Notes

INTRODUCTION Reading as a Sophist

1. Segal 1981.60.

2. See bibliography. I have found the contributions of G.W. Dickerson, P.E. Easterling, T.F. Hoey, S.E. Lawrence, and Charles Segal to be especially valuable.

3. The coinage of Mikhail Gerschenson, quoted by Steiner 207 n.1. In recent years the study of Greek tragedy has been invigorated by a number of outstanding monographic interpretations, of which I mention Benardete 1975 a, b and c (on Soph. *Ant.*), Pucci 1980 (on Eur. *Med.*), Zeitlin 1982 (on Aesch. *Septem*), Segal 1982 (on Eur. *Bacch.*), and Goldhill 1984 (on Aesch. *Oresteia*). These readings have displayed the rich interpretive possibilities that lie in even the minutest details of the tragic texts.

4. Whitman 1951.

5. Whitman, Preface (unnumbered).

6. E.g. the following words of T.S. Eliot, quoted with approbation by Taplin 1:

> Behind the dialogue of Greek drama we are always conscious of a concrete visual actuality, and behind that of a specific emotional actuality. Behind the drama of words is the drama of action, the timbre of voice and voice, the uplifted hand or tense muscle, and the particular emotion. The spoken play, the words which we read, are symbols, a shorthand, and often, as in the best of Shakespeare, a very abbreviated shorthand indeed, for the actual and felt play, which is always the real thing. The phrase, beautiful as it may be, stands for a greater beauty still. This is merely a particular case of the amazing unity of Greek,

> the unity of concrete and abstract in philosophy, the unity of thought and feeling, action and speculation in life.

Note especially Eliot's emphasis upon a *particular* emotion and upon the *unity* of everything Greek. This description leaves no room for interpretive pluralism, perhaps not for any interpretation at all. Taplin's own understanding of drama, indeed of all art, is certainly anti-interpretive: "The artist communicates with his audience; the good artist communicates things which are worth communicating, and he does it well." (Taplin 5) For Taplin the critic merely translates the audience's unconscious experience into words: " . . . it is precisely the critic's task to spell out in longhand what makes the audience respond during the performance." (Taplin 6) Taplin describes this experience as a collective, passive response to the play's stimulus: ". . . the play is presented to a public, in the Greek theatre to an experienced, demanding and appreciative audience of more than 10,000. As we read we must also feel the presence of the audience: not only because every sound and movement is, ultimately, directed at them, but also because their shared experience is part of the play as a whole. The play is so designed as to take the thoughts and emotions of the audience along with it." (Taplin 3).

7. Whitman, Preface (unnumbered).

8. Whitman 63.

9. Whitman 114.

10. Whitman 93.

11. Whitman 16.

12. Whitman 17.

13. Whitman 110-111.

14. Whitman 265 n.16.

15. Compare the analysis of Linforth 258, who argued that since Heracles died on the pyre the drug of Nessus did not cause his death. Leinieks 22 also claims that the robe does not kill Heracles.

16. Whitman 8.

17. A rhetorical approach to Greek tragedy has already been taken in a few recent studies; see especially Burnett 1971, Sale 1977, Goodhart 1978 (on Soph. *O.T.*), Pucci 1980 (on Eur. *Med.*), Zeitlin 1980 (on Eur. *Or.*), and Goldhill 1984 (on the *Oresteia*). Rosenmeyer 1955 made an important step in this direction.

18. The classic example of this approach is of course T. Wilamowitz 1917. For fine observations on Sophoclean dramaturgy see Reinhardt 1979, Kirkwood 1958, Taplin 1978, Machin 1981 and Seale 1982. Waldock 1951 and Adams 1957 are less useful. On the first epeisodion of *Trachiniae* see Beck 1953.

19. Waldock 97. Earlier passages in which Waldock discusses moments of "transparency" in Sophoclean drama might seem directly to contradict our assertion that Waldock and other critics regard the plays' rhetoric as opaque to the audience. But Waldock claims that when audiences notice such moments of "transparency" they do not focus upon the transparency as such but rather compensate for it, in effect converting the transparency into opacity. "[The dramatist] may need a thing to be done or said . . . and yet it may be very hard to make this thing seem natural . . . .What results then is quite a common thing in drama and may be described as a sort of transparency. We catch the dramatist, so to speak, at his game; his art, for these few moments, is not concealed; we look through what he is doing and see what he is about and why. As I say, these patches of transparency are found quite often in dramas, and are really of no great importance if we take them naturally for what they are. Audiences grasp their quality more easily than readers--very much more easily than sophisticated readers. They understand instinctively what is happening. They will be aware of a thinness in the drama--of something to be glided over--and will adjust their responses accordingly." (Waldock 91-92).

20. Schmalzriedt 1980 concludes that, at least in later life, Sophocles was more open to contemporary developments in rhetorical practice and theory than scholars have usually believed. But he does not consider whether an appreciation of Sophocles' rhetorical awareness has any implications for the questions one brings to the plays.

21. Segal 1977b.122. Contrast the remarks of Ehrenberg 387 on the same speech: "[Heracles] does not appear [in *Trachiniae*] as the great saviour and liberator of mankind, apart from his own rather boastful self-praise near the end of the play (1058 ff)."

22. Segal 1977b.112-113 (emphasis in original).

23. Segal 1977b.118-119.

24. Segal schematizes his interpretation of *Trachiniae* in diagrams at Segal 1977b.145-6 and Segal 1981.86.

25. "[Heracles' apotheosis] does suggest a symmetrical design which includes an upward as well as a downward mediation." (Segal 1981.99) Elsewhere he states even more positively that "[Zeus'] plan includes Heracles' apotheosis" (Segal 1981.81), "The rite at Oeta will reenact the Cenaean rite, but in exactly the opposite spirit and with exactly the opposite outcome," (Segal 1981.101), "the qualities . . . that lift [Heracles] to Oeta and eventually to Olympus also destroy him," (Segal 1981.103). Later in the same essay

Segal does state a somewhat different view: "Sophocles leaves us with something not yet fully closed, an equilibrium not yet fully established. . . . Heracles . . . exits to a fate which . . . is dark and mysterious." (Segal 1981.107).

26. For a lucid discussion see Kirkwood 1958.247-249.

27. Segal 1977b.151-155, Easterling 1981.66-69. Other scenes in *Trachiniae* have also been read ironically; for some good examples see Kirkwood 1958.256-258 and Markantonatos 1974. To the extent that a spectator compares his own knowledge with that of a dramatic character, he succumbs to the illusion that the character is a real person like himself. Thus the spectator partakes of the delusion represented on stage precisely when he perceives himself as most remote from it. This is irony indeed.

28. Easterling 1981.63 (emphasis in original).

29. Compare the famous fragment 6K of Timocles (quoted at Chapter One n.3 below).

30. For a valuable discussion of this tragic *anagnorisis* apropos Aeschylus' *Persians*, see Mitsis 1988.

31. See especially Diller 1963.

32. While Whitman 221-251 posited a divinity immanent in man, this divinity did not permeate all of existence but actually separated man from the disorder of his environment. Nothing could be more unlike the divine *arete* of Whitman's interpretation than the dynamic threshold suggested by our reading of *Trachiniae*.

33. E.g. Segal 1981.46: "The tragic hero has the task of confronting the most violent divisions within himself . . . . He becomes conscious of a self which is also his enemy."

34. E.g. Segal 1981.45: "By calling the cosmic and social orders into question through his ambiguous position within and beyond established limits, the king-hero enacts in his doom the necessity for that order." Apparently Segal himself endorses the faith in boundaries that he ascribes to the tragedians. Near the end of his chapter on *Trachiniae* he refers to "this necessary task of defining again and again the boundaries between civilization and savagery, the boundaries on which our order and our humanity depend." (Segal 1981.106) We might point out that terribly inhumane ideologies also depend upon these boundaries.

35. Segal 1981.98-99.

36. Segal 1981.101.

37. Segal 1981.101.

38. Culler 1982 offers the most lucid introduction to this critical movement.

39. Kerferd 61-67.

40. Whitman 14.

CHAPTER ONE: Fear out of Fear

1. As Easterling 1982 *ad* 1-48 explains, "Although . . . the Nurse is on stage and has been listening to her words, D[eianeira] shows no awareness of the Nurse's presence until she hears her speak."

