.'s words in the prologue, 5-6. In each instance, of course, the goddess speaks of the pious exclusively from her own perspective.
- 1339-40. For the rare construction χαίρω + accus. and part., see *LSJ* s.v. χαίρω I.2.
- 1340-1. **we destroy along with their children and houses:** this phrase, by echoing the traditional imprecation against oath-breakers (see 1028-31n.), invites an implicit contrast with the pious Hipp., who did not break his oath.
- 1342-6. Hipp., supported by his attendants (1358-9), arrives on-stage, announced by the chorus in anapaestic dimeters. On such announcements, which suggest that the entrance was "slow, solemn or stately", see 170-5n. Hipp., afflicted with intense pain, makes no contact with those already on-stage until 1391. His entrance mirrors the first entrance of Ph.: both are announced in anapaests; both arrive weakened and with assistance, Ph. carried, Hipp. walking but supported; both ask attendants to help them find a more comfortable position (198ff.; 1358-9, 1372); both give voice to their anguish in lyric (Hipp. after initial anapaests); and in both cases the chorus assume that the gods are responsible for their condition. These two entrances, in mirroring each other, join the two main characters at yet another level. On these and further similarities between the two scenes, see Taplin (1978), 135-6, and Frischer, 92.



1346. **seizing it:** καταληπτός, here act. in sense, is derived from καταλαμβάνω, on which see 1160-1n.
- 1347-88. Hipp.'s lament is divided into two sections: in the first (1347-69) his words are in non-melic anapaestic dimeters, while in the second (1370-88) the meter shifts to a combination of melic anapaests and lyric iambs. In the first section, Hipp. laments his plight and continues his protestations of innocence. The change in meter at 1370 is accompanied by an (apparent) increase in pain (see 1370ff.) and a prayer for death. Then, beginning with Art.'s lines at 1389-90, the rest of the scene, until the choral tag, is in spoken iambic trimeters. Cf. the similar scene and pattern in Soph., *Trach.* 983ff.
1349. **divine pronouncements:** χρησιμός normally of oracles, but, since the fulfillment of Th.'s curse was promised by a god, the curse can, by extension, be called a χρησιμός.
- 1351-2. For the suggestion that Hipp.'s language here echoes that of childbirth and sexuality, see N. Loraux, *L'Homme* 21 (1981), 58-9, and Zeitlin, 78, esp. n.69. **spasm:** σφάκελος is a medical term, found nowhere else in Eur. (although an alternate form σφακελισμός occurs at F 751), and in tragedy only at PV 878 and 1045, also in anapaests. In general on medical terminology in the tragedians, see N. Collinge, *BICS* 9 (1962), 43-55. **throbs:** for metaphorical uses of πηδάω, which is often used of the heart or pulse, see *LSJ* II.
- 1353ff. Hipp.'s stage movements here are perhaps recoverable from the text. He seems at this point (1353) to rest for a moment; the preceding line is a paroemiac, rounding off the first section of anapaests and, probably, Hipp.'s initial movements. His commands at 1358-9 and 1361 suggest that he may, in fact, have partially collapsed at 1353. It seems that he cries out first as he begins to move again (1354) and then a second time (1358) when his servant's assistance (in helping him stand again?) causes him pain, the imperfective aspect of the imperats. at 1359 and 1361 implying that the commanded activity is already being performed.
- 1355-7. Cf. 1240-2 for Hipp.'s (reported) appeal to his horses.
1357. In tragedy, non-spoken verse is more prone to tmesis. Note the similar rhythm and rhyme of the two half lines of this verse, and cf. 1361 and 177n.
1359. **wounded:** ἐλκώδης is a medical term, found only here in poetry.
1362. **ill-starred:** κακοδαίμων, generally a colloquialism ("poor wretch"), very common in comedy, appears only here in tragedy (while its virtual synonym δυσδαίμων appears more than 20x in Eur. alone). As Stevens, 14-5, suggests, context makes it likely that Eur. is using the word not in its colloquial sense, but in its original, literal meaning "ill-starred". **accursed:** κατάρατος is found in a colloquial, weakened sense in comedy (9x in Aristoph.), while in its more literal sense in tragedy (8x in Eur.).
1363. See 885-6n.
1364. **god-revering:** θεοσέπτωρ is found only here in Greek.
