

The Tragedy of the *Hippolytus*:
The Waters of Ocean and
the Untouched Meadow

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The clash of human will and divine power is basic to the tragic sense of Greek drama. Not only may the gods serve to set the tragic action into motion, but they may themselves embody its meaning. As this meaning usually involves some of the most complex and difficult issues of human life, so the nature of the gods and their mode of acting upon the human world are often puzzling, full of real or apparent contradictions or hard, painful truths.

The *Hippolytus* has its full share of these difficulties.¹ The human motivation in the play is totally comprehensible and satisfying in itself;² yet the gods, Aphrodite in the prologue, Artemis in the epi-

1. The text used is that of Gilbert Murray (1902; Oxford 1951). Fragments are cited after Nauck. For a bibliography of the *Hippolytus* see Albin Lesky, *Die tragische Dichtung der Hellenen* (Göttingen 1956) 165–66 (3d ed., 1972, 313–14); more recently, Froma I. Zeitlin, "The Power of Aphrodite," in Peter Burian, ed., *Directions in Euripidean Criticism* (Durham 1985), 189ff. I have touched upon some aspects of the imagery in a more general context in C. Segal, "Nature and the World of Man in Greek Literature," *Arion* 2, no. 1 (1963) 41–42.

2. The adequacy of the human motivation is stressed by L. H. G. Greenwood, *Aspects of Euripidean Tragedy* (Cambridge 1953) 44ff.; Gilbert Norwood, *Essays on Euripidean Drama* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1954) 106ff.; R. P. Winnington-Ingram, "Hippolytus: A Study in Causation," in *Euripide: Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*, vol. 6 (Geneva 1960) 183; Max Pohlenz, *Die griechische Tragödie*, 2d ed. (Göttingen 1954) 1:272, and many others. For the relation of human and divine in the play see in general the principle stated by Lesky (note 1) 168: "Hier nicht vom Menschlichen aus die Götter gesucht werden, sondern die göttlichen Gestalten den Menschen verständlich

logue, have significant dramatic, as well as thematic, roles. Their function in the play has often been explained by the claim that Euripides uses them to attack the anthropomorphic religion.³ While certainly true to some extent, this explanation does not account for the meaning of the play as a whole or for the substantial independence of the human action, which is yet interwoven with the opposed natures and wills of the two goddesses.

It is, as will appear, largely through imagery that these gods are bound into the poetic fabric of the play. Through certain recurrent images of the natural world, notably that of the sea, their power is presented as an effective reality acting upon the human world. The imagery thus leads back to the gods and to the broader issues that their natures and actions raise. Thus, however critically Euripides may have regarded the gods of the traditional religion, he can use them poetically and dramatically to enlarge the scope of the tragedy⁴ and to extend its meaning beyond the inward struggles of the protagonists to the question of man's relation to the order (or disorder) of the universe.⁵

The powers of the universe, the objective demands of man's world upon him, the forces of nature to which he is subject: these are central issues in the play. From their origins the Greek gods stand in close connection with these natural powers, and hence through them Euripides can state these broad themes and conflicts without losing dramatic or poetic vividness.⁶ He exploits these connections most

machen sollen, auf den es dem Dichter ganz vorwiegend ankommt." See 3d ed., 323. Similarly, Winington-Ingram, 188-89: "It is by the tragedy that we understand the gods, not by the gods that we understand the tragedy."

3. The view that Euripides' purpose in the *Hippolytus* is primarily to satirize the gods has been most fully restated in recent years by Greenwood (note 2) chap. 2, passim.

4. So Louis Méridier, *Euripide*, vol. 2, Budé ed. (Paris 1927) 23: "Par elles [the two goddesses] la tragédie acquiert une ampleur singulière."

5. See Norwood (note 2) 109. This view is perhaps most fully elaborated by B. M. W. Knox, "The *Hippolytus* of Euripides," *YCS* 13 (1952) 1-31.

6. There is a full and interesting statement of the advantages enjoyed by the ancient poet in this regard in Wilamowitz' introduction to his translation, *U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Tragödien übersetzt*, I (Berlin 1899) 110-11: "Aber er [the Greek poet] bedient sich des ungeheuren Vorteils, dass er die höchst realen ewigen Mächte, die in dem sittlichen Leben der Menschen walten, nicht als körperlose Abstraktionen belassen muss, wie sie sich dem Denken darstellen, noch zu symbolischen Schatten aus eigener Phantasie gestalten muss: die Phantasie seines Volk-

fully in linking the power of Aphrodite, as it acts throughout the play, with the force of the sea. As an image of the unfolding violence of Aphrodite's power, the sea becomes also a symbol for the demanding realities of the world—which are the gods.

Aphrodite, born from the sea, has all its irrational elementality. She is, as Seneca describes her in his *Phaedra* (274), the goddess *non miti generata ponto*. The imagistic significance of the sea, with its focal position for other images and themes in the play, is a natural outgrowth of the goddess' own nature and the forces with which the Greek mind, in its mythical formulations, had always associated her. Euripides' imagery, therefore, does not become arbitrary or artificial, a forced or self-conscious literary device, but remains intimately related to a deeply rooted, age-old perception, already stated in poetic or proto-poetic form, about the nature of the love goddess and the love force. Here, as often in classical Greek poetry, the poet finds himself aided in his individual creation by the crystallization of traditional experience and perception in the myth. The myth may thus not only give the poet the general content of plot, characters, setting, and so on, but also, as it seems to do here, may suggest his basic images, his underlying poetic structure.

The relevance of Aphrodite's connection with the sea has, of course, been noted before, and it is well stated by Gilbert Norwood: "In her might and relentless cruelty there dwells 'something of the sea' that gave her birth and across which Phaedra, dogged by her unseen curse, voyaged from Crete." And again: "Aphrodite, the Sea-Queen, wonderful and ruthless like the ocean, bringing joy or grief with indifferent hands." My purpose, however, is to show how the imagery of the sea and related images operate structurally throughout the tragedy, formed as it is under the shadow of the sea-born, sea-

es beut sie ihm dar als leibhaftige Götter, zu Personen, man möchte sagen von Fleisch und Blut, ausgestaltet in der ununterbrochenen dichterischen Arbeit von Jahrhunderten. . . . Lebenserfahrung und Gewissen lehren uns gewiss die tiefe Wahrheit, dass die Negation des Geschlechtstriebes nicht gut ist. . . . Aber wie grau und blass sind diese Gedanken gegenüber der Erscheinung Aphrodites. Die Göttin spricht das alles gar nicht aus. Ihren Willen spricht sie aus, ganz konkret, als mitthätige Person des Dramas," etc. See also Pohlenz (note 2) 1:273-74: "Für den Dramatiker war es ein einziger Vorteil, wenn er statt der schwer darstellbaren göttlichen Liebesmacht die Aphrodite des Volksglaubens einführen konnte, die sofort in jedem Zuschauer bestimmte Vorstellungen wachrief."

7. Norwood (note 2) 104 and 105.

wild goddess, and how this imagery underlies the unity of the play and deepens the dimensions and intensity of the tragic action.⁸

It would be mistaken to regard Aphrodite, that jealous, all too human female, as a symbolical figure and nothing else. Yet she obviously signified to Euripides and his audience a great natural force, the instinctive sexual drive in all its relentless power. In this aspect she is Kypris, and is so referred to in the play almost to the exclusion of the more general name, Aphrodite, which occurs, in fact, only three times (532, 539, 765). She had been so treated explicitly in Aeschylus' *Danaïds*, and so she recurs, in an unknown play of Euripides, as the authoress of the love and commingling of earth and sky, on which all life depends (frag. 898 Nauck).⁹

Her terrible ambiguity lies in the fact that she is not only a power of the natural world but in a sense also within man: she is that part of him which responds instinctively to the elemental forces in nature and obeys, spontaneously, the same impulses as the animals, as earth and sky. Here through Aphrodite, as through Dionysus in the *Bacchae*, the external and internal aspects of human reality interpenetrate. It is this double aspect of Aphrodite, fused symbolically in the sea, which creates the fullness of the tragedy in the *Hippolytus*: on the one hand, a psychological tragedy, the result of man's futile attempt to suppress a basic part of his nature, and on the other hand, a tragedy of human helplessness before divine power. In other terms, the tragedy juxtaposes man as a part of nature, a creature among creatures, and man as a sentient being with a will and an inner life. Aphrodite,

8. Critics of the symbolist approach, such as Greenwood (note 2), often distort the possible symbolic roles of figures like Aphrodite or elements like the sea by viewing them apart from the poetic fabric of the whole work and only in terms of plot, as if this were the only significant part of the work. They then detach the element in question and ask, "What does it represent?" See, for instance, Greenwood's discussion of Poseidon (42): "Poseidon could of course represent the sea and all that is therein. . . . But how could the sea and its inhabitants be subject to the will of Theseus so as to become the instruments of his vengeance?" To try to give a single, final meaning to something like the sea in the *Hippolytus* is to misunderstand the nature of poetry. The sea does not represent Aphrodite any more than Poseidon represents the sea.

9. For the connection of Aeschylus' *Danaïds* and Euripides frag. 898 with the Aphrodite of the *Hippolytus*, see L. E. Matthaei, *Studies in Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge 1918) 80; also H. D. F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy* (London 1939) 202; Pohlentz (note 2) 1:274. For this elemental aspect of Aphrodite, see also R. Y. Hathorn, "Rationalism and Irrationalism in Euripides' *Hippolytus*," *CJ* 52 (1957) 215ff.

whose reality is both biological and psychological, enforces the tragic linking of these two basic parts of the human condition. Her power is exercised both internally and externally; and in both aspects she is, like the sea, irresistible.¹⁰

These two aspects of Aphrodite correspond to the twofold nature of her dramatic role. She appears in the prologue as part of the external reality, an actor in the tragedy, and so she is spoken of in the *exodos*. In between, however, she is half real, half metaphorical, a force rather than a person. Thus as the action moves to the purely human sphere, her reality becomes internal rather than external. The same ambiguity is present in her status as a god. As part of external reality, she is indeed a god, an actor who affects the environment in tangible, concrete ways. Yet as an internal force, an instinctive drive pervading all of nature, she is "something greater than a god" (360). It is interesting that in introducing herself she does not say "I am a god," but "I am called a god," θεᾶ κέκλημαι (2) not θεᾶ εἰμί. Even her role as a dramatis persona is not free from this ambiguity, for as Norwood has well noted, she is more removed from the immediate action than Artemis, though paradoxically the cause of it all;¹¹ and unlike Artemis, she does not address directly any of her victims, or indeed any human character.

Thus the sea, in its vastness, power, and inscrutability, helps expand her significance beyond the anthropomorphic figure so objectionable to modern critics¹² into an invincible, eternal force. And, as imaged in the sea, this force appears as a surd, preexisting human nature and human questioning and impenetrable to human reason. Aphrodite, like the sea, is.

The ambiguity of the sea too makes it an apt symbol for the complexity of Aphrodite's position and her action upon the human characters, for as Euripides and other Greek poets present it, the sea

10. Thus Kitto's limitation of Aphrodite to an internal power seems to lose one of the dimensions of the tragedy: "It is of course because Aphrodite is this, an internal not an external tyrant, that the *Hippolytus* is a tragedy. She is not a "goddess" who torments us for her sport" (note 9, 201 n. 1). Yet in a sense, she *does* so torment us, for her jealousy if not "for her sport."

11. See Norwood (note 2) 102ff. He goes on to distinguish two aspects of Aphrodite in Euripides' mind: for the poet she is a "world-goddess" (104), for the philosopher "a spurious deity" (105). See also Matthaei (note 9) 46-47.

12. See, for example, Greenwood (note 2) 45 and Wilamowitz (note 6) 112.

possesses the extremes of beauty when calm and of destructive power when disturbed.¹³

The symbolic dimensions thus conferred upon the gods are especially important for Euripides. Because of the problematical position in which he places his gods, he needs such active symbols perhaps more than a poet who simply accepts the traditional religion. In an age of growing skepticism and rationalism, these symbolic counterparts of the gods are, at one level, perhaps more real and true to him than the actual anthropomorphic figures.

Within the *Hippolytus* itself, the sea has several levels of significance, not always easily separable. In purely literal terms the sea is a simple physical element, neutral in itself but, like all aspects of the physical world, potentially destructive. The sea in this aspect has also a historical reality: associations with the past, as the sea that Phaedra crossed from Crete. On the mythical level the sea is connected with powerful divinities, Aphrodite and Poseidon; it is the sphere ruled over by gods whose power is active in human affairs. At this level the inert matter of the physical world becomes potent with divine, often sinister force. Finally, the sea, detached by one step from its gods, becomes symbolic of the unfathomable forces that course through the universe and human life. Its effectiveness as a symbol lies partly in the fact that its scope is without precisely definable limits. It can be viewed, for example, psychologically or metaphysically. Its range is as wide as the scope of the tragedy itself.

The range of the play's significance is established in the opening lines (1-6):

Powerful and not without name, I am called the goddess Kypris, both among mortals and in the heavens; and all who look on the light of the sun and dwell within the ocean Pontos and the limits of Atlas—those who reverse my power I put first in honor and those who think big toward me I trip up.

13. For the beauty of the calm sea, cf. *Hel.* 1451ff., *IT* 421ff. For its association with violent passion, cf. *HF* 861 and frag. 1089, where an angry woman is compared to the sea. For the significance of the sea in Attic tragedy generally, see Albin Lesky, *Thalatta* (Vienna 1947) 215ff. For its connection with violent forces, see esp. 227-29, and for the sea in Euripides in general, 246ff. with the bibliographical references in notes 261 and 294.

It includes mortals and heaven (1-2), the sea and the sun (3-4). Aphrodite, the sea-born goddess, defines in terms of the sea the boundaries of the mortal realm over which she has power: "Those who dwell within the ocean Pontos and the limits of Atlas" (Πόντου τελαμώνων τ' Ἀτλαντικῶν, 3). The human world is placed between two seas, and in the following action the sea will well up and destroy a representative portion of the human world it surrounds. What here only marks the geographical limits of human life will soon play an active part in its substance. The course of the action can be followed in terms of the advance of the sea; and because the outcome is known beforehand, the power of the destroying element is the more terrible and its release the more inevitable.

Aphrodite's prologue, in stating the situation, states also the basic opposition between herself and Hippolytus in terms of the sea. The "pale-green woods" (χλωρῶν δ' ἄν' ὕλην, 17) wherein the youth associates with his virgin goddess (αφθένω)¹⁴ are a foil for the darkness of the surging sea. The instrument of his destruction will be the woman whom Theseus transported across the sea (ναυστολαί, 36); and the vengeance will be completed in the destructive aspect of the sea that belongs to Poseidon "the sea lord" (ὁ πόντιος ἄναξ, 44-45; see Πόντου, 3). The sea is thus associated at once with the female passion of Aphrodite (and Phaedra) and the male anger and violence of Poseidon (and Theseus). In both these aspects it will overwhelm the devotee of the virgin woodland goddess.