2. LaRue 28 takes Deianeira's speech as an appeal to the audience.

3. My analysis of "remedial discourse" derives from Pucci 1980.21-32, who clearly explains the operation of this discourse and establishes its position, going back to Homer, in Greek thought about language. See also Diano 1961. The most important text for the analysis of pity in this study of *Trachiniae* is Timocles fr. 6K, which I quote here in full:

> Friend, just listen, I'm going to tell you something.
> Man is an animal born to constant trouble,
> And many sorrows come packed up with life;
> Some breathing-spells from care he has invented,
> Like this: his mind forgets his own affairs;
> He gets entranced by other people's troubles;
> It's pleasant--and educational as well.
> Just take the tragic poets, for example;
> They help a lot. Suppose someone is poor;
> He'll find that Telephus is poorer yet--
> Then being poor is not so hard to take.
> He's crazy? He can look at Alcmaeon.
> His eyes are sore--but Phineas' sons are blind.
> His child has died? Niobe is his comfort.
> He's lame--but he can stare at Philoctetes.
> Some old man is in trouble--he learns of Oeneus.
> Everything greater than mankind ever suffered--
> Other people's bad luck--once he's got that,
> His own misfortunes aren't so hard to take.

(The translation is from Redfield 43.)

4. Deianeira's speech utilizes precisely the same foiling techniques studied by Bundy in the text of Pindar. Lines 1-5 serve as a priamel, in which ἐγὼ δέ (4) announces Bundy's "pronominal name cap" (Bundy I p.5). Then the

narrative begins with a relative pronoun, ἥτις (Bundy I p.8 n.27). Deianeira's account of her past acts as a foil that emphasizes her present situation; νῦν (Bundy I p.5 n.18) and μάλιστα (Bundy I p.11 n.33) routinely announce such climaxes in choral lyric.

5. Quotations are from the text of Easterling 1982 unless otherwise indicated.

6. Jebb *ad* 4 explains the force of Deianeira's rhetoric: "This passage illustrates Aristotle's remark that a person who speaks with strong feeling (παθητικῶς) may effectively impugn the truth of popular maxims (τὰ δεδημοσιευμένα): *Rhet*: 2.21.13."

7. Pucci 1980.31-32 and 32-45 thus analyses the speeches of Hecuba (Eur. *Tr.* 466-510) and the Nurse (Eur. *Med.* 1-48) respectively.

8. The topic of vicissitude often serves as a foil in choral lyric: Bundy I p.7.

9. Hoppin 59.

10. Dickerson 144 observes that in affirming her misery's permanence Deianeira seeks to escape "flux."

11. On the τέχνη ἀλυπίας (technique of preempting pain) of the σοφός see Pucci 1980.29-30 and Diano 1961.

12. Onians 230 cites ancient Greek rituals in which brides and/or bridegrooms would bathe in a river, including one ritual in which brides offered their virginity to the Scamander. For some Greeks, therefore, a bride's acceptance of marriage involved acceptance of a river as her lover. This adds some confirmation to the suggestions in the text that in rejecting Achelous, Deianeira was rejecting marriage. Seaford 1986 has now interpreted the whole action of *Trachiniae* as an unfulfilled transition to the τέλος of the married state. The text's suggestions that Deianeira recoils from marriage accord with her usual portrayal in myth, where she is an Amazon or possesses distinctly masculine characteristics. On Deianeira in myth, see Devereux 118-120.

13. Jebb *ad loc.*

14. LaRue 36 suggests that Achelous personifies chaos. Lawrence 290 writes of "Achelous' horrifying variety and ambiguity."

15. Wender 5.

16. The Greeks sometimes referred to the phallus as a horn: Onians 243. On horns as containers of seed see Onians 237-243.

17. Slater 80-83 challenges the popular Freudian interpretation of the snake as a symbol of the phallus and shows that because of its power to constrict and engulf it is also often associated with the female. He argues that in general the snake symbolizes boundary ambiguity, including bisexuality (Slater 75-122).

18. Wender 5.

19. A potential sometimes exaggerated by critics; for example Sega 1977b.105 speaks of Achelous' "elemental violence" that is continued in Nessus' attempted rape; but nothing in the text indicates that Achelous attempted to take Deianeira forcibly.

20. Sorum 1978.61 notes this only to dismiss it.

21. Segal 1981.63; but this observation does not prompt him to qualify his oft-repeated evaluation of Achelous as "monstrous."

22. Jebb *ad* 9.

23. Daraki 6-10.

24. For many examples, see the illustrations reproduced in Isler, following p. 206.

25. PW s.v. Füllhorn.

26. On Achelous and Dionysus see Isler 113-115. On Achelous and wine cf. Comes Natalis *Myth.* 7.2: *memoriae prodit Sappho primum Acheloum vini mistionem . . . invenisse . . . . atque antiquorum fuit idcirco consuetudo, ut aquas omnes quae vini mistionibus essent aptae, Acheloi nomine vocarent.* If we are right in our interpretation of the sexual implications of Achelous' polymorphism, then the two gods also share a certain ambisexuality, since Dionysus is often represented in effeminate attire. For an extensive discussion of Greek thought associating life with water, wine, and other liquids, see Onians 200-253.

27. First noted by Easterling 1968.65: ". . . the Hydra whose poison is the weapon is spoken of in words used at the beginning of the play of Achelous αἰόλος δράκων (834 and 11-2). Again reminiscent of Achelous is the description of the Hydra as δεινότατον φάσμα ὕδρας: Achelous was described as φάσμα ταύρου in the First Stasimon (509). I believe that the effect of these echoes is to give us the impression that the bestial victims of Heracles . . . are rising up and punishing him . . ." Another link between Achelous and the Hydra, unnoticed by Easterling and her successors in this line of interpretation, is the fact that their names both suggest water. We shall notice in due course more connections between Achelous and the tragedy that befalls Heracles and Deianeira.

28. See the interpretation of the *Antigone* in Winnington-Ingram 1980.91-116.

29. Jebb *ad* 15.

30. On the τέχνη ἀλυπίας see Pucci 1980.29-30.

31. Hence the interpretation of προσδεδεγμένη as *exceptum habens* (Wecklein) may be valid if understood to reveal Deianeira's state of mind rather than the real situation. See Campbell and Jebb for argument against this interpretation. Kamerbeek, who also rejects it, gives two translations of it besides that of Wecklein quoted above.

32. Which is not to imply that she could have done so; her account of the dissolving wool (see below pp.101-105), the Nurse's account of her suicide (below pp.128-131) and especially Hyllus' exaggerated account of Heracles' anguish (below pp.109-118) suggest otherwise.

33. Sorum 1975.43.

34. Dickerson 121 notes that Deianeira's movement from anxiety to certainty involves auto-suggestion. See also Lawrence 290.

35. Cf. Lawrence 292.

36. As Kamerbeek *ad loc.* points out, the sense of ἔκτοπος as "distant" is unique to this passage.

37. Kamerbeek *ad loc.* observes that ὑπερτελής 36 suggests τέλος, even though the two words are not related etymologically.

38. Easterling 1982 *ad* 6 observes that 6-35 (describing Deianeira's past troubles) stand in contrast with 36-48 (describing her present anxiety), but she nevertheless does not connect the μέν in 6 with the δέ in 36. On νῦν (36) and μάλιστα (37) as marks of the climax of a priamel, see n. 4 above.

39. For a passage in which persons consciously use lamentation for another to express grief for their own plight deceptively, see *Il.* 19.301-302, where Achilles' female captives lament outwardly for Patroklos, inwardly for themselves.

40. Jebb, Kamerbeek, and Easterling 1982 all discuss the lines.

41. ἐξαμάω metaphorically denotes the murder of humans at Aesch. *Aga.* 1655.

42. Especially between language and reality, as shown by Pucci 1977.45-50.

43. With this contrast Arist. *Int.* 16^{a}3: ". . . spoken sounds are symbols of affections in the soul, and written marks symbols of spoken sounds. And just as written marks are not the same for all men, neither are spoken sounds. But what these are in the first place signs of--affections of the soul--are the same for all; and what these affections are likenesses of--actual things--are also the same." (Ackrill trans.)

44. Lawrence 290.

45. In a well-known essay De Man 3-19 has elaborated this insufficiency and some of its implications for criticism.

46. Despite the discrepancies, all the accounts refer to the same oracle, as shown by the close similarities in the accounts and each narrative's insistence on one oracle only: Kranz 35; Schwinge 98 n.1; Leinieks 30.