1365. **surpassed everyone in virtue:** cf. 994-5 and 1100-1 for Hipp.'s earlier and equally confident assertion of his *sophrosune*. Since *sophrosune* can

- also mean "moderation", this claim, like the first two, is paradoxical. See also Conacher (1967), 41-3.
1366. **I'm walking into a death clear before my eyes:** cf. *And.* 414 and Soph., *OC* 1439-40. **death:** see 1047n.
- 1367-9. Hipp. here sounds like Heracles, with the twist of the striking phrase "labors of piety", a collocation unsurprisingly found nowhere else in classical Greek. **in vain:** ἄλλωως appears 6x in this play (also at 197, 301, 375, 535 [2x]) forming a kind of leitmotif on the ineffectiveness of human intention and effort; see Knox (1952=1979), 225. **piety for men:** εὐεβεία usually refers to one's actions towards the gods and one's parents, but its range is not limited exclusively to these two groups, and Hipp., who focuses almost entirely on his relationship to the gods, can easily refer to his actions towards mortals (esp. his keeping of his oath; cf. 656) as exemplifying his religious piety.
- 1370-88. The change in meter (see 1347-88n.), along with the opening cry **Ah ah!**, might indicate another pause in Hipp.'s movements (see 1353ff.n.) and 1372 and 1376 esp. *may* imply that he takes up a prone or sitting position.
1373. **death the healer:** the same collocation also at Aesch., F 255 (from his *Phil.*), and cf. Soph., *Phil.* 832 (call to Sleep as a "healer"). **healer:** Παιών was originally an independent deity (the name appears on the Linear B tablets), who became associated with Apollo and eventually identified with him in his role as healer, whence the use of the noun for any healer. For the cliché of death as release, see citations at FJW on Aesch., *Supp.* 802-3.
- 1374-5. No fully satisfactory remedy has been found for the text which presents either an unacceptable hiatus (between δυσδαίμονα and ἀμφιτόμου) or unacceptable meter (with elision, the anapaest is a syllable short); Diggle daggers from 1374 through δυσδαίμονα. Wilamowitz's proposal, προσάπολλυτ' ἀπόλλυτε, with Markland's μ' after δυσδαίμονα, seems on the right track, although, as Barrett realizes, the placement of the enclitic μ'(ε) is awkward, if not intolerable. (See Barrett for a discussion of some of the other proposed solutions.) The two verbs could be construed as imperat. or indic. Sommerstein, 41, makes a strong case for indic., comparing Soph., *Trach.* 1005-7, but here the words are more densely imbedded amid the wishes for death, and are more likely to be imperat. That Hipp.'s command is not fulfilled does not vitiate this interpretation; see Bain (1981), 21-3. **Add death to my pain:** the trans. tries to capture the force of the pre-verb πρόσ- ("in addition to"). On the Greek practice, inherited from Indo-European, of repeating the sense of a compound verb by using only the simple, see C. Watkins, *IJSCP* 71 (1966), 115-9; the most striking example in Eur. is at *Bacch.* 1065. On this phenomenon in Eur., see Diggle (1994), 389-90.
- 1375-7. With Hipp.'s desire for a spear (λόγχας ἔραμαι), cf. Ph.'s desire (ἔραμαι, 219) to shout to dogs as she hunted with a barbed missile (ἐπίλογχον βέλος, 221-2).
- 1378-83. Like his father, Hipp. imagines that he suffers from some hereditary guilt, although neither he nor his father refers to any specific ancestor or crime.



- (See 831-3n.) He still finds himself wholly innocent; cf. 933 and 1149. **breaks its bounds:** a rare metaphorical use of ἐξορίζω. **does not stay in place:** Wilamowitz's conjecture μένει for μέλλει restores the meter and ties in with the spatial metaphors of these lines.
- 1385-6. **rid my life:** for ἀπαλλάσσω of ending one's life. cf. Ph. at 726, and the Nurse at 356. Weil's easy conjecture ἀνάλγητον (painless) for ἀναλήτου of the mss. is wanted (*pace* Lloyd-Jones [1965=1990], 435); the adj. is predicative with βιοτάν.
- 1387-8. Cf. Heracles' prayer to Hades at the end of his lyrics at Soph., *Trach.* 1040-3. **lay me to sleep:** the metaphor in κοιμάω is common (see *LSJ* I.3), just as it is in (κατ)εὐνάω at 1376; cf. the use of κατευναζέω at 562. **compulsion of Hades:** while the sentiment is unremarkable, the collocation has no precise parallel.