In the first lines, Aphrodite speaks of her power in the heavens (σὺρανοῦ τ' ἔσω, 2) as well as on earth; but Hippolytus enters, in a dramatic contrast, immediately after the prologue, singing of "the heavenly [οὐρανόαν] daughter of Zeus, Artemis" (59-60). The contrast is sharpened by the hunters' chorus (61ff.), which takes up his prayer and, though praising Artemis, blithely echoes parts of Aphrodite's sinister speech (64-69):¹⁵

14. The theme of the *parthenos* is a recurrent motif in the play. Hippolytus maintains his "virgin soul" in the face of his father's accusations (1006) and is to be immortalized finally in the songs of maidens (*parithenoi*, 1428). Artemis speaks also of her "maidenly joy" in opposition to Aphrodite (1302). On the other hand, Phaedra, when struggling to maintain her honor and virtue, speaks of time's revealing the evil men "as if holding up a mirror before a young maiden" (429).

15. The chorus' invocation to Artemis as *semmotatē* (61) perhaps also helps establish the association between the goddess and her follower, described shortly after as *semmos* (see 93ff.) though in a far more negative sense (see also 957, 1064, 1364).

... ὦ κόρα

Λατοῦς Ἄρτεμι καὶ Διός, [cf. Ἄρτεμιν, Διὸς κόρην, 15]
καλλίστα πολὺ παρθένων [cf. παρθένω, 17].
ἃ μέγαν κατ' οὐρανὸν [cf. οὐρανὸν τ' ἔσω, 2]
ναίεις [cf. ναίουσιν, 4] εὐπατέρειαν αὐ-/λάν . . .

As Aphrodite is here juxtaposed with Artemis, so sea is opposed to sky, and the latter, as will be seen, appears throughout the play as a place of futile escape until it too is finally touched by the sea that destroys Hippolytus (χωρὶ οὐρανῶ σπηρίζον, 1207).

Hippolytus' first significant speech (73–87) develops the theme of his purity and devotion to his pure goddess. The untouched garden from which he offers her the wreath is an ambiguous symbol of chastity (see *Song of Songs* 4:12: "A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse"; also Catullus 11.22ff.: *velut prati ultimi flos* . . .). The gift of the crown "from an untouched meadow" is a symbolic offering of his sexuality to the virgin goddess, a concrete embodiment of the offer that he makes every day of his life. This scene thus presents a symbolical enactment of Hippolytus' whole way of life, and it does so in terms of the pure woodland to which Aphrodite had referred bitterly in her prologue (17). This sheltered woodland, however, will soon encounter the violent sea. The bee of spring which goes around it (77) will recur as the sign of the ever-present Kypris (563).¹⁶ The modesty (*aidos*) that waters this "untouched meadow" with the moisture of its rivers (ποταμίαισι κηπέυει δρόσοις, 78) will reappear shortly as a motive force in the mind of the passion-filled, Kypris-swayed Phaedra (see 385ff.).¹⁷ Even the adjective "untouched" (ἄκηρατος, 73, 76) will be flung bitterly back at Hippolytus, accused of unchastity, by the angry Theseus (σὺ σώφρων καὶ κακῶν ἀκήρατος, 949) and will reflect the chorus' hope for something to be found only in the realm of prayer, "a mind untouched by sufferings" (1114), when Hippolytus' banishment is a reality.

It is in the parodos, directly after the old servant's attempt to

reproach Hippolytus for his neglect of Kypris (88–118), that the sea makes its first extended appearance in the play. The intricate first strophe begins with "Ocean," and develops a quiet and lovely scene: the spring and the sun-warmed rocks where the women of Troezen wash their clothes. Thus is an immediate contrast created between this women's world, with its pleasant domestic tasks, and Hippolytus' troop of hunters. Here sea contrasts with woodland, ocean with pure river, the languid flowing of water over the rocks with the strenuous activities of the austere young men. The contrast is sharpened by the echo of Hippolytus' "river dews," ποταμίαισι . . . δρόσοις (78), in the chorus' ποταμίᾳ δρόσω (127). The sea is here calm, beautiful, the gathering place for the good matrons of Troezen. Yet sea is the element of Aphrodite, and it is toward the end of the first strophe that we hear first of Phaedra, unnamed as yet, only "my mistress" (δέσποινα, 130). The antistrophe develops the full picture of Phaedra's passion-caused "sickness" (131ff.); and it is a fine stroke of Euripides' poetic imagination that the passion-sick queen should be introduced in this setting, by the sea. At the mention of Phaedra, the gentle sea of the first strophe becomes sinister and dangerous. The death to which her self-starvation is leading her is described, in one of the recurrent metaphors of the play, as a shipwreck: θανάτου θέλου-/σαν κέλσαι ποτὶ τέρημα δύστανον ("wishing to reach shore & death's grim end," 139–40). The first strophic system thus begins to create a juxtaposition between the peaceful, domestic life of woman and woman as passionate, unstable, self-destructive. The calm sea, with its happy associations, is what Phaedra is leaving behind. It is a reference point back to her life before Kypris entered it. Henceforth she—and we—will know the sea in its disturbed and destructive aspect.

With this first description of Phaedra's sickness in the antistrophe, there appears also a fuller intimation of the wildness of the natural world. The chorus asks if Phaedra is afflicted by Pan or Hecate, or the Corybantes or the Mountain Mother (141–44), all ambiguous divinities associated with the elemental powers of nature. Then they ask about Dictynna, whose connection with the wild is emphasized by the epithet πολύθηρον ("of much hunting," 145). Dictynna is, paradoxically, an aspect of Artemis (see e.g., *IT* 127) and, as πολύθηρος, would be, one might expect, connected somehow with Hippolytus. Yet here she is associated with Phaedra's passion and the

16. For the parallel between 77 and 563 see Knox (note 5) 28.

17. For the role of *aidos* in the tragedy, see E. R. Dodds, "The *Aidos* of Phaedra and the Meaning of the *Hippolytus*," *CR* 39 (1925) 102–4. For the religious nature of Hippolytus' *aidos* and its connections with his "untouched meadow" and his sophrosyne, see A.-J. Festugière, *Personal Religion among the Greeks*, Sather Classical Lectures 26 (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1954) 12–13.

sea: "For she [Dictynna] travels also through the marsh and over the dry land by the sea in the brine's sea-whirls" (149-51). There is perhaps a certain suspense and irony built up by the chorus' failure to name the goddess who is really responsible; they increase the irony by dwelling instead upon her enemy, Dictynna-Artemis, in terms of the element that symbolizes Aphrodite's own power. Yet the invocation of Dictynna is perhaps more to the mark than the chorus knows. She belongs to the Cretan past, to the dangerous, passion-filled ancestry of Phaedra, for in legend she was pursued nine months by Minos, Phaedra's father, before plunging into the sea to escape (see Callimachus, *Hymn* 3.189-203), and her worship was especially prominent in Crete.¹⁸ The aspect of the sea associated with her too is different from the peace of the first strophe: there the warm rocks, dripping with pure water; here the giddy whirl of sand by the shore, something of the passion and desperation surrounding Dictynna's leap. The Marsh (*Limna*) referred to here is probably also the sanctuary of Artemis at which Hippolytus exercises his horses,¹⁹ and as such is soon to be called upon with longing by the Aphrodite-possessed Phaedra (228; see 1131ff.). The reference to Dictynna, especially in conjunction with the sea, thus leads deeper into Phaedra's passion and begins to adumbrate the involvement in it of Hippolytus and his world.

In the antistrophe the chorus continues questioning and asks if anyone sailing from Crete has brought bad news (155ff.). The sea is again the conveyer of misfortune, and the crossing of it a token of disaster. The chorus has already spoken of Phaedra's coming death as a shipwreck (140); and Aphrodite referred briefly to Theseus' carrying Phaedra over the sea (*ναυστολεῖ*, 36). In a later ode the ship that brought Phaedra will be pronounced ill-omened (752ff.). In the present ode, however, though the reference is not to Phaedra's own crossing, the chorus establishes her connection, through the sea, with Crete, the land of sinister passions to which Dictynna already points.

The chorus ends, in the epode (162ff.), with a woman's prayer to Artemis, goddess of childbirth—"the heavenly Artemis who gives

good births" (*εὐλοχον οὐρανίαν*). Thus as the women of the chorus turn back from the dangerous passions of their Cretan mistress to the burdens of normal wifehood and motherhood and the goddess who helps them therein, they also turn back from the turbulent sea to the sky (as they are to do later in the "escape" ode, 732ff.). A sinister connection with the wild remains, however, in the other epithet they give Artemis. They call her "mistress of arrows" (167), the weapons that connect her and her hunter-follower, Hippolytus, with the wild, weapons that she will use to destroy Aphrodite's favorite in the future (1422, 1451).²⁰

With Phaedra's appearance and the first episode (170-524), the tension is deepened between woodland and sea, fresh waters and troubled sea, Artemis and Aphrodite. Phaedra's longing for a draught of "pure waters" (209) and for a "grassy meadow" (210) recall the pure waters of Hippolytus' aidos (78) and the "untouched meadow" from which he brings his offering (73-74). She longs too for the woodland (*ῥῆλαν*, 215) and the hunting of wild beasts, and desires "to hurl the Thessalian javelin holding the barbed missile in my hand" (220-22). The Nurse echoes her plaint in words that underline (unknown to her) the connection with Hippolytus' haunts (cf. *κηρνάϊων νασμῶν*, "streams from springs," 225; *δροσερά*, "dewy," 226). Then Phaedra calls upon "Mistress Artemis of Limne by the sea" (228) and expresses her desire to train horses in her sanctuary, so that the Nurse again wonders at her "love for horses by the waveless sands" (234-35). The language here draws both upon the earlier description of Hippolytus' surroundings (74ff.) and upon the sea imagery of the preceding choral ode.

With Phaedra's entrance, then, the innocence of woodland and mountains (233), of hunting and horse riding, becomes touched by a more complex element, her hidden erotic desires. She gives the "meadow" in which she would recline the sensuously suggestive epithet *κομήτη* ("with tresses of grass," 210). Indeed, for Phaedra the meadow has associations exactly opposite to those it had for Hippolytus.²¹ She, or the Nurse, uses repeatedly the verb *ἔραμαι* ("love," 219, 225, 236, and note *πόθον*, "desire," 234). The ambiguity is, of

18. For Artemis' arrows in her revenge, see Knox (note 5) 30-31.

20. For the erotic implications of the meadow here see Knox (note 5) 6 n. 8, citing Eur. *Cycl.* 171. Compare Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* 229ff. Ovid puts a similar metaphor, with deliberate erotic implications, into the mouth of his Phaedra: *Heroides*

18. For Dictynna, see "Britomartis" in W. H. Roscher, ed., *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1884-86) I. 1, 822ff. Also Jessen, "Dictynna," *RE* 9 (1903) 584ff.

19. See Wilamowitz (note 6) 178 (*ad vs.* 150): "Die Beziehung auf das auch 228 und 1132 genannte Lokal Limne konnte nur Verstocktheit noch leugnen."

course, inherent in her situation, that she cannot reveal the truth of her longing though it is of itself seeking release and expression in these cryptic desires. This very ambiguity, therefore, tinges the natural world, as here presented, with a complexity that it lacked in the statements of either Hippolytus or the chorus. For Phaedra, too, these elements of wild nature are dangerously near. The chorus spoke of them as something remote and terrible (see 141ff.), but Phaedra actually wants to enter the wild. Hence, too, her appeal to Artemis has a new ambiguity. It is to give utterance to her passion that she calls upon the pure, maidenly goddess, invoked before by Hippolytus and the chorus: δέσποιν' ἄλιας Ἀρτεμι Λίμνας ("Mistress Artemis of Limne by the sea," 228) are her words. The adjective "of the sea"²² thus recalls not only the chorus' disturbed invocation to Dicytna but also the goddess under whose power she really lies. In the name of Artemis she is in fact calling upon Aphrodite; and through the ambiguity of her situation the calm world of Hippolytus and the chorus, the wilds and the gentle sea, begin to be invaded by her restless passion and become transformed into the images of her desire.

The ambiguity of her situation is increased by the emphasis on horses (with an obvious erotic allusion in 231).²³ The horse will, in fact, recur in the play as an erotic metaphor (546, 1425). At the end of this exchange, however, the Nurse speaks of Phaedra as being "reined out of her path" (ἀνασειράζει, 237) by one of the gods. The horse, in Phaedra's transformation, refers no longer to Hippolytus' chaste pursuits but to Phaedra's ardent desire, no longer to Artemis (with whom Phaedra ostensibly associates it) but to Aphrodite who has, in truth, reined back Phaedra like a horse. Possessed by the sea-wild goddess, she dwells on the free-running violence of the horse. The connection is complex, for the horses, though associated with Artemis, are connected explicitly with the sea through Limne and the "waveless shore" (235-36). Here *eros* (see ἔρσσαι, 236), sea-sand,

4-29-30. So too the *hēlos* that Phaedra wishes to hold and hurl (220-22) may have erotic connotations. Note its explicit connection later with Eros in 530.

22. The reading δέσποινα διάς . . . Λίμνας found in some manuscripts is surely only a scribal error for the much more appropriate δέσποιν' ἄλιας . . . Λίμνας, and Δ lending themselves easily to such a confusion, compounded by a misdivision of the words.

23. For the erotic association of the horse here see Knox (note 5) 6 with note 8, citing Anacreon frag. 75 D. See also Horace *Odes* 3.11.9ff.

and horses are united—albeit in a still indefinite way—in Phaedra's desire; and so they will be finally, in Hippolytus' end.