47. Jebb *ad* 76. This is also the view of Kranz 35. Martina 70-71, on the other hand, suggests that the reference to Oechalia represents not Deianeira's interpretation of the oracle, but Heracles'. Kamerbeek *ad* 76 explains that Oechalia really was in the text of the oracle, but that Sophocles couldn't allow Deianeira to mention it in her first speech because then there would have been no need to send off Hyllus at this time, since she could have done so sooner. This argument leaves wholly unexplained the fact that neither Deianeira nor anyone else mentions Oechalia in connection with the oracle even after this scene. For the same reason I am unconvinced by the suggestion of Martina 70-71.

48. A few writers have suggested that Heracles refers only to his mood immediately after sacking Oechalia: Linforth 257; Kane 82; Dickerson 445 n.45. Such an explanation would resolve the contradiction between Heracles' words and Deianeira's, but nothing in the text supports it.

49. Hyllus' word πότμος itself reflects this ambiguity. In the 5th century it can denote any sort of fortune, good or bad (*LSJ* I.2); Hyllus clearly uses it to denote good fortune. But in Homer it always denotes bad fortune, especially death (*LSJ* I.1).

50. On these see Pucci 1980.25-27.

51. On cyclicity in the parodos see Webster 166; LaRue 78; Dickerson 149; Hoey 1972.141; Roselli 12.

52. On the language pertaining to light and sight in the *Trachiniae* consult Holt 98-111 and Seale 181-214.

53. This interpretation was first proposed by Lloyd-Jones 1954.91-93. For a contrary view see Dawe 1978.79-80.

54. Wellein 47; Dickerson 165; Hoey 1972.141.

55. The usual interpretation is "whirls back" (Reiske *ap.* Easterling 1982 *ad loc.*).

CHAPTER TWO: The Report of a Report

1. LaRue 117-118; Lawrence 291; Seale 186.

2. In her opening words Deianeira denied the applicability to herself of the old proverb that we can't know before someone dies whether his life has been good or bad: she knows because of her experience that her life is grievous and unlucky (4ff.). The proverb and Deianeira's reply to it concern

future events, but Deianeira's experience lies in the past and the present. She asserts that she does know her whole life and hence her future not on grounds of experience but on the assumption that she can infer her future from her past.

3. The image of the virgin as a plant securely rooted in the interior of the home recalls the stability of Hestia. See Vernant 1983.127-175.

4. Radermacher *ap*. Kamerbeek *ad loc*. According to Sorum 1975.39-40 Deianeira's idealization of childhood reveals a wish to avoid the processes of life. This interpretation accords with our analysis of Deianeira's rejection of Achelous. Bowra 119 compares Deianeira's words to the description of Olympus at *Od*. 6.43-45.

5. Segal 1981.73. Segal 1977b.148 compares the sheltered place of Deianeira's maiden to Hippolytus' untouched meadow of virginity (Eur. *Hipp*. 73-87).

6. Campbell takes ἐν νυκτί as a reference to the wedding night, though he understands the bride's cares as those of marriage in general. This interpretation is not impossible, though it cannot erase the suggestion of cares related to sex. In declaring that line 150 rules out any reference to the wedding night Kamerbeek unnecessarily supposes that the text can contain no contradictions.

7. Once the interpretation is formulated thus, however, the reader may recall that intercourse of parent and child is not uncommon in Greek myth and tragedy; Oeneus, in fact, Deianeira's father, was said to have begotten Tydeus on her sister Gorge. So the possibility that Deianeira here inadvertently expresses a fear of incest should perhaps not be rejected out of hand.

8. Metaphors of melting occur often in discussions of love in *Trachiniae*, e.g. ἐντακείη 463.

9. Kane 39 suggests that in 169-170 Deianeira quotes the oracle directly.

10. Cf. Leinieks 31, "Deianeira's version of the oracle is an interpretation of the original influenced by her customary pessimism."

11. See Ch. 1 n.48 above.

12. As a sexually deprived woman Deianeira would have been considered by Greek doctors a good candidate for hysteria and delusional thinking; for discussion of hysteria in Greek medicine see Simon 242-244; see also Simon 257-259 for discussion from this point of view of Euripides' Phaedra and Hermione.

13. Stressed by Dickerson 176, who supposes (without textual support) that Heracles referred to an agreement between himself and Zeus.

14. In fifth-century Athens a widow left with sons could choose to return to her own family and take her dowry with her; see Harrison v.1 pp.56-7.

15. Deianeira's pleasant dreams that shock her awake with fright also suggest sexual anxiety.

16. Gellie 62 notes the "peculiar remoteness" of Deianeira's description of the oracle.

17. Lawrence 292.

18. Kamerbeek *ad* 184.

19. Lloyd-Jones 1954.93-94. For a contrary view see Kamerbeek *ad loc*.

20. But εἴπερ can also be taken as "since," as we have seen (pp.33-34 above).

21. On this passage see Detienne 1986.58-59.

22. The complex and elusive figuration of Deianeira's words almost seems to mock their profession of certainty: ὄμμα (eye), substitutes metaphorically for "sun," and φήμης can be either a genitive of separation with ἀνασχόν or a genitive of material with ὄμμα. Furthermore, when at the end of the sentence we discover that ὄμμα is the direct object of καρπούμεθα, we must regard it as a metaphorical substitute for "fruit."

23. Seale 187 notes the "assumption of the [Messenger's] language by Deianeira," meaning his rhetoric of seeing.

24. Lawrence 292.

25. Lawrence 293 regards Lichas' reply as misleading, since it doesn't address Deianeira's question of whether she *will* receive Heracles.

26. Machin 185-186; Easterling 1982 *ad* 248-290; Roselli 17.

27. Davies 1984.

28. MacDowell 165-166.

29. Late payment of debt brings no dishonor in Pindaric epinicion, where it is a *topos*; see e.g. *O*. 10.1-12.

30. Dickerson 220.

31. For the latter interpretation see Craik 24-25.

32. Dickerson 217.

33. Kane 49; Machin 185.

34. Kane 49 n.46.

35. Machin 186.

36. Lichas had mentioned Eurytus in line 244, but not in connection with Heracles' enslavement and vengeance.

37. Jebb gives three passages as parallels, but only one of them (*Il*. 5.638-640, βίην Ἡρακληείην . . . ὅς) represents an adjective serving as antecedent for a pronoun. This passage is less harsh than Soph. *Trach*. 259-260, because epic often uses βίη + poss. adj. or gen. as a periphrastic reference to a

person; see Chantraine 1963 v.2 p.14. But πόλις isn't used that way. We may note in passing that *Il.*5.638ff. describes how Heracles destroyed the city of Troy for the sake of some horses.

38. Thucydides' remark (3.36.4) that many Athenians thought cruel the decision to destroy the entire city of Mytilene rather than only those citizens guilty of organizing the revolt (πόλιν ὅλην διαφθεῖραι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους) shows that collective punishment was sometimes considered unjust.

39. The expression ξεῖνον ἐόντα occurs in Homer only at *Od.* 21.27.

40. Dickerson 219 n.62; Davies 482.

41. Thus Machin 185.

42. The interpretation of Kamerbeek *ad* 265-267, calling for taking μέν with λέγων, is unlikely because it involves mentally moving μέν out of indirect discourse (which begins with χεροῖν) into direct discourse. Denniston 372 gives no examples of postponed μέν which manifest such an entanglement of direct and indirect speech, and he observes that postponed μέν is harsh in any case. Moreover the combination χεροῖν μέν is in itself unobjectionable and, unless the speaker furnished some verbal clue wholly absent from the written text, could not have aroused suspicion until φώνει δέ was reached.

43. Walcot 78 assumes that Eurytus is the subject but mentions no ambiguity. According to T. Wilamowitz 107 n.1, some earlier critics had also thought Eurytus the subject of ἦν.

44. For these reasons Jebb and Easterling *ad loc.* insist that Heracles alone is the subject of ἦν.

45. Kane 49; cf. Dickerson 212.

46. Kamerbeek *ad* 273 gives passages.

47. Dickerson 213 remarks that in using treachery Heracles betrayed his heroic nature.

48. Machin 186.

49. Kane 49 and Machin 186 suggest that Lichas implies that in sacking Oechalia Heracles acted as Zeus' instrument.

50. Kirkwood 1958.112 expresses this view in clear and comparatively moderate terms: "her answering speech . . . is not so much an expression of happiness as a magnanimous and sympathetic lament for the hard fate of the wretched girls before her."