- 1389-90. The mss. unanimously assign these lines to Art., and 1390 is consistent with what Art. says elsewhere about Hipp.'s piety (cf. 1339-40, 1419), but I am persuaded of Michael Haslam's suggestion (in R. Hamilton, ed. *Euripides' Hippolytus*, and elaborated via e-communication) that they should be assigned to the chorus leader. These lines are very characteristic of choral utterances; the chorus leader, not Art., better makes the transition to iambic trimeters; and, most importantly, this attribution makes Hipp.'s immediate response that he recognizes her by her scent (not her voice) intelligible.
1389. **yoked to:** for this metaphor in connection with one's lot. cf. *And.* 98, *Hel.* 255, and Pind., *Nem.* 7.6; in other contexts, most notably of compulsion, cf., e.g., *Or.* 1330, F 285.10, Aesch., *Ag.* 218, *PV* 108. This image of the yoke may also recall its use for marriage earlier in the play; see 546-7n. and 1148n.
1390. With the sentiment, cf. Soph., *Ant.* 942-3. See also Andromache to Hector at Hom., *Il.* 6.407.
- 1391-3. He knows the goddess only by her scent; he cannot see her. See 84-6n. For divine fragrance, cf. *PV* 115 and Theognis, 8-9.
1396. The gods generally keep a distance from the sufferings of mortals, even their favorites (the same principle is stated at Ovid, *Met.* 2. 621-2). (But cf. Hom., *Il.* 16.458-9 and *Od.* 24.63-4.) In this play tears are shed for Ph. by the chorus (853-4), for Phaethon (in narrative, 735-41), and cf. 1070 (Hipp. on the verge of tears), 1143-4 (the chorus claim that they will cry over Hipp.'s fate), and 1178 (the messenger reports the tears of Hipp. and his attendants). See further Segal (1988), 269 n.7.
- 1397-9. Art.'s loss at Hipp.'s death is marked by the five-fold repeated negatives (οὐκ/οὐδ' / οὐ/οὐδ' / οὐδ'), three at verse-initial position.
1399. **statues:** cf. 73ff., where he presents the goddess's statue with a garland.
1402. **homage:** here the sense is "(lack of) honor (time)" paid to the goddess. Cf. Aph.'s words in her prologue, esp. 8 and 14. This line contains the paradox at the heart of Hipp.'s tragedy—a divinity finds fault with his lack of homage, since he has been *sophron* towards another divinity.

- 1403-4. In response to Hipp.'s statement that Aph. "destroyed the three of us", Art. spells out those three—Th., Hipp., and Th.'s wife (the particle γε, as commonly, indicating an expansion of something implied in the original statement; see *GP*, 133-4). Against the view, advanced by, e.g., Norwood, 90, and, most fully, D. Schenker, *Mnemosyne* 48 (1995), 1-10, that Hipp. includes Art. among his "us", ignoring either his father (as still living) or Ph. (as of no concern to him), see C. Chromik, *Göttlicher Anspruch und menschliche Verantwortung bei Euripides* (diss. Kiel 1967), 88 n.114, and Kovacs (1987), 136 n.95.
1403. **Single-handedly:** lit. "one", μία frames the line with τρεῖς (three). For such rhetorical numerical contrasts, see Kannicht on *Hel.* 731-3 and Fraenkel on Aesch., *Ag.* 1455.
1405. Here, and in his next two lines (1407, 1409), Hipp. repeatedly expresses his sympathy with Th.'s suffering. Although seemingly self-absorbed for much of the play, he is capable of expressing pity for the man who called down on him deadly curses. It is true that Hipp. forgives his father *after* Art.'s urging, but these expressions of sympathy make this later forgiveness, consonant with his own feelings, unsurprising; see Dover (1991), 181.
1407. Hipp. now turns to Th., who has been silent since 1341, and they have a brief exchange, continuing the *stichomythia*. As is typically the case in Greek tragedy, even when all three actors are on-stage together, dialogue tends to involve only two parties at a time: Art. speaks to Th.; Art. speaks with Hipp.; then Hipp. speaks with Th.
1413. Cf. 1042-4.
1414. **we were tripped up in our judgment:** the phrase δόξης ἡμεν ἐσφαλμένοι blends, as Barrett observes ad loc., two uses of the verb: ἐσφαλμένοι refers to the inception of the delusion while the gen. of separation δόξης refers to its outcome.