The tension relaxes somewhat in the ensuing dialogue between the Nurse and the chorus (267ff.);²⁴ but, as it builds up again toward the terrible revelation, the power of the sea returns. The Nurse complains that Phaedra is not "softened" or "moistened" (ἐτέγγετο) by her words (303), using the verb that occurred in the parodos of the women's innocent washing by the sea (127)—the calm sea that Phaedra is leaving behind. Then, turning to Phaedra abruptly in the next line, she urges her to be "bolder than the sea" (304-5). The change of address from the chorus to Phaedra and from the third back to the second person in these lines (300-305), an effect of which the ancients were well aware,²⁵ marks a heightening of the tension. As Phaedra's passion was introduced earlier by the sea, so the sea here accompanies the revelation of the fearfulness of that passion. The horse, too, is present at this new critical point, in the Nurse's oath by "the Amazon, mistress of the horse" (ἄνασσαν ἰππίαν, 307), echoed immediately after in Ἰππόλυτον (310), the name that wrings from Phaedra her first cry of weakness—ὄμοι—and sets in motion the final revelation. A few lines later she speaks of her subjection to her passion in terms of a storm (χειμάζομαι, 315), an image of helplessness before a raging sea, recalling the image of shipwreck which the chorus used of her approaching death by starvation in the parodos (140). The violence of the sea, now full upon her, is about to burst upon the Nurse and the chorus. Under the Nurse's cross-examination she calls upon her sinister Cretan heredity (337ff.) and finally can bring out ὅτις Ἀμαζόνοσ, which the Nurse quickly completes with Ἰππόλυτον (331-52), repeating the telling words from 307-10. The Nurse then ends with the famous statement of Kypris' power: "Kypris, then, is found to be no god, but something greater than a god, whatever it is, who destroys her and me and the house" (359-61). The sea, virginity (the Amazon), Kypris, and finally Crete at the end of choral song (362-72) thus combine to introduce Phaedra's first coherent statement of her position (373ff.).

24. The pattern of the alternating relaxation and heightening of tension is well noted by Matthaei (note 9) 86, 89-90, and passim.

25. See for example, ps.-Longinus, *De Sublim.* 26-27, on τῶν προσώπων ἀναμετέταθεις.

The interplay between emotion and logic, lyric and dialogue, is especially intense here. Phaedra's confession and the Nurse's statement of Aphrodite's power (359–61) seem of themselves to release the disturbed and passionate dochmiacs at 362; and these significantly end with another statement about the τύχα Κύπριδος ("ill fortune from Kypris," 371–72) and with the chorus' pitiful cry, ὦ τάλαρα παῖ Κρησία ("O unhappy Cretan child," 372).

It is with these last words ringing in her ears that Phaedra begins her famous speech to the women of Troezen (373ff.) in which she sets forth her attempt, and failure, to "conquer Kypris" (401) and her resolution to die. The sea plays a small though significant part in this scene and the following chorus; but the sense of the approaching violence is carried by other lines of imagery. The elemental force of eros manifests itself in phrases like μὲ ἔρωτος ἔτρωσεν ("love wounded me," 392), νικῶσα ("conquering," 399), Κύπριν κρητῆσαι ("to overcome Kypris," 401); and these contrast tragically with the quieter words of will and intention (ἐσχάπτου, 392; προουνοσάμην, 399; βουλευμάτων, 402). This imagery of conquest and violence will emerge even more fully later in the language of the chorus.

In the midst of her ensuing denunciation of adulterous women (407ff.), however, Phaedra calls upon "Lady Kypris of the sea" (δέσποινα ποντία Κύπρι, 415). Thus at the moment when she is most fully resolved to preserve her marital purity, she calls upon the goddess who is causing her ruin and addresses her in the name of the malignant element through which her power will be made manifest. This epithet, ποντία, evokes again the vastness of Aphrodite's power and the ruthlessness behind it which the goddess announced in the opening lines (Πόντου, 3). Phaedra's invocation of "Aphrodite of the sea" perhaps recalls too her earlier appeal to "Lady Artemis of Limne by the sea" (228). Then she was still concealing her passion and, one might say, invoking Artemis with Aphrodite in her heart and mind. Now, however, the truth of her domination by Aphrodite is revealed, and the revelation is coupled with the sea.

The Nurse, in her counter-speech (432ff.), completes the revelation with a fuller statement of Aphrodite's power; yet she lacks the full knowledge of what it is that she is releasing. Thus she tells Phaedra, "the goddess' wrath has fallen upon you" (438), but has no sense of how implacable and destructive is this wrath. Actually, of course, the Nurse is mistaken, for the object of the goddess' wrath is Hippolytus,

not Phaedra; and it is only the indifference of the goddess which is to involve Phaedra's death with his: ἦ δ' εὐκλεῆς μὲν, ἀλλ' ὄμωος ἄπ' ἀλλυται, / Φαίδρα ("Phaedra is of good fame, but even so she shall be destroyed," 47f.). Her ruthless power is then presented in terms of the sea: "Kypris is not to be endured if she flows full on" (ἦν πολλὴ ἔν ὄνῃ, 443). She is like an onrushing wave, and the image is developed a few lines later: "Kypris travels in the air, she's in the sea—surge [ἐν θαλάσσειω / κλύδωνι]: everything is born from her" (447–48). The juxtaposition of sky and sea again suggests Aphrodite's words in the opening lines, here restated by one of the mortals who is to prove subject to them (cf. also πολλή, 1 and 443). No part of nature is free of Aphrodite. Earlier the chorus rather innocently saw the cause of Phaedra's condition in Dictynna (Artemis) who frequents the sea (149ff.), but the power and essence of the sea as the force behind Phaedra's tragedy are to be found instead with Dictynna's opposite, Aphrodite.²⁶ The Nurse here gives instances of her power in the sky (Zeus, Eos),²⁷ and when the tragedy is complete, the truth of her omnipresence will receive its full and final formulation (see 1268ff.).

The Nurse continues the imagery of the destructive sea in asking Phaedra how she will "swim out" (ἐκνεύσαι, 469) of the misfortune into which she has fallen. Phaedra, in the power of Aphrodite, is like a swimmer, helpless, in a wild sea, thanks to the will of the goddess (θεὸς ἐβουλήθη τάδε, 476). It is part of the tragic helplessness of both Phaedra and the Nurse that the latter uses these images of the raging sea and the feeble swimmer when she hopes to save. The imagery thus reflects the tragic pattern that marks the whole course of the Nurse's interference in Phaedra's passion.

At the end of her speech the Nurse, having failed by rational means (her verbal arguments), resorts to irrational: the hope of enchantment, spells, or charms, ἐπιθαδὰ καὶ λόγοι θελακτῆριοι, as a possible drug or cure (φάρμακον) for Phaedra's "disease" (478–79). Here again the Nurse's short-term expediency involves her in a limited grasp of the situation and even in self-contradiction. She who admit-

26. Compare φοιτᾷ γὰρ καὶ διὰ λίμνας of Dictynna in 149 with φοιτᾷ δ' ἄν' αἰθέρα, κ.τ.λ. of Aphrodite in 447. The parallel is noted also by G. M. A. Grube, *The Drama of Euripides* (London 1941; rpt. New York 1961) 182 n.2.

27. This passage on the power of eros among gods and men may be modeled on the earlier *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos*: see frag. 431, where men and gods, gods and sea, are juxtaposed as victims and subjects of Eros, and Zeus is also mentioned.

ted the power of Aphrodite as a pervasive force in nature (447–50) hopes to escape this force by means outside nature, by spells and magic. Phaedra, however, still resists, and does so in language that recalls the Nurse's initial despair on hearing of her mistress' passion. There, before she had time to make her "second thoughts" (436), the Nurse spoke of the more-than-divine Aphrodite as "destroying the house" (δόμους ἀπώλεσεν, 361). Here Phaedra uses the same phrase (δόμους τ' ἀπόλλυσσι) of the "fine words" of the Nurse (487). Thus as Phaedra moves closer to her doom, her would-be savior comes to embody the very power she would evade. In seeking to circumvent Aphrodite's destructive power, the Nurse only becomes her agent. Mortals fulfill Aphrodite's will by their very means of escape.

Phaedra's brief statement of continued resistance is met by the Nurse's accusation of σεμνότης (σεμνομηθεῖς, 490), haughtiness toward the gods and the necessities they represent, the same reproach as was made, for a similar reason, to Hippolytus (93ff.). Thus the fates of the two victims begin to converge in terms of the goddess who is destroying them. And at this point Phaedra begins to weaken, first in 498–99, and more significantly in 503ff.: Speak no further, she says; my soul is "subdued" (ὑπέτρωσμαι) to eros; if you go on, I shall be taken by that which I flee. The verb ὑπέτρωσμαι continues the violent, warlike imagery noted above (392ff.), especially if, as one commentator has claimed, the metaphor refers to the undermining of a town (though no such usage is clearly attested). The verb is also used, however, of plowing a field and thus metaphorically does take Phaedra back "to that which I flee," to Aphrodite the "sower [ἡ στείρουσα, 449] of eros," the giver of all generation on earth (448–50). It is not, of course, impossible that both metaphors, the violent and the sexual, are intended: the mixture of destructive and creative or procreative is essential to the ambiguity of Aphrodite's nature.

The Nurse, however, takes up her advantage and presses at the point where Phaedra is vulnerable, the charms, the magical and irrational, that which is beyond the strict logic by which Phaedra has held down her passion (see 391ff.). It is part of the tragedy of Phaedra's nature that she who maintained her strength of will and rational control for so long should yield so quickly to the irrational hopes held out by the Nurse. The surrender to the magical charms is the surrender of her reason, as the reversion to her childhood trust in the

Nurse is the surrender of her will.²⁸ She becomes a tragic exemplar of her own dictum (381–82):

τὰ χεῖστ' ἐπιστάμεσθα καὶ γιγνώσκομεν,
οὐκ ἐκπονοῦμεν δ' . . .

We know what is right and understand it, but do not fulfil it.

Thus Phaedra seizes upon these "love charms" (φίλτρα . . . θελητήρια ἔρωτος, 509–10) which she ignored shortly before (see 478–79); and asks, perhaps half-conscious of what her question implies, "Is the drug [φάρμακον] something to be used as ointment or to be drunk?" (516). At the beginning of her long speech previously, Phaedra had spoken confidently of her resolution and clear moral perceptions, affirming that no "drug" (φάρμακον) could make her change her mind (388–90). But now she has accepted, against her well-reasoned intention, a drug of a very different kind, one that vitiates her reason, indeed all rationality, and with it her life.²⁹ When her ruin is complete, the Nurse is to exclaim, "I searched and found

28. The point of Phaedra's surrender of her will to the Nurse is well made by Knox (note 5) 11: "She is now a child again, and the Nurse does for the grown woman what she had always done for the child—evades her questions, makes light of her fears, relieves her of responsibility, and decides for her." Phaedra, however, must still bear the guilt and the consequences of her acquiescence, passive though it may be, to the Nurse's scheme. Euripides leaves it ambiguous—intentionally, it would seem—as to what Phaedra thinks these pharmaka will do, dispel her passion or get her the man. The ambiguity is part of the complexity of her character and the delicate insight and subtlety of Euripides' handling of the *pharmaka* and Phaedra's submission to the Nurse is admirably pointed out by W. S. Barrett, *Euripides, Hippolytus* (Oxford 1964) on lines 507–24 (pp. 252–53); see also his comments on lines 509–12, 513–15, 516–21 (pp. 254–56). The complex entanglement of guilt and innocence in Phaedra are addressed at the end of the play too; see 1300–1301 and Barrett *ad loc.* (p. 399). On 1305 (ὄχι ἐκούσα) he remarks, "Those who believe that Phaedra consented in the end to the Nurse's scheme are doing so in the face of the poet's own denial: Artemis has no axe to grind for Phaedra, and her judgment here is certainly the poet's own."

29. These charms or drugs, like Phaedra's surrender of reason and life to Aphrodite's power, are to continue to work destructively upon Hippolytus, for he appears later in Theseus' eyes as a deceitful enchanter. Again, that which would save or cure only brings worse ills and deeper involvement in Aphrodite's design. The repetition of the theme of enchantment, moreover, perhaps suggests the same conquest of reason by passion working on Theseus as in Phaedra.

drugs [φάρμακα] for your disease—but not those I wished” (598–99).

And here, into this breach in Phaedra's will and reason, the destructive sea pours. The Nurse gives utterance to her hopes of saving her mistress with another invocation to Kypriis of the sea: “Only may you, Lady Kypriis of the sea, be a helper” (522–23). The phrase *δέσποινα ποντία Κύπρι* is identical (in verse-position also) with Phaedra's earlier invocation of the goddess in her tirade against adulterous wives (415) and makes clearer her tragic helplessness before the goddess and the ultimate weakness of resolve and reason: Phaedra is to become, through Kypriis, one of those women whom she has cursed in the name of Kypriis.

The repetition perhaps intimates also a certain ambiguity in this earlier resolve: even there, in the vehemence of her asseverations, Kypriis and the sea were acting upon her will, although it is by them that she swears her purity. The sea here is thus in part a psychological symbol, reflecting a complex subjective aspect of the protagonist. It reflects powerful drives operating inwardly but repressed.³⁰ In line 415 Phaedra attempts to transform into its opposite this element of sea-Kypriis latent in her; but here in line 522 it begins to emerge for what it is. In this sense the goddess whom the Nurse invokes as a “helper in the deed” (*συνεργός*, 523) has already been helping her from within Phaedra. She is the unconscious part of Phaedra's psyche which wishes to yield. On the level of the literal narrative, too, the invocation to Kypriis as a helper is deeply ironical: the Nurse has no idea how willing a helper the goddess already is and how destructive is the sea power by which she calls upon her.

It is with the sea, then, *ποντία Κύπρις*, that the first great crisis in the tragedy is reached. The following powerful chorus on Eros (525ff.) develops the theme of violence and human helplessness latent in the preceding scene (392, 399, 401, 470) and complements the destructive power of the sea with its opposite, *fire*. No missile of fire is more powerful than that of Eros (530–34). Eros gave Iole to Heracles amid blood and smoke (551). The union that joined Zeus and Semele for the birth of Dionysus was accompanied by the “fiery thunder” (*βροντᾶ ἀμφιπύρρῳ*) which took Semele's life (559ff.). In Semele, who is consumed by the fire of her lover and yet brings forth

the divine child, is imaged the fearful ambiguity of Kypriis as a generative and destructive force. Aphrodite breathes fearfully (*δεννά*) upon everything, and yet she is a bee, the maker of sweetness, that flits through the air (563–64).³¹ The fire, followed by the image of the bee flying, is perhaps to be associated with the presence of Aphrodite in the air. With the reference to the stars in line 530, these images continue to widen the scope of Aphrodite's power in accordance with her opening words in the prologue.

This power, fully revealed in its destructiveness, is now turned against the calm world of the past. The verb *στάζεις* (“drip,” 526) recalls the “rock dripping [*στάζουσα*, 121] the waters of Ocean” and the pure, clear waters of an untroubled domestic happiness in the *parodos*. Here, however, it is “desire” that is dripping, and the verb is also suggestive of the dangerous *pharmakon* through which Phaedra has yielded to the Nurse and Kypriis (516). The missile (*βέλος*, 530) is no longer the weapon of the pure hunter in the wild (222) but the fire-blazing dart hurled by Eros. The bee is here associated with the destructive, omnipresent Aphrodite, not the “untouched meadow” of virginity and Artemis (77). The horse, too, connected with Hippolytus' pure and austere life, is here an unambiguously erotic metaphor, joined with fire, blood, and (if the text is right) marriage-songs that bode disaster (545ff.). The elemental force of Kypriis thus invades and disturbs the calm world of Hippolytus and Artemis, of Troezen before Phaedra.