51. Jebb *ad* 295: "Deianeira rejoices, but feels a certain sadness . . . all the more she wishes to assure them how real her joy is"; and *ad* 296: "This shadow which flits across Deianeira's joy . . ." Kamerbeek *ad* 293: "Deianeira's hesitation in accepting the happiness that seems to come to her . . ." Easterling 1982 *ad* 293-313: "She acknowledges her joy, but the sight of

the captives . . . fills her with sadness and anxiety." Seale 191: "Deianeira admits to the inevitability of joy, but it is for her tinged with apprehension; the source of her joy is the picture of another's misery." Whitman 113: ". . . she rejoices, but guardedly . . ."

52. Jebb *ad* 296: "her tender sympathy for the captives"; Whitman 113: "Her love has a universal breadth that does not stop merely with Heracles but makes her sensitive to every human stimulus . . ." Kirkwood 1958.112: ". . . a magnanimous and sympathetic lament . . ."

53. On pity and fear see Arist. *Rhet.* 2.8.2-7.

54. LaRue 198; Dickerson 224 n.71.

55. Dickerson 224 n.71 also observes that Deianeira calls the slaves δυσπότμους (299), while she had called her own life δυστυχής (5).

56. Seale 193.

57. Dickerson 226 suggests that ἄνανδρος recalls εὐναῖς ἀνανδρώτοισι (109) in the Chorus' description of Deianeira in the parodos.

58. Easterling 1968.63. Dickerson 231 n.82 also suggests the following parallels: ὠδίνουσα 325 and ὠδῖνας 42; συμφορᾶς βάρος 325 and βαρύν 5 and βαρύνομαι 152; αἰὲν . . . δακρυρροεῖ 325-326 and πανδάκρυτ' 50 and οὔποτ' εὐνάζειν ἀδακρύτων βλεφάρων πόθον 106-107. Dickerson 231 also suggests that διήνεμον 327 recalls πνευμάτων 146.

59. Gellie 61.

60. Kamerbeek *ad loc.*

61. And critics, e.g. Reinhardt 41: ". . . truth takes over." Kirkwood 1958.112: ". . . the messenger exposes Lichas' false report and reveals the truth about Heracles' latest undertaking, and the identity and significance of Iole." Seale 194: "Deianeira turns round to confront knowledge." Easterling 1982 *ad* 351-374: "The Messenger reveals the truth."

62. Gellie 62 notes that "[the Messenger] does not speak from any real knowledge; he overheard Lichas making the announcement to some other people."

63. Pucci 1977.45-50. In choral lyric ὀρθόω and ὀρθός emphasize the veracity of the laudator or his representatives: Bundy II p.65.

64. T. Wilamowitz 115.

65. Kane 49 notes that the compulsion of Eros relieves Heracles of responsibility; cf. Roselli 20-21.

66. LaRue 157 compares Lichas to "a president's or prime minister's press secretary."

67. Easterling 1982 *ad* 359: "the tense implies 'was having no success in persuading.' "

68. T. Wilamowitz 108; Winnington-Ingram 1980.332; cf. Machin 188.

69. T. Wilamowitz 109; Kamerbeek *ad* 361; cf. also Roselli 17. This reasonable interpretation cannot be either proved or disproved conclusively.

70. I suspect that Easterling 1982 is wrong to follow Hartung in bracketing everything from τὴν (362) to πατέρα (364). The subject of εἶπε (363) is not Lichas, as most editors suppose, but Heracles, as Dawe 1978.84 sees; therefore the passage does not contain the harsh change of subject that Easterling finds objectionable. (But Heracles announces that Eurytus is king of Oechalia not to call into question his legitimacy and thus justify intervention to set up a new government, as Dawe supposes, but rather to explain why he was attacking the whole city and not just Eurytus alone. Compare our discussion of πόλιν τὴν Εὐρυτείαν 259-260, pp.56-57.) Easterling's second objection to the passage, that the Messenger's identification of Iole as Eurytus' daughter in 364 is too incidental and would be better delayed until "the climax," misses the hasty tone of the speech. Actually, clarity and emphasis would dictate that the Messenger identify Eurytus and Iole as father and daughter right at the beginning (352-353), when both are mentioned. Certainly in narrating how Heracles demanded the girl from her father (τὸν φυτοσπόρον τὴν παῖδα δοῦναι 359-360) the Messenger ought to have specified exactly who these parties were. On the other hand, lines 380-381 are hardly "the climax" since they come more than ten lines after the end of the Messenger's narrative.

71. Bowra 142-143 explains without elaboration that these words express Heracles' love for Iole.

Heracles' failure to correct Hyllus when he refers to Iole as τοὺς ἔνδον γάμους (1139) does not prove that he intended to install Iole in the household permanently. He has other things on his mind, and since γάμος can denote rape (Eur. *Hel.* 190) there is no telling in what sense he understands Hyllus' words.

Interestingly, one of Ovid's accounts of how Deianeira learned that Heracles was in love with Iole suggests, much more openly than *Trachiniae*, that Deianeira may have been deceived:

> *. . . cum Fama loquax praecessit ad aures,*
> *Deianira, tuas, quae veris addere falsa*
> *Gaudet et e minimo sua per mendacia crescit*
> *Amphitryoniaden Ioles ardore teneri.*
> (Ov. *Met.* 9.137-140)

> . . . when tattletale Rumor arrived first at your ears, Deianeira,
> Rumor who rejoices to add falsehood to truth and from the

> tiniest thing grows by means of her own lies. She said that Hercules was in the grip of passion for Iole.

72. Segal 1977b.121.

73. Reinhardt 42 nearly grasped this when he wrote, "it is not the content which is true or false, but the way in which events are linked together."

74. As shown, for example, by the following passage in Plato's *Phaedo* (89d1-90c7), quoted by Kerferd 66: "And above all those who spend their time dealing with antinomies [*logoi antilogikoi*] end as you well know by thinking that they have become the wisest of men and that they are the only ones who have come to understand that there is nothing sound or secure at all either in facts or in arguments, but that all things that are, are simply carried up and down like the [tidal flow in the] Euripus and never stay at any point, for any duration of time."

75. Walcot 39; Fuqua 40 n.106; Roselli 21. The Messenger's speech (351-373) had had a legalistic stamp, as in his assurance that Lichas spoke before many witnesses (352, 371-372). Dickerson 236 notes the legalistic resonances of ἔγκλημα μικρόν (361) and αἰτίαν (361); Dickerson 239 suggests that ἐξελέγχειν (373) also evokes the law courts. Roselli 21 n.24 also notes the terminology of source criticism which the passage shares with Gorg. *Pal.* 24.

76. Easterling 1968.62.

77. Jebb *ad* 426.

78. Kamerbeek *ad* 426.

79. Campbell *ad* 426 translates "'to state an impression and to speak with exactness.'"

80. Kamerbeek *ad* 426.

81. Kamerbeek *ad* 429.

82. Dickerson 290.

83. Thuc. 2.51.6.

84. Jebb *ad* 462; Winnington-Ingram 1980.81.

85. Lawrence 296 states flatly that Deianeira deceives herself in this speech. Segal 1981.64 suggests that despite her discourse on Eros Deianeira doesn't recognize its power within herself; he adds (78) that she refuses to recognize the hold it has on her. Lesky 211 and Hoppin 64 argue that Deianeira attempts to convince herself that she can be dispassionate.

86. Winnington-Ingram 1980.81; Segal 1981.64, 78. Dickerson 250, 251 suggests that by stating her dispassion in terms of questions and conditions Deianeira betrays uncertainty about her resolve, and that the image of the boxer (πύκτης 442) reveals her impulse to fight. Machin 174 feels that for

Deianeira to call Heracles' affair μηδὲν αἰσχροῦ μηδ' ἐμοὶ κακοῦ reveals hidden suffering.

87. LaRue 221 compares Deianeira's rhetorical strategy to that which Heracles will use in the exodos to manipulate Hyllus.

88. Kamerbeek *ad* 437.

89. Dickerson 259: "Within the world of this drama, tyrannized as it is by ceaseless flux, nothing remains ἐμπέδως, not even Heracles' invincible heroic might . . ."