1415. **curse on the gods:** remarkably the curse is wished for against the gods. (Cf. Achilles to Apollo at Hom., *Il.* 22.20.) Hipp.'s anger against the gods echoes the chorus's strong words at 1146. It is immediately after this bold statement that Art. cuts Hipp. off ("Let it be", 1416).
- 1416-39. Art. now spells out what she, who was unable to protect Hipp. from Aph.'s schemes, will do to compensate for his loss.
- 1416-9. The sentence is complex and slightly illogical. Art. means, using a kind of brachylogy, that Aph.'s actions (already performed) will not go unavenged even though Hipp. will be in Hades.
1417. **unavenged:** ἀτιμοί and τιμώρησομαι ("I will take vengeance") at 1422 are part of the same verbal matrix ("honor/payment"); cf. Aph. at 8 and 21 and see 21-2n. Cf. Aesch., *Ag.* 1279 for similar language.
1418. Cf. the Nurse's words to Ph. about her lovesick state at 438.
- 1420-2. Adonis, beloved of Aph., is most likely meant. According to most accounts of his death, he dies gored by a boar while hunting (the realm of Art.), and, according to Apoll. 3.14.4, his death is the result of Art.'s anger.



- 1422. inescapable arrows:** a further symmetry: Aph. effects her power with the shafts of love (531ff.), Art. will take her vengeance with her arrows of the hunt.
- 1423-30. The cult.** As in the conclusion of virtually every tragedy (the exceptions are *Tro.* and *Alc.*; the damaged ending of *Bacch.* and the probably spurious *exodos* of *IA* cannot be included in this count), Eur. presents an actiology of some sort, explaining the origins of a contemporary cult or etymology of a name, and thereby brings together the world of the play and the world of the audience, in at least a superficial way. In this case, the cult is remarkable in that Hipp., who has rejected marriage and sex throughout his life and who dies for this rejection, will be the object of worship by young Troezenian women in preparation for their weddings. See Segal (1986), 281, Halleran (1991), 120, and Seaford (1994), 169, 279-80, 387-8. For the historical cult, see *Intro.*, 21-2.
- 1424. honors:** in several of Eur.'s plays, the *deus*, or some other character, explains future offerings; cf., e.g., *Med.* 1379-83, *IT* 1464-8, *Hel.* 1666-9, *Or.* 1688-9, and *Antiope*, F 48.96-9 (Kambitsis), where the language is very similar to 1424-5.
- 1426.** Hair offerings were a very old and common way to express grief over the dead; cf. Hom., *Il.* 23.141-53, and see Burkert (1985), 70, and esp. n.29. It was also standard for young men and women upon reaching adulthood (marked for a young woman by marriage) to make hair offerings to a divinity, often a local river god; see Garvie on Aesch., *Cho.* 6 and Richardson on Hom., *Il.* 23.127-53. Here there seems to be a conflation of the two customs.
- 1427. enjoy the fruits of:** for the metaphor, see 431-2n.
- 1428-9. inspired:** for μέριμνα (lit. "care, thought") in a poetical context, cf. Bacchylides 19.11. **sing songs:** μουσικοποιός only here and *Tro.* 1189 in tragedy.
- 1429-30. not . . . nameless:** the same phrase of Aph. at 1.
- 1433. in ignorance:** ἄκων (lit. "unwillingly") means in this case (as also at, e.g., Soph., *OC* 986-7) that Th. acted in ignorance of the full situation; see Barrett ad loc. and Rickert, 115; a different view in D. MacDowell, *RM* 111 (1968), 156-8.
- 1433-4. when the gods bring it about:** θεῶν διδόντων, and variations on it, are more common in positive contexts, but cf. Aesch., *Pers.* 293-4 and *Sept.* 719. On mortals' liability to err, cf. the Nurse's words at 615.
- 1435.** Art. urges Hipp. to forgive his father, but see 1405n. **urge:** on παρανέω, see Dale on *Hel.* 1013-6.
- 1436. you have your fate with which you were destroyed:** although many critics have interpreted ἔχετε to mean "you understand" (as at, e.g., 1021), this sense seems rhetorically feeble here and takes too little account of the explanatory γάρ. Rather the line, containing a certain tautology, underscores the finality and inevitability of Hipp.'s death. With the expression ἔχετε μοῖραν, cf. *Hel.* 1286 and *Tro.* 270.