In the second antistrophe the violence of Eros is presented in dangerous proximity to spring-waters. The imagery of calm water is familiar from Hippolytus' speech on *aidos* (78) and the *parode*. Here the “mouth of Dirce,” the Theban fountain, is called upon as a witness to the fiery marriage and parturition of Semele. Yet it is not the clear water of Dirce alone that is called upon, but the “holy wall of Thebes” itself. The enclosed life of the town, with its traditions and sanctity, calm as the waters of its springs, is threatened, or at least awed, by Aphrodite's power. Nor is the introduction of Dirce and the Theban wall merely fortuitous, for Eros in the ode is truly a destroyer of civilizations, approaching like an army (see *ἐπιτορατεύση*, 527) with dreadful weapons (530), a sacker of cities (*πέρθοντα*, 541) bringing

31. Cf. also what the Nurse says of love in line 348: *ἦδιστον, ὦ παῖ, ταῦτόν ἀγγεῖνόν θ' ἄμα*.

30. For the theme of repression see Dodds (note 17) 102–4.

fire, smoke, blood (545ff.). Both the fire and the military imagery thus converge destructively upon human order as embodied in the city wall and the city springs.³² The ode thus universalizes the power of Eros and carries the implications of his impact beyond the individual life to human civilization as a whole. Yet at the end it leaves us with the delicate picture of the flitting bee.

At the dramatic climax of the play, where Phaedra and Hippolytus' personalities clash most directly, sea again becomes a controlling image. In his angry denunciation of women, Hippolytus reverts to the pure streams of his first speech (78): he will wash out his ears with "swift-flowing streams" (ῥυτοῖς νασμοῖσιν, 653), dashing the water into them (ἐξ ὄτρα κλύζων, 654). The purity of the streams belongs to his life as he has lived it hitherto, with its calm and serenity. Now, however, the flood has broken, and this past world is being transformed by the violence of Aphrodite. The word ῥυτοῖς "flowing," recalls the onrushing flood of Kypris (ῥυή "flow," 443); the κλύζων (properly of the dashing of waves, a violent word: see *Ag.* 1181-82) suggests the "sea-flood" of Kypris (θαλασσῶ κλύδωνι, 447-48); Hippolytus is led by his vehemence into the same kind of violence as that which has come from the sea-surge of the love goddess to overwhelm Phaedra. And this vehemence, of course, brings about his doom. He follows up this assertion by a characteristic, and equally disastrous, affirmation of his self-righteousness: "How then would I be evil who think that I am not pure if I but hear such things?" (654-55). Yet the impact of Aphrodite's violence upon his untroubled purity is perhaps reflected in his wish, shortly before, that women be allowed no maids but only "voiceless wild beasts" (ἄφθογγα . . . δάκη θηρῶν, 646-47). These beasts no longer belong to the innocent wild of Artemis; instead, the dangerous, passion-filled violence of Aphrodite begins to affect Hippolytus' world. Again there is an ironic connection between his own violence, wherewith he plays into Kypris' hands, and his coming destruction: his passionate outcry that a woman should have only voiceless companions will confirm Phaedra's suicide and her plan to leave behind a tablet that will "shout" (βοᾷ βοᾷ δέλτος ἄλαστα, 877) and "have voice" (φθεγγόμενον,

880). On another level, this violence is the force of Kypris latent in him; but because repressed, it emerges as its opposite, with overcompensation in the extravagance and virulence of his denunciations. At this point, then, the peaceful woodland of Hippolytus becomes touched by the sea world of Aphrodite and begins itself to become ambiguous, to turn against the hero as will his own horses later. In Phaedra's eyes, Hippolytus begins to become one of the wild beasts he hunts, sharing their cruelty and recklessness, their instinctive, unreflecting action. Earlier, when she first heard his denunciations, she associated him, by a verbal play, with his horse-loving Amazon mother, a creature of the wild, lacking ordinary womanly feelings (581-82: ὁ τῆς φιλίππου παῖς Ἀμαζόνος βοᾷ / Ἰππόλυτος . . . ; also 307-10). Then after his outburst, immediately upon her new resolve to die, she speaks of him as having "his mind sharpened by anger" (ὄργῃ συντεθηγμένως φρένας, 689). The verb is commonly used of wild boars sharpening their tusks savagely.³³ It thus reveals what Phaedra here sees in Hippolytus: the negative, inhuman aspects of the wild he loves. It is again part of the ironical ambiguity in which Hippolytus' world—and his goddess—are placed that later, in a striking metaphor, the tablets that Phaedra has left, which Hippolytus' extreme reaction has forced her to write, are said to "fawn upon" Theseus (προοσαίνουσι, 863). The wild animal is led to his doom by his very wildness, and the destroyer is the tame animal, the fawner. Hence, too, when Phaedra has formed her design, she swears the chorus to silence by "revered Artemis, daughter of Zeus" (713), the goddess of Hippolytus and the goddess of the untouched wild. This untouched wild, however, with what belongs to it, is so far only a secondary, though contributing, agent. It becomes active and dangerous only through its contact with and opposition to the surging sea. Sea is still the primary motive force, and Phaedra is to be its first victim. She who could barely "swim out" (470) of her troubles is now totally overwhelmed by the sea: her suffering is like a great flood "not to be passed" (δυσεκπέρατον) save at the cost of her life (677-78). The divine force behind the flood is hinted at in her desperate

33. See, e.g., *Il.* 11.416, 13.474-75; also *Eur. Phoen.* 1380: κάπροι δ' ὄπως θῆγοντες ἀγρίαν γένου; see *Aristoph. Lys.* 1255-56 and *Frogs* 815 with the scholion *ad loc.* These last three passages indicate that the metaphor was still concrete and vivid in the late fifth century. Cf. also *Aeschyl., Sept.* 715.

32. For the association of springs with the order and traditions of civilization, see *Od.* 17. 205-11. Compare also the association of the Trojan springs with peace and domesticity before the coming of war and the Greeks in *Il.* 22.147-56.

question, just before: "Who of gods or mortals would appear as ^{an} accomplice or an associate or a helper [ξυνεργός] in evil deeds?" (675-77). The ξυνεργός harks back to the Nurse's appeal to Seakypria (ξυνεργός εἴης, 522). Kypria has been a "helper" indeed, and the sign of her work is the rising sea.

In accordance with the pattern of alternating tension and relief in the play, this climax is followed by the so-called escape ode (732ff.), with its lyrical expression of flight over the sea and its expansive half-mythical geography that, temporarily, lifts us beyond the tragic locale with its concentrated action. The chorus would rise over the sea as a bird and come finally where the sea, or sailing, is not, "where the sea-ruler of the dark lake no longer permits a path to sailors" (744-45). Here, too, recur pure springs, the ambrosial springs of Zeus, recalling the pure, untroubled world presented early in the play. Sea and sky here meet in harmony (746-77), not the fearful clash that is to come (1207); and earth, too, joins in providing abundance and happiness (749-51). Yet this world, beyond passion and beyond violence, is a world for the gods alone; and with them the first strophic system significantly ends (εὐδαιμονίαν θεοῖς, 751).

Even this world of escape and divinity, however, knows suffering, but only because of a mortal's entrance into it. Hence the amberlike tears that "the unhappy sisters of Phaethon drip into the dark flood [οἶδα] of their father in pity for him" (738ff.). The swelling sea (οἶδα) as mortals know it means grief; but here, in this mythical, imaginary world, tears can be transformed into something precious and beautiful (ἡλεχτροφαεῖς, 741). The "dripping" (σταλάσσουσι) of tears, however, recalls the previous two odes—the peaceful dripping rock by the sea of the parode, and the dripping of desire into the eyes by Eros in the first stasimon. It suggests, then, even here the persistence of mortal suffering and the continuing power of Aphrodite working to destroy the calm past.

Similarly, the sea and sky that unite in the paradisiacal vision of the first strophe have been established from the very beginning of the play as the realm of Aphrodite. Hence in the second strophic system with the shift from the divine to the human world, the two elements, sea and sky, are united again but now for destruction rather than peace. The first words, "O white-winged Cretan bark" (ὦ λευκώπτερε Κρησία / πορθμίς) bring them together in a sinister associa-

tion.³⁴ we are reminded of the previous unhappy associations of a ship from Crete (155ff.; see 36) and indeed of Crete itself (cf. especially *παῖ Κρησία*, 372).

This sea, moreover, significantly carries Phaedra away from happiness (ὄλβιῶν ἀπ' οἴκων, 755), not toward it, as the sea of the first strophe. It is now stormy, violent: *κῦμ' ἀλίχτυπον ἄλμας* ("sea-beaten wave," 753); and the ship passes directly through, not over it. No wishful transport upon the air here. True, in the next lines (756ff.) the ship is said to have "flown" (ἔπτατο) like a bird, but it is a bird of ill omen (δύσορνις). It is, furthermore, moored to the harbor in Piraeus by "woven [πλεκτός] cables" that foreshadow the woven noose (770) with which Phaedra is to hang herself (note the emphasis on knots, figurative and literal, in 671, 774, 781).³⁵

In the antistrophe the destructive power of Aphrodite is made explicit (767), and with it the power of the sea; Phaedra becomes the boat swamped with water, overwhelmed by the sea: *ὑπέρανταλος* (which occurs only here in Classical Greek) is the word used.³⁶ The "white neck" about which Phaedra will fit the noose not only suggests the tragic waste of Phaedra's youth and beauty but also cancels, finally, the hope to escape the sea like a "winged bird" uttered in the first strophe (esp. 733; cf. also the "white-winged" bark in 752). The "hung-up noose" (*κρεμαστόν . . . βρόχον*, 770) evokes also the gruesome truth of Phaedra's "escape" into the air, the corpse swinging suspended above the ground (see also 779, *κρεμαστοῖς ἐν βροχῶς ἤρτημένη*, and 802). It is thus that she "flies away" (828-29); and the tablet that will continue her act of destruction is also "hanging" (*ἤρτημένη*, 857).

Thus—to come back to the escape ode—with the return to reality and to mortal men in the second strophe, the bird and the sea pass

34. The connection between the two parts of the ode through the adjective *λευκώπτερος* as the epithet of Phaedra's ship and the interconnected themes of the sea and flying are well noted by H. F. Graham, "The 'Escape' Ode in *Hippolytus* 732-75," *CJ* 42 (1947) 275-76.

35. The metaphor of the knot has been noted, in a different connection, by Wesley D. Smith, "Staging in the Central Scene of the *Hippolytus*," *TAPA* 91 (1960) 170.

36. Stephanus, *Thes. Ling. Graec.* defines it as follows: *Ναῦς ὑπέρανταλος, Cinius sentina, vel aqua per fatiscentes rimas illabente, vel tumidis fluctibus desuper infusis, tanta copia exundat ut intra limites contineri amplius, neque exhauriri possit, atque ideo periculum instet, ne mersa navis intereat.*

from being sources of hope to being instruments of disaster. It is therefore with the reality of Phaedra's passion that the ode ends. The chorus' concluding words about her "painful love" (*ἀλγυίνων ἔρωτα*) recall what the Nurse said about the two forms of love "sweetest and painful" (347). This love is to prove painful to Theseus too (*ἀλγυνοῦσαι*, 798; *ἀλγυστα*, 800). Phaedra has in a sense escaped this love, as the chorus says (*ἀπαλάσσουσα*, 774-75), but at the cost of her life. Thus there is no aspect of the universe that provides escape or refuge from Aphrodite. Phaedra, who would have escaped into the calm woodland (see 208ff.) is caught, *ὑπέραντλος*, by the sea, triumphant over its resisting victim; and the bird with which the chorus would escape the human reality becomes the omen of her death.

This presage of her death is at once fulfilled with the Nurse's cries (776ff.). Theseus enters at this point, and it is through him that the remainder of the tragedy will be executed. At the news he hurls to the ground his crown of leaves, woven together (*πλεκτοῖσι*, 807) like the cables of the ship that brought Phaedra across the sea to her doom (*πλεκτάς*, 761). The throwing down of this crown is also the sym-bolical counterpart to Hippolytus' presentation of the "woven crown" (*πλεκτὸν στέφανον*) to Artemis at his entrance, the scene from which the play's title, *στεφάνις*, derives. In both scenes, of course, the visual enactment would reinforce the verbal repetition; and the two events, as images of action, mark two cardinal points in the structure of the play. Theseus' act now shatters Hippolytus' peaceful life, symbolized in part by the crown gathered from the "untouched meadow" and offered to his goddess. The throwing down of the wreath by Theseus, standing as he does at the opposite pole of character and experience from his son, prefigures for Hippolytus the closing off and destruction of the world into which he has "escaped." The theme is thus analogous to the second strophe of the escape ode, with its forebodings of the realities to come; the weaving image (73, 761, 807) in fact connects all three passages. Significantly, then, when Hippolytus' death is imminent, the chorus sings that the resting-places of his goddess will henceforth be "without crowns" (*ἀστέφανοι*, 1137). In itself, of course, Theseus' flinging down of the sacred wreath of his *θεωρία* is ominous enough.³⁷ For him too it

37. For the crown motif and the *theoria* see Hans Herter, "Theseus und Hippolytos," *RhM* 89 (1940) 285-86.

marks the sudden and violent interruption of a peaceful life, the pleasant official and ritual duties that are a part of his kingly honor.

As the crown imagery looks back to Hippolytus and Artemis and the world that is being destroyed, so the following imagery points to the erupting forces, Phaedra and Aphrodite—the victim who is also the agent, and the superhuman power underlying all the action and all the destruction. Theseus bewails his loss thus (822-24):

κακῶν δ' ὦ τάλαις, πέλαγος εἰσορῶ
τοσοῦτον ὥστε μήποτ' ἐκνεῦσαι πάλιν,
μηδ' ἐκπεράσαι κύμα τῆσδε συμφορᾶς.

Alas, I behold a sea of troubles such as I shall never swim out of again nor pass beyond the wave of this disaster.

The language echoes Phaedra's earlier utterance of her subjection to the power of the sea (cf. *ἐκνεῦσαι*, 470; *δυσεκπέρατον*, 678) and suggests the gradual spreading of the calamity as the force of the sea and Aphrodite break forth as what they are.