90. Jebb *ad* 494 says that Deianeira's choice of προσαρμόσαι shows that she has already thought of the love philter. Wellein 58 sees special bitterness in Deianeira's reference to the captives as gifts.

91. Burton 55-58; Easterling 1982 *ad* 497-530.

92. Van Der Valk 115 n.13 also compares the interrogatives at Pi. *P.* 4.70 and *0.* 10.60. Burton 55 n.31 compares those at *I.* 7.1.

93. Burton 56-57.

94. Jebb *ad* 520.

95. Burton 58.

96. Dale 168. But Prof. G.M. Kirkwood has pointed out to me that Pi. *0.* 13 is an exception.

97. Cf. LaRue 234; Winnington-Ingram 1980.87.

98. Several scholars have remarked that the combat destroys all distinction between Heracles and Achelous, so that both are beasts or "primal forces": Dickerson 270; Sorum 1978.63; Fuqua 42.

99. Van Der Valk 118 n.23 suggests that ξυνοῦσα alludes to the ξυνουσία of marriage.

100. Kamerbeek *ad* 526 defends this interpretation.

101. Zielinski's emendation θατήρ, accepted by Easterling 1982, could also be understood as providing a source for this account.

102. With Kamerbeek *ad* 527,8 I take ἀμμένει as present, not historical present. The Chorus' turn to the present at the end of the ode may recall the epinician convention of turning from the myth to the victor.

103. Wilamowitz 529-530.

104. Wellein 60; Gellie 63-64; Dickerson 280; and Sorum 1978.63 all suggest that the Chorus tacitly compares Deianeira and Iole in the epode.

105. E.g. Segal 1977b.109; Winnington-Ingram 1980.75: "this is a tragedy of sex."

106. Dickerson 267, who compares the discussions of Eros at *Ant.* 781ff., Soph. fr.941P, and Eur. *Hipp.* 525ff., none of which mention deception. Dickerson 273 also suggests that Aphrodite's wand (ῥαβδονόμει 516) implies witchcraft.

CHAPTER THREE: A Pain that Cures

1. Cf. Holt 146. By insisting that she isn't angry Deianeira avoids outright contradiction between her speech to Lichas and her use of the love philter: LaRue 243; Parlavantza-Friedrich 23; Holt 146; Machin 175. She also doesn't break her promise not to mistreat Iole: Machin 175. But this only indicates that Deianeira can maintain her rhetoric of dignity and rationality even while acting contrary to it.

2. As Jebb *ad loc.* does; cf. also Easterling 1982 *ad loc.*

3. J. Henderson 161-166.

4. ὀφθαλμός and πόδα (549) may also have a vulgar tone, referring with little concealment to the phallus. Simon 245 and Dover R414, R1071 show Greek paintings of phalloi with eyes in the tips; see further Deonna 68ff. On the foot as metaphor for the penis in old comedy, see J. Henderson 129-130. The figuration of this passage is complex, since ὀφθαλμός and πόδα function primarily as synecdochic substitutes for the lover, who sees with his eye and walks with his foot; but ἀφαρπάζειν . . . ἄνθος (548-549) metaphorically transfers the passage's reference to the sex act itself, thus rendering very likely a metaphorical reading of the eye (which tears away the flower) as the phallus and the foot (which rejects the aging woman) also as the phallus.

5. Greek usually denotes benign plucking by δρέπω.

6. LaRue 239, 240.

7. Kamerbeek *ad* 540 takes ὑπαγκάλισμα as a verbal noun, "embrace." Long 1968.119-120 argues forcefully that the concrete sense "object of embrace" is the only one acceptable. He takes ὑπαγκάλισμα in apposition to the subject: "Two women are to share Heracles' bed, and serve jointly as his ὑπαγκάλισμα." But the use of a man as object of ὑπαγκαλίζω at Eur. *Cyc.* 495-498 (μάκαρ ὅστις . . . φίλον ἄνδρ' ὑπαγκαλίζων) suggests that Heracles might be taken as the ὑπαγκάλισμα, object of μίμνομεν. (Dover 67 feels that an ἐρώμενος would probably not be referred to by ἀνήρ, though he does not discuss the passage from the *Cyclops* that I have quoted.) Nevertheless even if ὑπαγκάλισμα were not normally applicable to an active male lover, it might still be applied to Heracles here, with the sarcasm of Deianeira's expression only heightened by the catachresis.

8. Particularly if one accepts the interpretation of ὑπαγκάλισμα offered by Long 1968.119-120; see n.7 above.

9. Devereux 121 asserts that in a real woman a fantasy such as Deianeira's would suggest repressed homosexual tendencies.

10. Pearson *ad* fr.483 gives many examples; see also Jebb *ad loc.* *LSJ*[9], no

doubt inadvertently, actually prints *s.v.* χλαῖνα "of husband and wife, μίμνομεν μιᾶς ὑπὸ χλαίνης," as if Iole and Deianeira were spouses.

11. Errandonea 153; LaRue 240.

12. Campbell, Dawe 1979, and Easterling 1982 dagger λύπημα; Jebb conjectures λώφημα.

13. Stinton 138-139. Kamerbeek *ad* 553,4 seems to favor following the scholiast in taking λύπημα as governed by λυτήριον, so that the whole expression equals something like "a thing that cures pain."

14. In a famous essay Derrida 1981 expounds the ambiguity of φάρμακον and Plato's alleged attempt to separate its two poles of meaning and employ each without the other. DuBois 1982.100 also connects Deianeira's philter to Derrida's discussion of φάρμακον.

15. Jebb *ad* 557, citing Doupon and Homados as other centaurs whose names denote meaningless sound. On the association of Dionysus with both inarticulate noise and silence, see Otto 92-94. Nessus was also the name of a river in Thrace: Jebb *ad* 557.

16. Tozer, *ap.* Jebb *ad* 559.

17. Since χερσίν (560) is contrasted with means of locomotion, oars and sails (560-561), it must indicate that Nessus swam the Evenus, not that he carried his passengers in his arms. Later (564) Deianeira describes Nessus as carrying her on his shoulders.

18. For the classic explanation of this kind of figural analysis see De Man 3-19. The ambiguity of Nessus' words has also been noted by Easterling 1982 *ad* 576-7 ἀντὶ σοῦ πλέον and Roselli 24. LaRue 247-248 states, "The real meaning of Nessus' deceitful words is not that this foul mixture will revive Heracles' flagging passion for her, but that it will kill him and thus he will not be able to love any woman more than her." Wellein 68 points out that κηλητήριον can suggest κήλεος, "burning," though the two words are not related etymologically.

19. Pucci 1977.82-126.

20. *Hel.* 14.

21. Snyder 1981.

22. Kamerbeek *ad* 692.

23. Onians 66-67; Pucci 1977.19-21.

24. Holt 155.

25. Long 1967.275-277 argues that θρέμμα . . . ὕδρας refers euphemistically to the hydra's poison. Previously editors had understood it as a periphrasis for "the hydra." Of course the words present another example of undecidable meaning.

26. E.g. Fuqua 45; DuBois 1982.97-98.

27. Deianeira's scream obviously signified distress, but her narrative contains ambiguity, since μάταιος can mean anything from "ineffectual" (so the scholiast takes it in a note on this very passage) to "foolish," to "wanton." Nessus' action was indeed both ineffectual and foolish, whether or not it was wanton. Therefore Deianeira might have used this word to create an impression that her terrified reaction was appropriate without actually accusing Nessus of something he didn't do; for this manner of speaking in the *Trachiniae*, see the analysis of Lichas' speech (248-290), pp.53-63.

Dugas 22-24 shows that Deianeira narrates what Nessus did to her far less explicitly than other accounts that he judges to have sources earlier than Sophocles. In the version of Diodorus Siculus Heracles shoots Nessus after he has already penetrated Deianeira (μεταξύ μισγόμενος *D.S.* 4.36.4), and the love charm includes as an ingredient Nessus' semen rather than the hydra's poison. Dugas suggests that Sophocles locates the event in the midst of the river (μέσῳ πόρῳ 564) to eliminate any suspicion that Nessus might have actually raped Deianeira, since he could hardly have done it in midstream. But Dugas attributes the changes to Sophoclean refinement.