- 1437-8.** Death was a pollution in Greek eyes, so gods generally stayed clear of death, and their shrines were kept free of the dead and dying. Cf. Apollo at *Alc.* 22-6, and a comic treatment at Men., *Aspis* 97-8. Art.'s departure has two strong dramatic advantages: it allows both for Hipp. to comment on her departure (see 1440-45n.) and for the final affecting scene between father and son without a divine presence. **breaths:** ἐκπνοή only here in Greek poetry, although the verb ἐκπνέω is common; perhaps a clinical tone is suggested.
- 1439. see:** Art. leaves upon seeing (ὄρω) Hipp. near death, just as Aph.'s exit in the prologue is signaled by her seeing (εἶδω, 51) Hipp. approaching.
- 1440-5.** In Hipp.'s farewell to Art. critics have found various attitudes, from resentment to pious resignation. See, e.g., Knox (1952=1979), 228, and Köhnken, 189. There is, to be sure, no expressed hostility or reproach, but Hipp.'s words at 1441 do underscore her ease of departure and suggest the fundamental contrast between gods and mortals. (See Berns, 184.) For the audience these words also seem to echo and even to confirm Aph.'s at 19.
- 1441. easily:** in Homer esp. divine actions are so characterized in contrast to those of mortals.
- 1442-3.** Hipp., who earlier contemptuously dismissed the Nurse's plea for forgiveness (615ff.), now, following Art.'s urging, forgives his father. See esp. Knox (1952=1979), 227-9. **dissolve:** on loosening and binding, see 670-1n. **obeyed your words:** on the role of persuasion in the play, see 1288-9n.
- 1444. darkness now comes down upon my eyes:** the image is old and standard (cf. Hom., *Il.* 4.461, etc.); very similar phrasing at F 806.3 and cf. *Alc.* 268-9, *Phoen.* 1453, and F 533.
- 1445. straighten my body:** referring to the laying out of the corpse; cf. 786.
- 1446.** With Th.'s reaction, cf. Admetus' at *Alc.* 391, and see 1456.
- 1447.** Cf. Aph.'s words at 56-7.
- 1448-51.** Having already forgiven his father, Hipp. now absolves him of punishment. Athenian law allowed a dying person to free the murderer from all the potential legal consequences of his action; cf. Dem. 37.59 and MacDowell (1963), 8, 148. But religious purification might still be required; cf. Pl., *Laws* 869a, and see Parker, 107-8.
- 1450. acquitting:** the legal sense of ἀφίημι (see *LSJ* II.1.b. and II.2.c.), is appropriate here.
- 1452.** On the importance to Hipp. of his father's judgment, see 1070-1 and 1101. **noble:** the same quality as in Art.'s description of Ph. (1301).
- 1453-5.** Wilamowitz's proposed transposition of 1453 and 1455 (*Analecta*, 220-1), accepted by most editors, including Weil, Murray, Méridier, and Barrett, should be rejected. Though tempting (γυναικῶν would then reply immediately to γενναῖος, and in other respects the run of the lines might seem smoother), the transposition is unpersuasive. See Segal (1970a), 101-7, for a careful defense of the transmitted order of lines.



- 1453. to you, too:** the words χαῖρε καὶ εὐ were a formula in response to a greeting of χαῖρε, whether upon meeting (1440, *Alc.* 510, *Med.* 665, *Held.* 660, *Or.* 477) or departing (*IF* 1418). Hipp. can construe the previous line as a subtle and tactful farewell from Th. (See Segal [1970a], 103-4.) With 1452 this line creates a symmetry: each line starts with the εὐ + voc., and ends with the word for father (πατρί/πάτερ).
- 1454.** An echo of Art.'s words of Hipp. at 1309.
- 1455.** Hipp.'s almost final words offer no simple farewell; they express good will, bitterness, and pride.
- 1456. Don't leave me:** προδίδωμι can also suggest betrayal; cf. *Alc.* 202, 250, 275, and see Segal (1970a), 105-7. **child:** Th. has refused to call Hipp. his child until this final scene, when he employs the term τέκνον 3x: in responding to Hipp.'s first address (1408), and twice in this *stichomythia*, at its beginning (1446) and its end (1456).