Theseus, continuing his lament, addresses the dead Phaedra thus: "For like some bird you have gone off out of my hand to disappear, bounding in a swift leap to Hades" (828-29). This bird imagery continues the theme of the escape ode and, in conjunction with 822-24, marks the universal power of Aphrodite, manifest in both sea and sky. It denotes here not the fancy of escape but the closing in of the reality of the mortal world, not freedom and potentiality but bondage to the elemental forces of nature. The possibility of escape is cut off by death, the death for which the bird here stands. This now negative significance of the bird touches the future as well as the present, for when Theseus is about to read the tablet, the chorus, like a prophet (*mantis*), senses a bird of ill omen (*οἰωνόν*, 873).

Whatever hopefulness was previously associated with bird and sky now gives way to the destructive reality of sea as through Theseus it touches its new victim. Directly upon the chorus' presentation of disaster (873), Theseus reads the tablet and calls his woe "hard to pass beyond" (*δυσεκπέρατον*, 883), echoing Phaedra in 678 (this word occurs only in these two passages in Euripides' extant works). Then he utters the fatal words, "Hippolytus dared to touch my bed" (885), whereupon follows his curse, in terms of the sea: "Exiled from this

country, a wanderer to a foreign land, shall he bilge out [ἀντιλίσει] his bitter life" (898). This last metaphor, along with the preceding *δυσεκπέστων*, again take us back to Phaedra (cf. *ὑπέρονηλος*, 769). The repeated image thus extends her fate to Hippolytus and involves him, too, in subjection to the mounting power of the sea. There is more truth than Theseus knows in his first despairing words to his dead wife: "You destroyed rather than perished yourself" (*ἀπώλεσας γὰρ μάλλον ἢ κατέφθισο*, 839). But behind her it is Aphrodite who is the destroyer (*δόμιος ἀπώλεσεν*, 361, 487).

With Theseus the force of the sea is continued in its wild, irrational power, but now under another aspect: the violent, male anger associated with Poseidon, who fulfills Theseus' angry curse (887ff.). Just before Hippolytus' cool and rational defense, Theseus reiterates his decree of banishment by calling to witness "Sinis of the Isthmus" (977) and "the Skironian rocks that neighbor the sea" (*αἱ θαλάσση σύννομοι Σκιρωνίδες . . . πέτραι*, 979-80). The sea, in its connection with the Isthmian robber and the rock-dwelling tormenter of travelers, suggests the whole realm of cruelty and bitter experience that the wide-traveled Theseus has known, in contrast to the innocence of his woods- and mountain-loving son. These rocks too, unlike those by which the chorus of Troezenian women sang of their quiet, domestic tasks, belong in the world of violence and bloodshed which Theseus is calling down upon his son. Among these rocks, murder was violently done and violently punished. Here, then, the sea widens its symbolical range to include another manifestation of the instinctive life of man. With Theseus the two aspects of the sea converge and bear down together upon Hippolytus' peaceful world. The sea that Theseus calls upon thus creates a new contrast of innocence and experience, and in so doing it sharpens the tragedy of Hippolytus' undeserved punishment. He is at the opposite pole from "evil men," *kakoi*, like Sinis and Sciron; and the tragic irony of Theseus' introduction of his triumphs over these brigands is intensified by Hippolytus' repeated, if self-righteous, statements that he is not nor could be "evil" or "base" (*kakos*, 654, 1191).

The tragic irony deepens and foreshadows the peripety as Hippolytus shortly after, in averting that he is not *kakos*, calls upon the very sea that will destroy him: "Let neither sea [πόντος] nor earth receive my flesh if I have been an evil man" (*κακὸς ἀνήρ*, 1030-31). His oath only angers Theseus the more, who replies with a counter-

wish involving the sea: "If I could [I would drive you] beyond the sea and the limits of Atlas" (*πέραν γε πόντου τερμόνων τ' Ἀτλαντιῶν*, 1053).³⁸ This line is almost identical with Aphrodite's statement of her power in the opening lines (3). It thus marks the continuation through Theseus of her relentless, irrational force in the face of all logical arguments, of even the ties of blood and filial affection. It recalls, too, the chorus' hope to escape beyond the sea and sail to "the holy limit of the sky which Atlas holds" (746-47) and marks the cancellation of this hope by the reality that is growing ever stronger and more threatening. The allusion to this ode, moreover, provides another link between the fate of Phaedra, to whose situation the ode refers, and Hippolytus, who is gradually engulfed by the same power. These references back and forth and the pervasive power of the sea which they reveal show how unified a structure the play in fact is, how closely intertwined the two parts are, and how strongly into the second part persists the presence of the two female figures, Phaedra, dead, and Aphrodite, absent.

This complex evocation of the power of the sea at the point of Hippolytus' exile, with the echoes both of the escape ode and Aphrodite's initial statement of her power, also helps to focus and clarify a central theme in the play: man's attempt to escape from the demanding, often savage, realities of his world by excluding a part of it from his existence. In the climaxing tragedy of Hippolytus, it is his past world, the removed and limited environment of woods and mountains, which is analogous to the chorus' longing for escape, and like it, is confronted and destroyed by the implacable reality of the sea. His hunting, for example, recurs in a sinister context in Theseus' long tirade against him: "For they [hypocrites like Hippolytus] go hunting [θηρεύουσι] with solemn words, while devising disgraceful deeds" (956-57).

As has been shown above, it is with Phaedra and her passion that this change in the significance of his past pursuits begins, first in her longing for his world (208ff.) and more dangerously in the wild-animal imagery she uses to describe his violent behavior (689).

38. Murray reads *καὶ τόπων Ἀτλαντιῶν*, whereas there is equally strong, if not stronger, manuscript authority for *τερμόνων τ' Ἀτλαντιῶν* (accepted by Méridier) which would make the line practically identical with line 3. *Καὶ τότων* is poetically extremely weak, aside from making rather dubious sense. Even with Murray's reading, however, the reference back to line 3, and to 746-47, is unmistakable.

Through Phaedra, too, and the situation that she creates, his fondness for athletic contests (*ἀγῶνες*), which he sets above political power (1016ff.), takes on a sinister coloring. He is now involved in a much grimmer contest, one that is verbal, not physical, and in which it is his honor and his life that are at stake (*ἠγωνιζομην*, 1024; cf. *ἀμυλώμαι λόγῳ*, 971). This new contest, moreover, is the direct outcome of Phaedra's own contest, for she was engaged, said the Nurse, in a contest for her life (496), one that she lost by a "wrestling fall" of her own hand (*σῆς χερῶς / πάλαισιμα μελέας*, 814-15). Now this contest has spread to Hippolytus and transformed his free *ἀγῶνες* into something tense and dangerous. As Phaedra's language earlier reflected the inhumanity of Hippolytus as hunter, so the contest imagery, as developed in the *ἄμιλλα λόγων* with Theseus, reflects the human limitations of his athletic ideal: there are more serious contests in life which Hippolytus knows not of.

Still another image marks the collision of Hippolytus' world with Phaedra's (and Aphrodite's). The figure of disease, which is used exclusively of Phaedra in the first part of the play and is one of the most frequent metaphors there,³⁹ is here applied to Hippolytus. As he is forced to accept a contest as deadly as Phaedra's, so he becomes touched by the effects of her disease as they spread outward from her final act. Thus in the midst of his agon with Theseus, he exclaims, "We are afflicted [*ποσοῦμεν*], guiltless though we are" (933).

The disease image, transferred from the lovesick queen to the auster prince, has a further appropriateness, for his present calamity, viewed in terms of his previous life and his ideal of purity, is apparently as unrelated to justice and right as is a disease that spreads, irrationally and indifferently, from one victim to another. The Athenians knew well the irrationality and unpredictability of contagion from the plague of the preceding year (see esp. Thucyd. 2.51 and 2.53); and the extension of the *nosos* image from Phaedra to Hippolytus suggests a similarly uncontrollable irrationality in the multiplication of disaster.

The theme of wish versus reality, calm and limited past versus

39. For the *nosos* image see 40, 186, 205, 260, 279, 283, 293, 294, 394, 405, 463, 477, 479, 512, 597, 698, 730, 766 (a total of eighteen instances). It recurs in the second half of the play (aside from 933) only in 1306, significantly of Phaedra's passion, now revealed by Artemis. See also frag. 428 of the *Hippolytos Kalypptomenos*. For the image in general see Pohlenz (note 2) 1:273, with the note at 2:114-15.

expanding and dangerous present, is taken up again in the third stasimon (1102-50), sung at the moment of suspense between Hippolytus' departure for exile and the announcement of his death. Connected through this wish theme with the escape ode, this song, too, precedes a great disaster. The first strophic system creates a strong antithesis of hope and reality, the latter expressed, fittingly, by Hippolytus' austere companions (1102-10), the former by the gentler, more timid Troezenian women (1111-19).

Significantly, what immediately precedes the ode is another instance of man's inability to grasp the full, complex realities of his world and himself. Hippolytus leaves the stage in lines 1100-1101 shouting, "Never will you see another man more chaste [*σοφρονέστερον*], even if my father thinks not so." *Sophronesteron* is, of course, loaded with irony and ambiguity, for not only is this parting shot singularly devoid of *sophrosyne* but Phaedra, at the analogous point in her tragedy, had made her last spoken word a promise to teach Hippolytus *sophrosyne* (731)—for her not "chastity," as Hippolytus narrowly intends it, but "good sense," "soundness of mind," "moderation."

With Hippolytus' tragic and hybristic boast quivering in the air, the chorus of his companions turns sadly and finally from the hope in the divine realm voiced in their first song (61ff.) and reiterated in the escape ode to a more barren, but perhaps truer, view of reality (1102-10):

ἢ μέγα μοι τὰ θεῶν μελεδήμαθ', ὅταν φρένας ἔλθῃ,
λύπτας παρραιεῖ· ξύνεισιν δέ τιν' ἐλπίδι κεύθων
λείπομαι ἔν τε τύχαις θνατῶν καὶ ἐν ἔργμασι λεύσων·
ἄλλα γὰρ ἄλλοθεν ἀμείβεται, μετὰ δ' ἴσταται ἀνδράσιν αἰῶν
πολυπλάγητος αἰεὶ.

Thoughts on the gods [or, the gods' thoughts for us] when they come to my mind greatly diminish my griefs; but, though I hold understanding concealed in hope [or, hope for some (divine) Intelligence], I am left in the lurch in men's fortunes and acts as I gaze upon them. Things change with one another from every side, and men's life shifts about, full of wandering always.

The chorus thus turns back from hope (note also τὰ παρ' ἐλπίδα λεύσων, 1120) and from the infinite possibilities of the gods to the

bare, unprotected realities of human finitude, "men's fortunes and acts."

The women's chorus in the antistrophe (1111-19) cannot yet accept such a vision. They remain attached somehow to hope in the gods (εὐξαμένα θεόθεν, κτλ, 1111); and with a woman's hold on life they can still regard change and flux as not profoundly threatening. Their world is still essentially the warm and gentle sea of the parode. Thus they pray for good luck, wealth, the adaptability of their behavior to the situation, and the easy, pleasant acceptance of the "fortune" (*tychan*) of each day.⁴⁰

In wishing not to have a δόξα ἀρεκούς ("accurate opinion," 1115) they seem in fact to be rejecting the possibility of a clear, accurate view of the terrible reality with which they are being presented.⁴¹ The Nurse too, it will be recalled, warned with disastrous results against excessive "accuracy" (*akribēia*, 469; cf. 261) in moral conduct. In reechoing her warnings the women thus attempt to separate themselves as far as possible from the fates of the two protagonists who lived—and died—because of their over-precise, uncompromising approach to life (βίотου δ' ἀρεκεύς ἐπιτηδεύσευς, 261).

40. The division of the strophes of this chorus between the Troezenian women and the hunters has been made by Murray, following Verrall's suggestion, on the basis of the alternation of masculine and feminine participles. See Murray's critical note to vv. 1102ff. of his Oxford text. His division of the choruses has been generally accepted; see Grube (note 26) 190 n. 1. Barrett (note 28) 365-69 is reluctant to accept Verrall and Murray's division of the chorus at 1102ff. and inclines to suspect textual corruption. Yet his objection that Hippolytus' companions who appeared at 61-71 "are now away with his horses by the shore (cf. 1173ff.);" is not decisive. It would be natural for them to have come at the news of Hippolytus' accusation and then to exit after him. The time sequence is admittedly awkward, as Barrett points out, though it is highly dubious that the audience would be disturbed by such an inconsistency at this point. Even so, we need not assume that all of Hippolytus' companions follow him to the sea at once. Some could linger to commiserate his fate. The chorus of companions would also form a nice balance with Hippolytus' entrance. Their reappearance creates a bitterly ironical link between past innocence and present complexity, happiness and disaster. Through them Hippolytus' way of life seems to pass in review at the very moment when it is about to be destroyed in its totality. Note too the verbal parallels between the two scenes (with 1138-39 cf. 17. 64-65, 73-74).

41. The meaning of *doxa atrekes* is ambiguous, as Méridier (note 4) 72 n. 4 points out: "une opinion exacte (par suite *dépourvue d'illusions*), sur la réalité, ou: *des principes de conduite trop rigoureux* (comme ceux d'Hippolyte?)." Wilamowitz (note 6) preferred the former view in his translation, "Nicht verlangt mich zu tief in das Wesen der Dinge zu blicken," which seems to suit παράρημος better (he continues, "aber auch nicht in das Dunkel des Aberglaubens zu sinken").

Such accuracy is perhaps closer to a simplistic rigidity than a just appreciation of the total reality. It may be that *akribes* or *atrekes* in this sense carries some connotations of an aristocratic way of seeing the world, an undeviating devotion to a neatly circumscribed ideal. The Old Oligarch saw *akribēia* as an aristocratic quality (ps.-Xenophon, *Alb. Pol.* 1.5):

In every country the aristocracy [*to beltiston*] is opposed to the democracy, for in the aristocrats [*tois beltistois*] there is least licentiousness and injustice, but most accuracy [*akribēia*] about the good things; but in the common people there is most ignorance, disorder, and malice.⁴²

If this is so, then the chorus, following the path opened up by the plebeian Nurse, rejects the aristocratic desire to master the world in terms of well defined categories and absolutely valid aims, to see life clearly, simply, as conquerable by human excellence or *arete*. It is precisely because of the complexity of divinities like Aphrodite, Artemis, Poseidon, however, and the conflicting drives they instill in men that this simple view is doomed. To try to see a world wherein such powers are rampant through an ordered neatness or exactness of mind or will is *σημνότης*—an accusation, it will be remembered, brought against both Phaedra and Hippolytus.