28. Solmsen 1985.

29. Cf. Lattimore 33.

30. Words built on the τυχ- root occur in the following passages in *Trachiniae*: δυστυχῆ (5), εὐτυχεῖ (192), εὐτυχῆ (293), τύχη (327), τυγχάνω (370), τυγχάνω (695), τῆς τύχης (724), τυγχάνειν (728), δυστυχῆ (866), τυγχάνειν (1116). In addition, Hermes is mentioned once, Ἑρμοῦ (620). One could hardly say that the vocabulary of *Trachiniae* announces chance as an important theme. With two exceptions, even the words built on the τυχ- root do not especially suggest chance occurrence. The two exceptions are τυγχάνω (370: the Messenger just happened to hear Lichas' story about Heracles and Iole) and τῆς τύχης (724: the Chorus tells Deianeira that she should not conclude that the charm will kill Heracles until she's seen what actually happens). But the setting of the action at the threshold of Ceux's palace, where the *parodoi* meet, and the importance of messengers in the drama, could all suggest the elusive presence of Hermes, god of chance.

31. Winnington-Ingram 1980.79-80.

32. Lattimore 33.

33. πίστιν, besides indicating that Deianeira's assurances will be communicated to Heracles, also in the context may mean the thing entrusted to Lichas, namely Deianeira's words. This usage is not attested before Polybius, however.

34. The reading of the MSS. conveys better than Billerbeck's widely

accepted emendation ἐπὸν μαθήσεται the importance of vision in Deianeira's attempt to persuade Heracles.

35. Kamerbeek *ad* 609, 610.

36. LaRue 254; Segal 1981.69.

37. Jebb *ad* 633-639; Easterling 1982 *ad* 633-639.

38. Heiden 1988b.

39. At 854 the Chorus refers to Heracles' victims as ἀναρσίων, "unjoined" and hence not of unified form.

40. The hydra appears as a metaphor for the Sophist at Pl. *Euthyd.* 297b-c.

41. Jebb *ad* 638ff., however, points out that the Delphic Amphictyony never actually included the entirety of even mainland Greece.

42. This is so whether or not ἀραρίσκω and ἀρετή are genuinely related etymologically (*v.* Chantraine 1968).

43. This follows the suggested interpretation of Kamerbeek *ad* 642, 643. Easterling 1982 reads μούσας.

44. Markantonatos 78.

45. Kamerbeek *ad* 654. Easterling 1982 prints ἐπιπόνων ἀμερᾶν. Kamerbeek *ad* 648, 649 and 653, 4 suggests that the twelve-month (δυοκαιδεκάμηνον 648) wait of the Chorus refers only to Heracles' enslavement to Omphale, since the arousal of Ares (Ἄρης οἰστρηθείς 653) and the sack of Oechalia coincide with the end of that ordeal. Verrall 86-89 suggests that δυοκαιδεκάμηνον refers to a single calendar year consisting of twelve months, one of which included two intercalary months. The possibility of such imprecision must raise doubts about the reliability of the characters' claim that the exact moment has arrived when Heracles' oracle must be fulfilled.

CHAPTER FOUR: *rhei pan adelon*: Everything Flows

1. Contrast Deianeira's previous dismissal of the Chorus' inexperience (141ff.).

2. φαίνομαι with the participle does not suggest that the action denoted by the participle has not occurred, as φαίνομαι with the infinitive would suggest of the action denoted by the infinitive. But both expressions emphasize appearance.

3. On the phrase προθυμίαν ἄδηλον ἔργου see Jebb and Kamerbeek *ad loc.*

4. On θρομβώδης see Collinge 47.

5. Cf. Lawrence 298, "a physical obscurity which normally betokens

ignorance . . ."

6. For Roselli 24 Deianeira's simile of the tablet suggests that she regards Nessus' words as oracular.

7. Kamerbeek *ad* 692.

8. Nagy 176. Deianeira uses the word in this sense at *Trach.* 548.

9. Cf. Kamerbeek *ad* 706.

10. Hoppin 55, 69 argues that Deianeira could have predicted the effect of the drug. DuBois 1982.100 suggests that Deianeira repressed the information that would have allowed her to understand the nature of the drug, and thus that she unconsciously intended to kill Heracles.

11. DuBois 1982.100. Several other writers have suggested that Deianeira may be more or less vaguely aware of the drug's power: Wellein 58-78; Houghton 69-102; and LaRue *passim.* Errandonea 1927 argued that Deianeira knew that the drug she applied to Heracles' robe was poisonous, and that she intended to kill him. For a reply to Errandonea, see Hester 1980.

12. Dickerson 331 notes that Deianeira's pessimism converts her initially conditional fear into a conviction of certainty.

13. Segal 1981.77 regards this as a replacement for sexual consummation. Loraux 25 discusses this and other instances of "dying with" in Greek tragedy as "a form in death of *synoikein*, 'to live with,' which was one of the commonest expressions in Greek to mean marriage."

14. Ronnet 44-45 bases an extensive comparison between Deianeira and Ajax on these lines. Gellie 67 also notes that Deianeira speaks like a shame-conscious warrior.

15. Kamerbeek *ad* 722.

16. Roselli 25 n.38 notes that the Chorus' words touch upon a problem discussed in sophistic reflections such as Antiphon's *Tetralogies.*

17. Campbell *ad* 739,40; Longo *ad* 739-40. Easterling 1982 *ad* 739-40 has also seen this, as her interpretive comment on the line shows: "[Hyllus] recoils from the idea of the family tie between Heracles and his murderess." But her translation of the line, which takes δέ as copulative ("your husband--and my father"), does not suggest that Hyllus denies a relationship between Deianeira and Heracles.

18. See Denniston 166-167 for other examples.

19. Dickerson 337 notes Hyllus' exaggeration; Roselli 26 n.41 notes that, strictly speaking ("a rigore") Hyllus has not seen Deianeira kill Heracles.

20. Campbell *ad* 742, 3; Jebb *ad* 742ff.; Kamerbeek *ad* 743.

21. Although in stopping short of the complete affirmation of e.g. τέθνηκε Hyllus may betray a hidden doubt.

22. Kamerbeek *ad* 807 notes that Hyllus speaks as his mother's accuser.

23. Jebb *ad* 752ff.

24. Hyllus' statement that "like a viper's poison [the poison] was eating him" (771) cannot represent visual observation, since it is doubly figurative, a simile atop a metaphor. If it does suggest that the poison had a rotting effect, that would still not in itself be visual evidence that Heracles' life was threatened: Philoctetes' wound also rots, but never seems to threaten his life. Philoctetes himself uses the metaphor of "being eaten" (βρύκομαι, *Phil.* 745) to describe his pain, not his lack of physical wholeness.

25. Musurillo 1967.71 n.1 observes the differences between Hyllus' speech and Eur. *Med.* 1131-1225, but attributes them only to dramatic technique.

26. Jebb *ad loc.*

27. Radermacher *ap.* Easterling 1982 *ad loc.*

28. Jebb *ad* 806 explains ἢ ζῶντ' . . . ἢ τεθνηκότ' as "I cannot tell whether his life will last so long."

29. As Jebb *ad* 807ff., Kamerbeek *ad* 808, and Easterling 1982 *ad* 807-808 suppose.

30. Dickerson 349 n.33.

31. Loraux's convincing argument (8-9) that suicide was usually regarded as unheroic still must concede that Ajax did not share this view, at least with respect to his own case. By speaking of Ajax as "staging his own death" (12) Loraux points to the self-deception and theatricality that I contend also characterize the heroism of Heracles.

32. Kamerbeek *ad loc.*

33. Wender 12 points out that ὀργίων (765) also has Dionysiac association. Recall that in the first stasimon (510-511) the Chorus had indentified Heracles as originating in "Bacchic Thebes" (Βακχίας ἄπο . . . Θήβας). Indeed since Achelous is said to hail from Oeniadae ('Αχελῷος ἀπ' Οἰνιαδᾶν 510), both combatants are connected to wine, as Van Der Valk 118 notes. The arrival of Heracles by ship from the sea (646-659) to the sound of flutes (640-643) suggests the arrival of Dionysus in the boat-car at the Anthesteria.

34. Thus I interpret ἐπεί μοι τὴν θέμιν σὺ προύβαλες 810 as ambiguous, meaning both "You rejected the right" (the interpretation of Jebb, Kamerbeek, and the scholiast) and "You gave me the right" (Easterling 1982). The former accomplishes the latter, and so either interpretation requires the other to be understood to complete Hyllus' explanation.