- 1457-8.** Hipp. ends the *stichomythia* with these two lines, his last in the play. His request to his father to cover his face echoes Ph.'s identical request to the Nurse (243, 245). Covering a corpse was standard practice; cf., e.g., *Tro.* 626-7 and *Soph., Aj.* 915-6. After speaking these words, Hipp. dies.
- 1457. My enduring's over:** the perf. indic. κεκαρτέρηται, Hipp.'s first word, echoes and corrects Th.'s imperfective imperat. καρτέρει, Th.'s last in 1456. The phrase κεκαρτέρηται τὰμά is emphatic; cf. Sandbach on *Men., Dys.* 692. The perf. of this verb is extremely rare.
- 1459-61.** While delivering these lines, Th. covers up Hipp.'s corpse. In the final lines before the choral tag, Th. refers to his own sorrow, but he also widens the scope of the significance of Hipp.'s death and proclaims his greatness. The proclamation of the public loss at Hipp.'s death is balanced in the chorus's concluding lines by the declaration of public sorrow and remembrance of great heroes.
- 1459.** The mss. readings εὐ κλείν' Ἀθῆναι (BAV) or Ἀθῆνων (OAV) have invited suspicion and emendations. Fitton, supported by Huxley, suggests Ἀφαίεα, which Diggle prints in his text. But this minor Aeginetan deity is no more in place here than at 1123 (see 1122-3n.). Barrett accepts, with doubts, the reading of OAV, citing *Cycl.* 293-4 and *Soph., Trach.* 1191 as support for the double gens. (further examples in Davies on *Soph., Trach.* 1191), although in these cases the two gens. (one of the locale, the other of the person to whom the locale belongs or pertains) are not joined by a connective, as they are here. Sommerstein (40-1) suggests κλειναὶ τ' Ἀθῆναι (deleting εὐ), which removes the double, connected gens., although the deletion of εὐ is troublesome. I translate this proposal. The two designations would refer to Athens and Attica (the boundaries of Pallas). Although the play is set in Trozen, it is no surprise that Th. thinks of Athens, his permanent home and seat of power; even Hipp., when going into exile, thought first of Athens (1094-5). There may be here an echo of Th.'s word of banishment (Ἀθήνας . . . ὄρουσ, 974-5).

- 1460-1.** As he exits into the palace, Th. addresses the statue of Aph., as did the servant (117) and the Nurse (522). Most likely, as Th. exits into the palace, attendants lift up Hipp.'s corpse and follow Th. inside.
- 1462-6.** All of Eur.'s plays, as they are preserved in the mss., contain a choral tag, ranging from two to seven lines in length (or ten, if *IT* 1497-9 are genuine), and all, except for three, are in anapaestic dimeters. These tail-pieces have come under considerable suspicion, chiefly because of the repetition of them in several plays: the same five-line tag is found verbatim at the end of four plays (*Alc., And., Hel., Bacch.*) and, with the change of one line, in one other (*Med.*), while another three-line tag is found repeated at the end of three plays (*IT, Phoen., Or.*). (For a skeptical discussion of these and the other Eur. endings, see Barrett ad loc., and for a textual defense, at least of the coda in *Med.*, see D. Kovacs, *TAPA* 117 [1987], 268-70.) But there is no strong reason to doubt the authenticity of all the endings, and even the repeated ones might have served the function of indicating the close of the play, as proposed by D. Roberts, *CQ* 37 (1987), 51-64. Here the lines echo Th.'s proclamation of public loss (see 1459-61n.), and the public dimension seems particularly appropriate in a play in which a civic cult has just been established for Hipp. Some mss. attach the "prayer for victory" found also at *IT, Phoen.* and *Or.*, to the end of 1466; this is surely inauthentic.
- 1463. unexpectedly:** ἀέλπτως appears also in the tag repeated at the end of five plays, and its cognate ἀνέλπικτον at *IT* 1495. Here it might recall the chorus's words at 1121.
- 1464. splashing:** on πίτυλος, see Barrett ad loc.
- 1465-6.** Word order and sense tell against Barrett's interpretation of these lines, "tales that are prevalent concerning the great merit greater grief (sc. than those concerning lesser men)". The rhetorical point is not that tales of the great warrant greater grief, but that their tales have a wider currency. At the very end of the play, when Hipp.'s loss is being given a broader and public dimension, a reference to the scope of his story, not its depth, is more fitting.



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