Yet the chorus' solution, though perhaps more feasible than that of the two protagonists, serves only to evade the problem and hence to sidestep involvement in a heroic attitude and a tragic fate. Though far from the Nurse's attitude of practical expediency, the women of the chorus are proven similarly inadequate to grasp and deal with the reality. They prefer to live day by day without, as it were, looking life in the face. Their wish for "a mind untouched [*ἀνήστων*] by pain" (1114), however, recalls, as noted earlier, the "untouched meadow" (76-77) of Hippolytus' past life, the simple happiness now about to be destroyed. In this context the word "untouched" adds an ironical warning note that vitiates the optimism of their prayer and their wish for escape.

Yet in their retreat into wish here and in the earlier ode, they are portrayed, as in the parode also, with a sympathetic humanity. They

42. I am grateful to John Finley of Harvard University for calling my attention to this passage.

failed to save Hippolytus—which, presumably, they could have done—as they failed to respond decisively to the first news of Phaedra's death (776ff.). But in these failings they are shown simply with the natural weakness of the mass of men, accepting the pleasures of their daily existence and ever seeking an escape from the elemental realities of their world.

In the second strophic system, however, the clash between past and present, between Hippolytus' severe pursuits and his disgrace and approaching death, is made as sharp as possible. All the aspects of his previous world are recalled at the point of their destruction: the sands by the shore, the mountain groves, the hunts and Dictynna (1126-30), the horse racing by Limne (1131ff.), the crowns he gave to Artemis (1138), the deep green wood (βαθέϊαν ἀνὰ χλόαν, 1139; cf. χλωρῶν δ' ἄν' ὕλην, 17). All the parts of his life which have been sheltered from the turbulence of Kypriis are destroyed by her; her power and that of the sea have destroyed his refuge. These haunts and pursuits recur now to mark the end of his innocence and his full exposure to the violence of Aphrodite's power. At the same time, their restatement here indicates the relentless progress of Aphrodite through the tragedy, for most of these aspects of Hippolytus' life were presented first either in connection with Phaedra's subjection to Aphrodite (so Dictynna, 145) or actually through her eyes at the height of her love sickness (the sands by the shore, 234; the hunt, 215ff.; the horse racing by Limne and Venetian colts, 228ff.). The verbal echoes thus mark the turning of Phaedra's love destructively upon Hippolytus and his world. The beginning of his disaster is thus brought full circle with its end as Phaedra's involvement of him in her love, now become hate, is complete.

Her passion, her lovesick dreams and longings, embraced the whole of Hippolytus' world, his surroundings, his activities (see 208ff.). But she can grasp them only in dream or in wish. When she seeks to possess them in their reality, her passion destroys them and the life they make up. The meeting of their two worlds is perhaps symbolized and dramatized by the joining of the two choruses here, one of Phaedra's women companions, the other of Hippolytus' fellow-hunters. Yet together they can sing only of the loss of the simpler past; and presumably it is this chorus of hunters which will bring in Hippolytus' mangled body. When the two worlds become intertwined, they destroy one another. The joining of the choruses per-

haps marks the interlocking of the two fates, a symbolical sharing of the double tragedy. In a sense Phaedra is as much Hippolytus' victim as he is hers. Yet the destruction of his world is more complete, or at least more completely dramatized. It cannot bear the full weight of complex reality which Phaedra brings to bear upon it.

The chorus ends by echoing Hippolytus' previous affirmation of his innocence (οὐδὲν ἄτας ἄϊτιον, 1149; see οὐδὲν ὄντως ἄϊτιοι, 933); and almost in the same breath they announce the arrival of the Messenger. The climax that has been long awaited and has been seen gradually building up now bursts full upon us. Euripides uses this Messenger's speech not to introduce a crisis in the middle of the play but to state the finality of the outcome. The speech thus produces the sharpest possible juxtaposition of calm past and violent present, of woodland and sea, wish and reality, before the final catastrophe and the loss of all hope.

Before his long account of the disaster itself, the Messenger re-introduces the theme of prayer, or wish, in referring back, almost by way of prologue, to the curses Theseus called down upon his son, "the curses of your mouth which you prayed for to the lord of the sea concerning your son" (1167-68). Theseus replies with an invocation to the gods and Poseidon for hearing his "prayers" (κατενυγιάζω, 1169-70); and the tale of Hippolytus' death follows at once (1173ff.). The connection of prayer and sea, however, recalls both Hippolytus' imprecation, "Let neither sea nor earth receive my flesh . . ." (1030) and Theseus' wish to drive Hippolytus "beyond the sea and the limits of Atlas" (1054). Wish, the sea, and Poseidon take us back also to the escape ode, where Poseidon as ruler of the sea was hopefully included (cf. ποντομέδων, 743-44; πόντου κρέοντι, 1168). Yet only the destructive prayers are fulfilled. The prayers that become reality are the deadly ones, and their fulfillment implies something about the reality in which men live or can hope to live.

The scope of the power of the sea and another level of contrast with what it destroys are suggested in the Messenger's opening words to Theseus: he calls him, naturally enough, ruler of the land (γῆς ἀνακτα, 1153) and declares that he has to relate a matter of importance "to you and the citizens who dwell in the city of the Athenians and the limits of the Troezenian land" (1158-59). Theseus is thus summoned in his political or social capacity, and the disaster is presented as one of political as well as merely personal significance. He, as ruler of the

land, and the ordered society he represents are confronted by Poseidon "lord of the sea." We are reminded of the similar opposition in the first stasimon on Eros, "sacker of cities" (541), bringer of fire and smoke, his power attested even by "the holy wall of Thebes" and the spring of Dirce (555-61). Both Poseidon and Eros embody forces outside civilization which civilization is forced, with pain, to recognize.

The Messenger's speech then sets forth in detail this elemental power. It begins at once with the sea not as something remote from our land-based existence but in its closest contact to human life, "the sea-receiving shore" (*ἀκτῆς χωμοδέγμωνος*, 1173), the place where its force ever dashes unspent (note *χωμοδέγμων*: it is waves that the shore receives here, not just swirling sand as in 151). The shore by which the women washed, where Hippolytus trained his horses, here becomes a dangerous place of contact with elemental powers, a border country between land and sea, order and violence. The opposition is sharpened through the fact that the shore of Hippolytus' horse racing in the previous chorus was described as *πολυῆτις* (1126) and hence was associated with man's civilized life, the life of the polis. The shore by which he is killed, however, is fully exposed to the savage, open sea: it lies "beyond this land, already toward the Saronic sea" (*τοὔπέκεινα τῆσδε γῆς / πρὸς πόντον ἤδη κειμένη Σαρωνικῶν*, 1199-1200). This shore, therefore, now reveals the destructive potentialities that lie just beyond it. At the moment of the terrible apparition, when Hippolytus' companions looked "toward the sea-roaring shores," land is concealed by the sea: "The Skironian shores" and the Isthmus and "Asclepius' rock" are all "hidden" by the swelling sea and the foam rushing toward the shores (1210ff.).

As land is overwhelmed by sea and as the border-ground between them becomes a place of violence and destruction, so human control and reason are overborne by the same power. Hippolytus' futile attempts to control the maddened horses are described in the metaphor of a sailor pulling on the oar (1221) or a steersman directing his course by the rudder (1224, 1227). The imagery here suggests the total engulfment by the sea: he is, literally as well as metaphorically, no longer upon the familiar, sheltered land he knows. All has become sea. He is thus made to share the fate of the (figuratively) shipwrecked and drowning woman who has destroyed him. Metaphor and reality are interchanged with a terrible oscillation, for while the

imagery here completes all the previous images of shipwreck and sailing, it is, at the same time, literal reality. The chorus' earlier hope to escape sea and sailing (743ff.) is thus totally frustrated, for the "sailor" is destroyed not only by the sea but by his own "ship." And their wish to escape to a peaceful shore (*ἀκτῆ*, 737, 742), the fabled "apple-bearing coast of the Hesperides" (742), is ended on the shore of their own land.

With the sea, other elements of nature are released in their violence. The fire associated with the destructive force of Eros in the first stasimon (525ff.) is present in the horses' "fire-born" (*πυργενῆ*, 1223) bits, which no longer serve as a check or control but only add to the breaking forth of elemental violence.⁴³ Sky, like fire an opposite of sea but forming with it the stated realm of Aphrodite's power (2ff.), joins violently in the wave's dash against the heavens (*κύμ' οὐρανῶ στήριζον*, 1207). And finally the rocks by the sea, once the calm place of untroubled womanly tasks, reveal their sinister potential in mangling the horse-drawn body (*πέτρῳ*, 1233; *σποδούμενος μὲν πρὸς πέτραις*, 1238; also *λεπταίας . . . χθονός*, 1248). These rocks then, like the shore itself, lose their association with the gentleness and order of civilized life and become connected instead with the cruel, pain-filled rocks in the name of which Theseus banished Hippolytus and sent him to his death (see 977ff.; Pind, *Pyth.* 2, 41ff).

Here, then, all the aspects of the natural world, even elemental opposites, draw closer together and destroy the peaceful, innocent life that man, though in their midst, hopes to live among them. Through them Euripides suggests the contiguity of this elemental violence, whether within man or without, with the ordered structure of human life, and the fineness of the barrier that keeps the two realms apart.

The irruption of Aphrodite's power into the human world breaks down this barrier and transforms the once familiar environment—the shore, the rocks, the horses—into something savage and destructive.

43. Norwood (note 2) 93, notes the unusual elaboration of this description of the sea (esp. 1205ff.) and suggests that in adjectives like *πυργενῆ* Euripides is imitating Sophoclean diction. Euripides, of course, doubtless wished to make his presentation of the sea here, at the high point of the tragedy, as splendid and powerful as possible. Yet in the light of the previous imagery, *πυργενῆ* may be more than a mere epitheton *otmans*.

The horses, once the restraint of rational control is broken (see 1218ff.), become wild animals, no longer recognizing the human master who has fed and cared for them (1240); and they, like the Bull (ἄγριον τέρας, 1214), disappear afterward (1247–48). They thus revert to their original wild state and share the destructive wildness of the Bull. Ironically, Hippolytus' scorn of Aphrodite was first shown through his care of his horses (see 110ff., where he turns away from the old servant's appeal on her behalf with a command to his followers to care for the horses). He would use for his own chaste purposes these mettlesome, unstable creatures. Yet as instruments of her vengeance they recall the stringency of her demands and the persistence of her destructive will. Since the horses, as noted earlier, are an erotic symbol in the play, they can also fittingly serve as conduits of Aphrodite's power. They are, in fact, elsewhere associated with the goddess (see Sappho, frag. 2, v. 9 [Lobel-Page] and Schol. on *Il.* 2.820). Her part in the rising up of the sea, however, is suggested not only in the horses but also in the tossing up of foam (ἀφρόν, 1210), popularly connected with the goddess' name (*aphros*—Aphro-dite). Her presence here in sea and foam becomes explicit in the following ode (1268ff.).

The horse, however, is associated also with Poseidon who, as Hippios, god of horses, is a god of male sexuality and fertility (note the legends of his coupling with Demeter in the form of a horse, Paus. 8.25.5ff., 8.42.1).⁴⁴ In addition to these legends of the stallionlike virility of Poseidon there are other connections of the horse with wild and exuberant male sexuality: the horse-tailed satyrs, often ithyphallic, on the vases of the sixth and fifth centuries and the lecherous, violent Centaurs on the west pediment at Olympia and on the Parthenon metopes (the hybridic licentiousness of the latter is also a theme of tragedy: cf. the role of Nessus in Soph., *Trach.* esp. 1095–96; also Eur., *HF* 181; Pind. *Pyth.* 2. 41ff.).

The Bull, of course, is an obvious sexual symbol and, like the horse, is also associated with Poseidon (both bulls and horses are regularly sacrificed to him). Yet its significance in the play may be

44. For Poseidon Hippios and Demeter see also Pausan. 8.37.9–10. For Poseidon's connection with sexuality, fertility, and vegetation (as *Phytalmios*) see in general the recent study by Bernard Dietrich, "Demeter, Erinys, Artemis," *Hermes* 90 (1962) 129ff., 134–36. Dietrich notes also the connection of the horse, through its association with fountains and water, with vegetation and fertility.

more complex. Though the Bull is a direct result of Poseidon's intervention, its appearance is also a continued manifestation of Aphrodite's power, for it recalls the bull of Pasiphae, Phaedra's mother. Phaedra herself referred to the legend earlier, for her sex-ridden, guilt-laden ancestry comes out when she confesses her love for Hippolytus (337–38)

Phaed. Alas, mother, what a love you loved.

Nirse. The love she had for the Bull, my child? Or what is this you mean?⁴⁵

Here, then, the force of her love and the violence it has released are again called up in the Bull. Yet in Pasiphae's bull, too, are fused, in sinister fashion, the angered powers of both Poseidon and Aphrodite. Pasiphae's love for the bull was attributed to both divinities. In one version Aphrodite sent it to punish her; in the other (followed by Euripides in the *Cretans*) Poseidon sent it to punish Minos.⁴⁶

In the Bull are summed up not merely the powers of Aphrodite and Poseidon but all the violent instincts within human life and the natural world: the passion of Phaedra, the anger of Theseus, the tenuous basis of control over such domesticated animals as the horse. The Bull serves as the symbolic extension of the bestial element in man, his insatiable lusts and unreasoning anger. It recalls too the Minoan passion, pride, and savagery in Phaedra's heredity which Aphrodite could work upon. There is indeed something Minoan—and something animal-like—in the way Phaedra has died: her passionate determination to protect her name and her children, and her wild, ruthless desire to be avenged. Her action came from the springs of her instincts, with its roots in her ancestry (myth makes both Pasiphae and Minos headstrong, passionate, and ruthless; and the *paternal* part of

45. For the connection of the Bull of the Messenger's speech with Pasiphae's bull, see Winnington-Ingram (note 2) 175 with note 2 and 196: "Pasiphae's bull is, symbolically speaking, the same bull that came out of the sea to destroy Hippolytus (and the same bull with which Pentheus wrestled in the *Bacchae*)."

46. Aphrodite's connection with Pasiphae's bull is asserted in Hyginus, *Fab.* 40, with Poseidon's in Apollodorus, 3.1.3–4. See also J. G. Frazer on the latter passage in the Loeb Classical Library ed. (London 1921) 1:305 n.3. Also "Pasiphae" in Roscher (note 18) 3.2 (1902–9) 1668. For Euripides' treatment of the legend in the *Cretans*, see D. L. Page, *Select Papyri*, 3: *Literary Papyri*, *Poetry*, Loeb Classical Library (London 1950) 71ff.

Phaedra's heritage should not be forgotten: Minos also had certain irregularities in his sexual life, *ingitur semper nefas*). The Bull serves to connect Hippolytus' doom with the deepest roots of Phaedra's passion, and, through her, with Aphrodite's anger.