35. Dickerson 352 n.37 interprets the metaphor thus: "her claim to the name of motherhood has died like a stillborn child, aborted in her act of father murder."

36. Deianeira's statement that she had not yet told the Chorus about the oracle (154) creates no serious problem, since it does not exclude the possibility that they might have heard it elsewhere.

37. Bickerman 27-38.

38. Hermann's interpretation of προφαίνει, "reveals," adopted by Kamerbeek and Easterling 1982 (both *ad loc.*), still involves the circularity of the conclusion implying the evidence for itself. The interpretation "foreshows" makes sense in the context of the play's concerns and cannot be excluded by Hermann's suggestion.

39. Later Hyllus will place most of the blame on Iole (μόνη μεταίτιος 1233-1234), and Heracles will blame Nessus exclusively. (πρὸς τῶν πνεόντων μηδενὸς θανεῖν ποτε 1160 shows that Heracles regards no living person as contributing to his death; Hoey 1973.308 rightly points out that Sophocles understands that causation may be complex, but the rhetoric of his character Heracles reveals no such understanding.) On the characters' perceptions of causation in *Trachiniae*, see the remarks of Roselli 34-37.

40. Easterling 1968.65.

CHAPTER FIVE: Things Pitiful to See

1. I follow Kamerbeek *ad* 870 in accepting the reading of L and the other MSS. against that of T.

2. The interpretation is that of Radermacher *ap.* Easterling 1982 *ad loc.*

3. T. Wilamowitz 160.

4. Hoey 1970.18.

5. Dickerson 391.

6. Segal 1977b.125 suggests that the removal of the bed from the house, implicitly contrasted with the stationary bed of the *Odyssey*, symbolizes the destruction of the household.

7. Kamerbeek *ad* 903.

8. This is the reading of the MSS. Easterling 1982 prints Nauck's emendation γένοιντ' ἔρημοι.

9. Loraux 21-26 sees Deianeira asserting her femininity and wifeliness in the scene, particularly in her silent withdrawal, self-concealment in the bedroom, and suicide; with regard to the last she mentions the theme of women "dying with" in Greek tragedy, almost a form of suttee.

10. Kamerbeek *ad* 922 peremptorily excludes this aspect of the scene from interpretation. According to T. Wilamowitz 103 n.1, the contradiction between 38 ff. and 913 ff. was first noticed by Dopheide.

11. Dickerson 388, comparing ἐρήμα 530 and ἐρήμη 905, suggests that Deianeira ends her marriage as she began it, deserted.

12. Dickerson 528; Wender 13.

13. Wender 13; Devereux 123. Loraux 20 suggests that in saying that Deianeira died "without moving her foot" (ἐξ ἀκινήτου ποδός 875) the Nurse implies that she died like a warrior.

14. Devereux 125.

15. Dickerson 396: "At last she has won her release from the cruel tyranny of Fortune's wheel and created clarity out of [the] turbulent confusion of false appearances . . ."

16. Jebb *ad* 947ff. Easterling 1982 prints μέλεα.

CHAPTER SIX: "What SPLENDOUR, IT ALL COHERES"

1. Webster 177; Bowra 138; Machin 273-274.

2. Webster 177; McCall 158; Hoppin 75.

3. Wender 14 and Machin 274 note that Heracles is especially outraged to have been beaten by a woman.

4. Winnington-Ingram 1980.83 notes the retaliatory character of Heracles' idea of justice.

5. Dickerson 432.

6. We have no idea what Hyllus and the audience are to see when Heracles exposes himself. Our only clue comes from Heracles' *words*, which indicate that he thought the sight wretched and pitiful (1076-1080). Scholarly speculation about what Heracles exposes varies considerably. Kamerbeek *ad* 1076 envisions a "horrible exhibition of Heracles' maimed limbs and body." Devereux 133 agrees, but finds in such an exhibition a Sophoclean lapse, since the robe was supposed to be inseparable from Heracles' flesh. Easterling 1981.58, also regarding the robe as inseparable from Heracles' body, concludes that Heracles therefore could not fully expose himself: Hyllus and the audience must have seen Deianeira's magnificent robe. Seale 205 argues that the robe might be supposed to have decomposed, so that Heracles' costume would represent the ravages of the poison on his body. Leinieks 15 suggests that Heracles appeared in a "scaly and glittering costume" representing "the grip of the Hydra."

7. I take ἐσχάτας . . . σάρκας (1053-1054) as referring to Heracles' skin, not his internal organs; he proceeds from the robe's immediate contact with his body (πλευραῖσι . . . προσμαχθέν 1053) inwards to the blood. Easterling 1982 *ad loc.*, following a long tradition, understands ἐσχάτας as "inmost." Kamerbeek, rejecting this interpretation, thinks Heracles refers to his hands and feet.

8. Dickerson 435.

9. Such cautious expressions may only evince reluctance to utter ill-omened words, but Hyllus and the Chorus had previously felt able to speak of Heracles' death as a certainty.

10. It would also prevent Heracles from loving any women besides Deianeira, which Nessus had predicted would be the effect of the drug.

11. Heracles' entrapment in the robe also suggests feminization, since death in something that enfolds, like a noose fashioned from a veil (Antigone's instrument, *Ant.* 1222), is associated in tragedy with the suicides of females, as Loraux 9-10 has shown. Heracles' mode of death, being burnt alive on a pyre, might have suggested the feminine death of suttee, not practiced by Greek wives of course but known at least through the mythic example of Evadne. As Hoey 1970.16 observes, since Deianeira dies a masculine death, the sexual characteristics of this pair, each in their rhetoric so purely representative of his or her own sex, appear to converge. McCall 142 notes that in the original production Deianeira and Heracles must have been played by a single actor, and the sexual ambiguity resultant from this and the other convergences noted above may be a further sign of Dionysiac mixing prevailing over the categories that language would impose.

12. Cf. Webster 177; Machin 274.

13. The biting effect of the drug on Heracles resembles his shame at his enslavement (as reported by Lichas), which bit him (ἐδήχθη . . . τοὔνειδος λαβών 254).

14. Compare the remedial strategy of the Nurse's speech at Eur. *Med.* 1-16, interpreted by Pucci 1980.33-34: "The language of regret carries with it the implication that the positive desire is the norm . . . the *negative* force of [the Nurse's] desire takes on a *positive* force, evokes a sort of utopia . . ." (emphasis in original).

Heracles' use of hexameters beginning at 1010 may convey a heroic sound, as Gellie 72 and Dickerson 417 suggest; this gesture may also recall Heracles' former greatness and even attempt to give his present suffering a heroic shape.

15. In antiquity many believed that the female served only as the vessel for the male's sperm, which supplied the life principle to the fetus: Simon 264.

The authors of the Hippocratic corpus, however, for the most part held that the female did contribute to conception, though sometimes suggesting that the male's contribution was more important: Simon 265. Therefore we may credibly suppose that the text implies that Heracles holds the former view while allowing a critical viewpoint exemplified by the latter.

16. Linforth 1952.

17. Hyllus' metaphor of a word as the offspring of the thing it denotes (ὄγκον . . . ὀνόματος . . . μητρῷον 817-818) suggests that as correspondences truth and nature are coordinate.

18. Perhaps Heracles really has forgotten about the prophecy, but even forgetfulness can be motivated; our analysis of Deianeira's oblique reference to her dissatisfaction with Heracles and her pretense, when she commits suicide, that she is in her own house, show that Sophocles had some understanding of motivated ignorance. *Oedipus the Tyrant*, moreover, furnishes many clear examples of motivated ignorance, such as Jocasta's outcry εἴθε μήποτε γνοίης ὃς εἶ (*O.T.* 1068).

19. Compare the interpretation of Dickerson 447: "It is true that the revelation of Nessus' role in his destruction can be construed as a source of some comfort to the hero. His ruin, which for him had no logic when it appeared to come from a woman, a wife, the mother of his children, has now become intelligible, less humiliating, and even endowed with a certain fierce justice. He dies, as he lived, in violent combat with bestial and barbaric evil. It is also true that the perception that Zeus' oracles have been fulfilled must be understood to alleviate to some degree the painful sense of betrayal which tortured him at the start of the scene. He entered in the belief that both father and wife had played him false, Zeus by falsely predicting both the identity of his destroyer and the nature of the destiny which was to begin this day, Deianeira by treacherous murder. Now the innocence of Deianeira has at last been established and his faith in the integrity of his father Zeus at last restored." Sorum 1978.67 notes that Nessus, unlike Deianeira, is an "appropriate" enemy for Heracles.