At the same time, the Bull is the objectification of Theseus' anger, wild, charging blindly, yet an anger also rooted in Aphrodite, in the most primitive and instinctive form of sexual rivalry and jealousy— that between father and son. Theseus is himself strongly subject to Aphrodite: he is a man of passion and a strong sexual temperament, whose numerous amours are well known (Hippolytus is himself the fruit of one of them!). He is, as would be expected, keenly sensitive to the power of sexual desire in men (τὸ δ' ἄρσεν αὐτοῦς ὠφέλει ποο- κείμενον, 970, and, in general, 966ff.). It is partly his own temperament, lustful and passionate, which makes him incapable of believing Hippolytus innocent. Thus, as L. E. Matthaei long ago remarked, "Theseus, in a sense, replaces Phaedra and exhibits the malignant aspect of Aphrodite's power in another form."⁴⁷ The Bull is the symbol of this new form: as a psychological symbol it is the product of his sexual jealousy and violent anger. Like Aphrodite, it is born from the churning foam and springs from the symbolical reservoir of elemental forces in the play, the sea.

It is, however, the horses that are the immediate instruments of Hippolytus' death, and the interplay between horses and Bull, on the symbolic level, is complex. Both, through their association with Poseidon, are connected with male sexuality; yet the horses throughout the play are ambiguously connected both with Hippolytus' virgin pursuits and with sexual desire. They are associated with virginity in the metaphor of the virgin as the untamed or unyoked colt or filly (πῶλον ἄζυγα, 546; κόραι γὰρ ἄζυγες γάμων, 1425, of the girls who will sing of Hippolytus' fate). Hence the patron of this horse racing is Artemis, or Dictynna, the virgin goddess (228ff., 1126ff.). So, too, Hippolytus' mother, the Amazon goddess devoted to a rigorous and chaste life, is scornfully called "horse-loving" by the sexually preoccupied Phaedra (581). Yet in the first two instances of the metaphor the maidens are about to give up their virginity (and in the former, through the violence of Eros himself), and in the third, the Amazon's chastity has been violated. In their connection with maidens who are

about to know Eros, therefore, the significance of the horses is ambiguous. Hippolytus keeps them in the service of the maiden Artemis, but the impact of the full sexual passion and anger of Phaedra and then of Theseus disturbs the delicate balance in Hippolytus' control over them. It forces him to drive too close to the dangerous border between the two realms, the sand and the sea, Artemis (see 234ff., 1126) and Aphrodite or Poseidon.

It would be perhaps too extreme an application of the symbolism to see in the affrighted horses fleeing before the Bull the inability of Hippolytus' limited way of life to withstand the reality of the sexual forces he has always denied. Through the horses, nevertheless, he is destroyed by a part of his own life, by something he has reared himself and always believed he could control yet perhaps did not fully understand. When confronted by the power of the sea and the monster it produces, he is unable to maintain control and is killed. In the destruction the horses show their other side and in their released wildness become the actual instruments of the disaster. Thus Hippolytus' destruction comes both from something that is within his world and from something outside of it, something that is basically akin to himself (his very name adumbrates the connection and the tragedy—*furiis direptus equorum*)⁴⁸ and something that is antithetical to himself, which he has rejected as foreign to his nature.

It is the interplay between the opposites, however, which gives his fate, and the whole tragedy, its richness. The Bull triggers the latent wildness in the horses, as Theseus had triggered the mounting savagery of the sea. Yet Phaedra, with whom the whole is set into motion, had found in and elicited from Hippolytus a wildness and animal-like cruelty (see above) for which he is to pay manyfold. Thus in a sense the Bull, the ἄγριον τέρας, is of his own creation. From another point of view, it could be seen as the projection of his own sexuality, suppressed but returning back upon him with redoubled, irresistible force, before which flight and dismemberment—both physical and psychological, like Pentheus—are the only results. But Hippolytus is not a Pentheus. His character has still a wholeness, nobility, and

48. Ovid, *Fasti*, 3.265, *Met.* 15.542-44. See also Verg. *Aen.* 7.767, *turbatis distractus equis*. On the connections made in antiquity between his name and his fate see "Hippolytos" in Roscher (note 18) 1.2 (1886-90) 2683; also Wilamowitz (note 6) 95-96; Herter (note 37) 275.

47. Matthaei (note 9) 105.

humanity through which he can retain a hold upon life long enough to redeem his previous inhumanity by a deepened understanding and a broader generosity.

There is, however, an ironical justice, worthy of the spiteful Aphrodite, in the destruction of the virgin protagonist by this creature of proverbial virility and sexual appetite. The justice—or injustice—involved is reflected in another of the images associated with the Bull and the sea: the terrible sound. Hippolytus earlier cried out that “voiceless [ἄφθογγα] wild animals” should associate with women (645–46), but it was the voiceless tablet that “shouted” and “gave voice” (877ff.). When accused, however, he calls upon the house—δῶματα, the house Aphrodite has destroyed (361, 487)—to give voice (φθέγγμα) to his innocence (1074–75). To this Theseus replies with irony that he is taking flight to “voiceless” (ἄφώνους) witnesses (1076) and that “the deed, without speaking, lays information” that he is base (1077). The final answer, however, comes from the resounding sea (ἠχώ, βαρὺν βρόμον, 1201–2) and the terrible voice (*phthongos*, 1205; *phthegma*, 1215) with which the whole earth resounds (ἀντεφθέγγετο, 1216). Again, the savagery of his earlier statement about voiceless beasts (645f.) returns upon him redoubled. It is her deed (see 581–82 and 692: πλήσει τε πάσαν γαίαν αἰσχίστων λόγων). And Hippolytus’ own shouting in his interview with the Nurse is perhaps not unlike Theseus’ roar of anger when he reads the tablet (877ff.). Thus again the roar of the Bull is, at least in part, his own creation. It is the composite of all the anger and passion—Phaedra’s, Theseus’, Hippolytus’—which men can release in their moments of unreason, when the primitive animal roar of pain or wrath breaks forth before the articulate human voice can find form for utterance. Hence the voice Hippolytus calls for (1074–75) comes back not as a human voice, speaking truth and justice, but as a bestial roar that drowns out justice, reason, intelligible human speech.⁴⁹

Euripides’ use of the Bull in close connection with the sea thus involves a complex range of associations. Theseus had prayed to

Poseidon only to kill his son, not specifying the form; and presumably Hippolytus might have been killed by the sea alone, as was the case in a Troezenian version of the legend.⁵⁰ The Bull, however, springs from the sea almost as the spontaneous product of the desires and passions generated among the chief characters. At the same time the Bull’s sexual symbolism expands and deepens the psychological complexities of Hippolytus’ character and his tragedy. It belongs to a level of man’s instinctive life which Hippolytus would deny or repress. It is the embodiment of everything that is not human, yet it is man who calls it up out of the sea.

With the destruction of Hippolytus, Aphrodite’s power is restated in its most triumphant and inclusive form. The ode of 1268–81 recognizes her “queenly honor” and power over all the elements of the world:

You, O Kypris, lead the unbending mind of gods and of mortals, and with you flies Eros with wing of many hues, casting about [them] his swiftest wing. He flies over the earth and the deep-sounding salt sea. And upon whose maddened heart he rushes winged with light of gold, him he charms, even the young wild beasts of the mountains and of the sea and all that the earth nourishes and the blazing sun [reading αἰθόμενος] looks upon, and men: over all these, Kypris, in your queenly honor you alone rule.

Again sea is fused with sky, for here, after the manifestation of her power in the sea, in the Messenger’s speech, her companion Eros is likened to a bird, ποικίλόπτερος, flying with “swiftest wing” (1270–71). The passage evokes the previous bird imagery, especially its association with flight and escape (see esp. 731ff.), now proved futile by the power of winged Eros (1272–73). The Nurse’s words about Aphrodite in the sea-surge (447–48) are proved more completely and terribly true than she could know. Her subsequent words, πάντα δ’ ἐκ ταύτης ἔφυ, κτλ. (“Everything has its birth from her,” 448–50), are also here recalled, on a much deeper and more inclusive level

50. For the Troezenian version of Hippolytus’ death see Pausanias 2.32.10 and in general Carl Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage II* (in L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* 2.2) 4th ed. (Berlin 1921) 740 with n.2. The Bull, however, would seem to have been an integral part of the legend in Athens by Euripides’ time, and Plutarch (*Thes.* 28) attests that the version of the story in the various tragedians was substantially the same. See also Preller–Robert, 743 with n.3.

49. It is interesting in this connection that Strabo (10.2.19, 458C) gives the roaring as one of the reasons why rivers (esp. the Achelous) were likened to bulls. See also R. C. Jebb, *Sophocles: The Plays and Fragments*, Part 5, *Trachiniae* (Cambridge 1894), on line 11.

(1276–80). Aphrodite's realm thus includes not only the basic elements of sea and sky but all aspects of the natural world. The "mountain creatures" point back once more to Hippolytus' quiet mountain retreats and the animals he hunted, now too overwhelmed by and subjected to Aphrodite, as the horses and the land in the preceding scene were overwhelmed by the sea.

This chorus echoes not only the Nurse's words (447ff.) but Aphrodite's own speech that opens the play. Here, as there, her power is said to extend over both gods and mortals (cf. 1–2 and 1268), sea and sky; and the end of the ode reminds us that the power and honor (*κράτη*, 5; *τιμώμενοι*, 8) which she demanded of men are now acknowledged to the full (*βασιληίδα τιμάν*, 1280; *μόνα κρατύνεις*, 1282).

In the play, of course, it is the recognition of her power by men that is the central theme, and hence they are given special emphasis in the enumeration of the spheres of her dominion. They come, emphatically, last in the series at the beginning of a verse (1280). The position of the phrase itself, however, leaves somewhat ambiguous the reference of the words that come immediately after: *ἀνδρας τέ συμπάντων βασιληίδα τιμάν / Κύπρι*, *τῶνδε μόνα κρατύνεις* ("and men; over all these, Kypris you alone rule in queenly power," 1280–81). The more obvious and immediate reference of "all those whom you, Kypris . . . rule" is probably all the aspects of the physical world here enumerated. It is also possible (though admittedly less likely with *συμπάντων*) to take the reference to be to "all men," both those who openly admit her power and those who deny it.

The ode occurring at this crucial point presents also a dramatic and essential duality in Aphrodite's nature. This ambiguity is deepened in the stress upon birds and flying, for previously, too, the bird imagery had an ambiguous significance, expressing both man's hope for escape to a world of untroubled beauty (731ff.) and the reality of death (see 828ff. and cf. *λευκόπτερος*, 752, of Phaedra's ship, with *ποικιλόπτερος* here, 1270). The epithet *χρυσόφαις* (1275) recalls also the amber tears shed for Phaeon in the beautiful West (*ἡλεκτροφαεῖς*, 741). Yet those gentle tears there still belonged to a human world full of sorrow and compassion, whereas the brightness of Eros here has no relation to human feelings. It simply marks his power over all of creation, including men. The beauty of Eros—and Aphrodite—thus stands out only the more sharply against the destruction they have caused; and it

is significant for the meaning of the tragedy that Euripides has placed this rich ode on their beauty and their creative agency in all of life at the point where their destructive potentialities have been most in evidence.

Artemis' entrance here, immediately after the hymn to Aphrodite, is something of a *coup de théâtre*. It also reemphasizes the basic conflict of the play, the opposition of the two goddesses, at the point when that opposition has completed its destruction of human life. Yet even Artemis continues to bear witness to the power of the sea, blaming Theseus' use of his gift from his "sea father" (*πατήρ . . . πόντιος*, 1318) and exclaiming to him, at the end of her speech, "these evils have broken upon you" (*σοὶ τὰδ' ἔρρωγεν κακά*, 1338). This verb from Homer on is used of the breaking of waves. Aeschylus' *Persians* (433) provides a close parallel: *κακῶν πέλλαος ἔρρωγεν*.

In recalling the sea, moreover, the goddess who has come ostensibly to soothe the pain of the human tragedy also takes up the familiar theme of the closing off of escape. She addresses Theseus aggressively thus (1290–93):

How will you not hide your form in shame beneath the earth or taking wing upward [*πτηνὸς ἄνω*] not change your life and hold your foot outside of this grief.

The familiar image of flight here reflects the total impossibility of the once longed-for escape now that disaster and grief have closed about the human protagonists. The sky that Hippolytus invoked with his goddess at the beginning (*οὐρανίαν Ἀρτέμιν*, 59–60), connected perhaps with his own form of escape from the complex reality of human life, is now possessed, like the sea, by the opposite and rejected power.

The final opposition between this broader, more violent reality and the unreality of the previous wishes is again stated, in the exodos, through the theme of prayer. What both Theseus and Hippolytus pray for now is death. When Theseus hears Artemis' words he can only utter *δέσποιν'*, *δλοίμην* (1325), echoing perhaps the *δλοίμην* of Hippolytus' oath that Theseus would not believe (1028). Hippolytus himself now prays for death to come as healer, *Παῖάν* (1373), and for Hades to bring him to his final rest (1386ff.), while Theseus wishes again to die, to be a corpse instead of his son (1410).

Hippolytus' last wish, however, is both the most impossible and the most terrible. Hippolytus wishes men could curse the gods, ἔθ' ἤν ἄραϊὸν δαίμοσιν βροτῶν γένος (1415). This wish, coming from the "pious" (1419) Hippolytus, takes even Artemis aback, and she cautions, ἕασον (1416). Yet while the most fanciful of all the wishes, it is, in a sense, the most real and tragic statement in the play. It completes now his companions' earlier hesitation about a divine Providence or Intelligence (1102ff.) and reflects the total futility and helplessness of human effort and aspiration, all of man's bitterness and despair toward a universe in which he can see nothing but preciously destructive, jealous, and pitiless powers.

Prayer, then, becomes, at the last, curse, and as such recalls the curses (ἄραϊ, 888, etc.; cf. ἄραϊὸν here) which Theseus called down upon his son. It sums up the futility of wish and prayer, perhaps of hope itself. All the wishes turn out to be totally impossible of fulfillment (as in the escape ode); or else they are fulfilled only if they are destructive (Theseus' curse, Hippolytus' oath in 1028ff.); or, if positive, they are fulfilled in a negative way. Thus Hippolytus' prayer to Artemis at the beginning (85-87),

With you I associate and converse with words, hearing your voice but seeing your face not. And as I began, so may I round the end of my life [τέλος δὲ κάμψαιμι ὥστερ ἠρξάμην βίου].

is fulfilled with a bitter reversal at the end. Hippolytus does, in a sense, end his life as he began, conversing with Artemis and "seeing her face not" (see 1391ff., where the dying youth infers his goddess' presence from the perfume—ὃ θεῖον ὀσμῆς πνεῦμα—but presumably cannot see her: cf. also Soph., *Ajax* 14ff.). Yet his τέλος βίου is far different from what he has prayed for, and fulfillment has come not through the goddess to whom he prayed but through her opposite, to whom he refused prayer. All hope to escape reality is thus confronted with a more basic and bitter reality. The only thing men can pray for in the end is death or the power to curse the gods, which is tantamount to cursing life.