20. Kane 23: "[Heracles] takes upon himself the task of fulfilling the oracles . . ."

21. Jebb *ad* 1143.

22. Linforth 258.

23. The refutation of Linforth 1952 in Hoey 1973 is unsatisfactory because Heracles clearly understands the oracle to mean that no living person will cause his death (πρὸς τῶν πνεόντων μηδενὸς θανεῖν 1160). Fulfilment of the oracle as Heracles understands it requires that only an inhabitant of Hades kill Heracles.

24. Ronnet 173-174 suggests that Heracles was wrong to suppose that the oracle about the end of his labors meant only one thing, his death, since (according to her) he would have lived had he not brought Iole home. She also argues that Nessus was only one of many inhabitants of Hades who might have killed Heracles, and that Heracles was therefore not destined to die through his trick.

One might compare with our analysis of Heracles' interpretation of the oracles Thucydides' exposé of how his contemporaries quoted the text of an oracle in a way that made it accord with events (οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο, Thuc. 2.54.3).

25. Holt 111 writes that "by speaking of the oracles in a manner which suggests that they are visible, Sophocles makes the discovery of their meaning . . . immediate and urgent." But the metaphors only make it seem immediate, and Heracles, not Sophocles, speaks them.

26. Jebb p. 201-202. According to Parke 119 Aphrodite may not have been connected with Dodona before the third century B.C., the period of the earliest documentary evidence of her association with the site. Parke 68 supports the interpretation of Νάιος as "god of flowing water," pointing out the oracle's propagation of the cult of Achelous (see n.28 below) and the abundant fountains in the neighborhood of Dodona which were famous in antiquity. Like Thermopylae and Lerna, the area near the temple at Dodona was marshy (Parke 7, 36, 38).

27. Ninck 1-46. Parke 26 suggests that the ancient priests of Dodona, the Selloi, slept on the ground and did not wash their feet (χαμαικοιτῶν . . . Σελλῶν, *Trach.* 1166-1167; cf. *Il.* 16.234-5 Σελλοὶ . . . ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαιεῦναι) because they felt that the earth was the source of power. "The idea would be appropriate to a priesthood to whom the oak was the manifestation of divinity."

28. The oracle at Dodona enjoined sacrifice to Achelous in all its responses, according to a scholium *ad Il.*21.194 cited by Jebb *ad* 9. Parke 151-152 discusses evidence of Dionysiac influence at Dodona as early as 500 B.C. We have good reason to associate Dodona in particular with an idea of divinity that transcends or confuses the familiar Olympian personalities: Herodotus (2.52) heard there that the ancient Pelasgians had prayed to the gods without distinction of name or title. When later they learned the names from Egypt, they asked the oracle at Dodona, then the only one in Greece, whether they should adopt them. The oracle answered affirmatively. Eventually the names passed from the Pelasgians to the Greeks.

29. Kamerbeek *ad* 1208, 9 lists many instances in tragedy of the metaphor of death as healer. Since none involve apotheosis, there is no reason to

suppose that Heracles (or Sophocles) indicates apotheosis by his use of it here. *pace* Segal 1981.100, there is no "fairly clear reference to apotheosis in 1206-10."

30. Easterling 1981.64 states, "Heracles speaks with confident authority, and it is natural to assume that he is recalling the commands of Zeus." She quotes 1150 (θεσφάτων ὅσ' οἶδ' ἐγώ).

31. Cf. Easterling 1981.57.

32. Two who have recognized it: Waldock 88-90 on the union of Hyllus and Iole; Hoey 1977a on the apotheosis.

33. For example, Segal 1981.99-100 states, ". . . several considerations strongly suggest that Sophocles means us to view Heracles' sufferings against the larger framework of the legend . . ." Among these are "the fairly clear reference to apotheosis in 1206-10," the fact that "the emphasis on the oracles throughout the play and on the pyre at the end presents the outcome as part of a divinely appointed plan that must include the divinization of Heracles," and the fact that "Heracles' kinship with Zeus is stressed throughout, and this too leads in the direction of the hero's adoption among the Olympians." Against apotheosis, Whitman 120 states, "It is in vain that scholars try to torture the line, 'No man knows the future,' into a tacit reference to the coming apotheosis of Heracles . . . if Sophocles had wished to refer to Heracles' apotheosis on Mount Oeta, he could have done it more clearly. Instead, he studiedly suppresses it. Heracles is no matter for an apotheosis . . ."

34. Segal 1977b.138-40, 152-153; Easterling 1981.67-69. Earlier Adams 132 had proposed this interpretation.

35. Easterling 1981.67.

36. Easterling 1981.69. Easterling 1982.10, however, takes an agnostic position.

37. Kane 23: "[Heracles] puts an end to his pain and humiliation." The statement of Heracles at Eur. *HF* 1151-1152, that he should destroy himself by fire in order to avoid the infamy that awaits him if he lives, suggests that Euripides too interpreted Heracles' self-immolation in this way.

38. Cf. Pucci 1980.131, of Medea murdering her children: "Medea finally asserts her freedom and her mastering mind by a self-destructive gesture, not unlike the *sophos* who maintains his superiority over the world of violence by 'fictionally' enslaving himself to it."

39. Redfield 180.

40. Heracles arranges a grandiose death for himself: Ronnet 98; Galinsky 52.

41. Wender 14.

42. Dickerson 450-451 suggests that the male olive and the oak symbolize Heracles and Zeus respectively.

43. Dickerson 451 points to the prohibition of the lamentation as particularly characteristic of sacrifice. Segal 1981.100-101 stresses the sacrificial character of Heracles' death.

44. Linforth 261; Nilsson 63-64.

45. Linforth 261 argues that in *Trachiniae*, Heracles' death on the pyre is a somewhat awkward accommodation to a story regarded as "historical fact."

46. Or make her his concubine, as MacKinnon 38 argues.

47. Kamerbeek *ad* 1225, 6.

48. Cf. MacKinnon 41, who explains that in commanding Hyllus Heracles speaks not as a lover but as ". . . a typical heroic warrior who regards the preservation of his property . . . as an integral and necessary component of his honourable status, and who sees his son to be, in this matter, an extension of himself."

49. The marriage is not a punishment itself, but something which because of its impiety will incur punishment. Daemonic avengers sometimes tempt a person to commit a deed that allows them to punish him. Thus at Eur. *El.* 979 and *Or.* 1668-9, Orestes suspects that an ἀλάστωρ, pretending to be Apollo, instructed him to kill his mother.

50. Girard 190-191 argues that Hyllus resists because the world at large would regard his killing of his father and taking his father's concubine as an impious rebellion. Hyllus does characteristically seem more concerned about how his action will look (οὐ . . . ἄν . . . κακὸς φανείην 1250-1251) than with his behavior as such. Hoey 1977a.286 calls the marriage of Hyllus and Iole "an Oedipus complex in reverse."

51. A parallel passage supporting this interpretation, closer than that from *O.T.* cited by Kamerbeek, is Soph. *Aj.* 1368 σὸν ἆρα τοὔργον, οὐκ ἐμὸν κεκλήσεται.

52. On the typical attributes of Euripidean *dei ex machina* see Knox 206-208.

53. Segal 1977b.138.

54. Vernant 77; Detienne 1967.15.

55. Detienne 1967.26.

56. Machin 274, 499 n.525.

57. Machin 285 suggests that Heracles wishes to avoid the humiliation of another attack of pain.

58. On the resistance to the "telos of closure" at the end of Aesch. *Eum.*, see Goldhill 283. Goldhill has many fine observations on the openness of the signifier τέλος in the *Oresteia* throughout his book.

59. In attributing the lines to the Chorus, Bowra 158 n.2 notes that their "temper" differs from Hyllus' protest.

60. Cook 11 n.5.

61. Hoey 1977a.289-290.

62. On Dionysus and masks see Otto 86-91. Otto 91 describes the effect of the mask as follows: "It is the symbol and the manifestation of that which is simultaneously there and not there: that which is excruciatingly near, that which is completely absent--both in one reality."

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