It is, of course, in Aphrodite that the complex nature of this incapable reality is reflected, though Artemis will play Aphrodite's role in some future tragedy (1420ff.). Hence this last part of the play also adumbrates the ambiguity of the love goddess. Love and death fuse in

Hippolytus' appeal for death in language that recalls the erotic roots of his disaster. He speaks of his "love [ἔραμαι] for the double-edged spear [λόγχας]" to put to sleep (ἐνᾶσαι) his life (1375ff.; cf. also κομᾶσαι, 1386). The longing for the spear recalls Phaedra's desire for it at the beginning of the play (ἐπίλογον, 221; ἔραμαι, 219, etc.). Artemis speaks of his being yoked (συνεζύγης, 1389) to his disaster, an image with familiar erotic associations (ἄζυγα, 546; ἄζυγες, 1425). Finally, when Hippolytus is about to die, his request, "raise my body" (κατόρθωσον δέμας, 1445), echoes the languor of the lovesick Phaedra earlier (cf. ἄρατέ μου δέμας, ὀρθοῦτε κάρα, 198) and recalls the carrying out of her lifeless body (ὀρθώσατ' ἐκτρέι- νοντες ἄθλιον νέκυν, 786).⁵¹ Indeed, Hippolytus' pitiful state at the end, his entrance among companions who bear his almost lifeless body, is vaguely parallel to Phaedra's entrance, in a state of collapse and near to death, at the beginning (e.g., λάλυμαι μελέων σύνδεσμα φίλων, 199). These connections suggest again the tragic interweaving of the deaths of the protagonists, the ambiguity of who is agent and who is victim, and the power of love to destroy both the lover and the beloved. The circle is thus closed, and Hippolytus in his death reenacts horribly the languid condition—the weakness and helplessness—of the woman whose love, scorned, has killed him and herself.⁵² Yet against the goddess whose will comprises the indifferent interplay of elemental opposites, love and death, procreation and destruction, the human characters come to assert their own humanity. As Bernard Knox has well said, the forgiveness that passes between them is "an affirmation of human values in an inhuman universe."⁵³ In this mutual forgiveness both father and son discover a lost basis of understanding and love. And in finding one another, each loses something of his previous intransigence and limitation of feeling. This change is already working within Theseus even before

51. ὀρθόω is used metaphorically of Phaedra's conflict and moral struggle: see 247, 686. The parallel between Hippolytus' condition here and Phaedra's love-sick state earlier has been noted briefly also by Grube (note 26) 193.

52. There is perhaps a further adumbration of the circular movement, the fulfillment of Aphrodite's will, in Hippolytus' statement that he sees the gates of Hades (ἄλωα καὶ δι' νευρέθρον ὄρω πύλας, 1447), which recalls Aphrodite's concluding words in the prologue (56-57): οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ἀνεωγμένους πύλας / Αἴδου, φάος δὲ λαιόθλιον βλιέτιον τόδε.

53. Knox (note 5) 31. For the gradual growth of the compassion and reconciliation at the end of the play see also Matthaei (note 9) 104ff.

Hippolytus confirms it and adds to it his own. Theseus' first reaction to the news of Hippolytus' death was triumph, almost joy, at the fulfillment of his prayer (1169ff.); and he met the first announcement of the Messenger with the cruel remark, "At whose hand? Did he fall into the hatred of someone whose wife he violated, like his father's?" (1164-65). After the full account of his death, however, he softens, admits the tie of blood (οὐνεκ' ἐστὶν ἐξ' ἐμοῦ), and states that he no longer either rejoices or is grieved (1259-60). He still wishes, however, to "examine him with words" (λόγους τ' ἐλέγξω, 1267) and refute his previous denial of the deed. Artemis, however, taking up this phrase, reveals Theseus' own culpability in not having "examined" (οὐκ ἠλεγξας) the matter more fully through divine and human means (1321ff.). She cannot absolve or forgive his guilt, only set forth, objectively, the way through which absolution, or at least mitigation of guilt, might come: "First your ignorance of your error looses you from baseness; and, second, your wife in dying took away examinations of words" (λόγων ἐλέγχους, 1335-37). The repeated expression "examine" (or "examine with words") points up the hastiness and irrationality of Theseus' previous action and traces his share in the disaster to the unchecked and unexamined release of his anger. He who, in his wrath, would not believe his son's repeated oaths that he was not *kakos* (1031, 1075, 1191)⁵⁴ is proved himself *kakos* in the eyes of both the goddess and the son: σὺ δ' ἐν τ' ἐκείνῳ κὰν ἐμοὶ φαίνη *κακός* (1320). He comes, however, to repent fully; but only Hippolytus, the victim, can forgive him for his anger (τί δ'; ἔκτανές τ' ἂν μ', ὡς τὸτ' ἦσθ' ὠργισμένος, 1413) and absolve him (1449 and 1335). The anger (ὀργαί, 1418) of Aphrodite, however, is unforgivable, and Hippolytus wishes to curse her as his father cursed him (1415). Men can forgive one another, but they cannot forgive the gods any more than the gods can forgive them. To quote Knox once more, "These gods are, in both the literal and metaphorical senses of the word, inhuman."⁵⁵ Their inhumanity, however, is the resisting matter of the universe against which man's humanity comes to life. Thus Hippolytus, who showed himself Theseus' son negatively in his impulsive and pitiless dismissal of Phaedra and total lack of at-

54. The thrice-repeated εἰ *κακός* πέφικα' ἀνὴρ stands also in ironic contrast with Hippolytus' earlier self-righteousness about not being *kakos*, 654.

55. Knox (note 5) 29.

tempt to understand her suffering, recognizes his kinship to his father at a deeper and more meaningful level. To reach this recognition, however, he must suffer from his father the same cruelty and anger that he showed to Phaedra. The impulsiveness and vehemence of the two men make the reconciliation all the more significant, as well as psychologically possible. This reconciliation in turn helps redeem their previous callousness and is the more moving and tragic coming after they have suffered the full consequences of their rash natures. Theseus' blind wrath made him incapable of pity for his son. As he threatened to drive Hippolytus from the palace with his own hand, his final words were, "For no pity [ὄϊκτος] for your exile comes upon me" (1089).⁵⁶ Now, however, it is the father who is an object of pity to his son; and the son gives the pity he was himself formerly denied (1405, 1407, 1409):

I lament too then my father's disasters . . . Alas, most wretched for this misfortune, father . . . I lament your error for you more than for me . . .⁵⁷

And as Hippolytus rediscovers Theseus as father, Theseus recognizes him, finally, as son (1452, 1455):

Θη. ὦ φίλασθ', ὡς γενναῖος ἐκφαίνη πατρί.
 Π. τοῦνδε παίδων γνησίων εὐχου τυχεῖν.
 (with Wilamowitz's transposition)

Thes. O dearest one, how noble you show yourself toward your father.

Hipp. Pray to find your legitimate children thus.

In this recognition, each finds a new level of humanity in both himself and the other.

56. It is perhaps interesting that previously "pity" was found only in the mythical world into which the chorus longs to escape: *oiktos* is used but one other time in the play, of Phaeon, lamented by his sisters, in the escape ode (740).

57. Euripides' emphasis upon Hippolytus' forgiveness of his father and his delicate and beautiful treatment of this theme are interesting in the light of another legend of Hippolytus, that involving his rebirth and transfer to Aricia, in which special emphasis is given to his *refusal* to forgive his father: see Herter (note 37) 292 and Pausanias 2.27.4: ὁ δὲ ὡς αὐθιγὲς ἐβίω, οὐκ ἤϊετο νέμειν τῷ πατρὶ συγγνώμην, ἀλλὰ ὑπεριδὼν τὰς δεήσεις εἰς Ἑλλάτιαν ἐρχεται, κ.τ.λ.

The reconciliation, spreading from father to son, touches even Phaedra who, though not actually forgiven, is at least explicitly included among the victims (1404) and given a part in the future cult-song about Hippolytus (1430).⁵⁸ Indeed, the language with which Theseus pardons his father recalls and cancels some of the inhumanity in his violent rejection of Phaedra. His nobility in not leaving his father's hand "impure" (ἀγνήων, 1448) stands at the opposite extreme from the self-righteous and narrow priggishness in his denunciation of Phaedra: "How then would I be base who think I am impure [οὐδ' . . . ἀγνεύειν δοκῶ] if I but hear such things" (654-55).

Whatever positive element the tragedy contains, however, appears in the contrast between Phaedra's death and Hippolytus'. She died "betrayed" (590, 591, 595) by the Nurse and, in a sense, by Hippolytus. Hippolytus at the end holds firm in his father's entreaty not to be "betrayed" (μή νυν προδοῦς με, τέκνον, ἀλλὰ κατάρχει, 1456). Her death came amid hatred and anger, as her love turned to the lust for vengeance; and in its train it brought only more hatred, anger, and death—all the violence that the sea and the Bull symbolize. Although this violence, and the tragic waste and loss it entails, cannot be wiped out, they are at least in part mitigated by the love, the understanding, and the deeper avowal of kinship at Hippolytus' death.

But the gods do not forgive, nor do they wish to be touched by human suffering (1437-39). Artemis may provide the objective material out of which the humanity and forgiveness may grow, but in herself she is indifferent and remote, even cruel so far as Theseus is concerned. She can state coldly that Theseus' ignorance excuses him (1334-35); but only Hippolytus can speak the personal, emotionally effective, and truly comforting absolution: "I free you from this death of mine" (σε τοῦδ' ἔλευθερῶ φόνου, 1449). Contrast the way in which Artemis speaks her "absolution." She uses the third-person, abstract form of statement τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι . . . ἔκλυέι κάκῃς (1335), which is itself given as part of a logical enumeration, πρῶτον μὲν . . . ἔπειτα δέ, in the remote, cool language of a judge (1334-37). Scholars of recent years have thus rightly criticized older interpretations that saw in her appearance all sweetness and light, serenity and divine

pity.⁵⁹ She does, it is true, ask Hippolytus to forgive Theseus⁶⁰; yet it is after her departure, when the two men are left alone with their suffering, that they turn to one another, father and son, and make the most significant, and for Hippolytus the final, discovery of their lives.

Artemis thus remains true to her nature, as Aphrodite to hers: she is still the goddess of the wild, of the nonhuman world. Her only words of comfort are that the gods do not rejoice at the death of pious mortals (1339-40), and she can but assure Hippolytus that he dies dear to her (1397-98):

Ιπ. οὐκ ἔστι σοι κυναγὸς οὐδ' ὑπηρέτης,

Αφ. οὐ δὴτ' ἀτάρ μοι προσφιλέης γ' ἀπόλλυσαι.

Hipp. No longer have you hunter or servant.

Art. No; but you die dear to me.

It is part of Hippolytus' tragedy that he, whose death resulted from his very devotion to Artemis and from something of her wildness in his treatment of Phaedra, should find his goddess true to her nature at the end: "Easily you leave a long association [ὄμιλιαν]," he chides (1441), and his words recall Aphrodite's spiteful warning in the prologue about his "falling in with more than mortal association" (μεῖζω

59. The positive view of Artemis here has been restated as late as 1935: see S. M. Adams, "Two Plays of Euripides," *CR* 49 (1935) 118-19. He sees Artemis as speaking in 1326-41 "with a gentle statement of the gods' invariable law" and offering Theseus "such comfort as she can" (119). Similarly Méridier (note 4) 23-24. See contra Knox (note 5) 29-31; Kitto (note 9) 206; Norwood (note 2) 96ff. Their views were anticipated, however, as early as Matthaei (note 9) 112, who finds, with her usual sensitivity and honesty, "Something . . . of the unsolved in the cruel relations between gods and men" and "the biting, cruel, truly Euripidean atmosphere of sarcasm against the so-called 'divine.'"

60. Hippolytus' reply to Artemis' request in 1443, καὶ γὰρ πάρουθε σοῖς ἐπειθήμην λόγους, might also mean in the context that he has already forgiven his father even before Artemis' injunction: "For even before [your request] I was obeying your words [i.e. what you are now enjoining]." Euripides does use *paroitie* of the recent as well as of the more remote past (see, e.g., *Phoen.* 853). The generally received interpretation, however, "For in the past too I was wont to obey your commands," is perhaps more suited to the ironical and bitter tone of Hippolytus here and is probably to be preferred, but the other should be kept in mind. It is not impossible that there is an intentional ambiguity in Hippolytus' words.

58. For the position of Phaedra at the end, see Matthaei (note 9) 110.

βροτείας . . . ὀμιλίας, 19). But Artemis by her nature can do nothing else, and it is only at her departure and the unsolaced approach of his own death that Hippolytus discovers his own humanity. Her departure thus marks symbolically his relinquishment of the wild that he has loved and in which he has lived.⁶¹ His death is thus also the rebirth of his humanity.

The conclusion of the play, then, does contain positive elements, but it is far from optimistic. The tragic mixture of grief and compassion, of humanity gained at the price of suffering and death, is suggested in the image with which the play ends, significantly an image of the sea (1462–67):

A common grief to all the citizens this came unexpectedly. There will be a rhythmic plashing of many tears [πολλῶν δακρύων ἔσται πύτυλος]; for the stories of the great that are worthy of grief are more wont to endure.

The word πύτυλος introduces a common but complex metaphor that is practically untranslatable. It is used figuratively of the rhythmic beating of breasts or falling of tears in lamentation but literally denotes the regular sound of the oars produced by the coordinated efforts of the rowers as on a trireme.⁶² Hence it is well used here to mark the human social world (cf. κοινὸν . . . πᾶσι πολίταις, 1462), which thus expresses its common participation in grief and loss. It was in terms of the whole society that Hippolytus' death was first announced (see πολίταις, 1168–69), and the tale of his disaster will be preserved in a social context (1423ff.). His fellow-citizens are capable of feeling and lamenting his suffering as a god cannot. The goddess who cannot weep (ὄρω· κατ' ὄσσω δ' οὐ θέμις βαλεῖν δάκρυ, 1396) can give only the "greatest grievings" of others' tears for his sufferings

61. On Artemis' departure see Kitto (note 9) 207: "We breathe a little more freely when this sub-human goddess has taken herself off, leaving the stage to the reconciliation between father and son."

62. For pitylos in its literal sense see Aeschyl. *Pers.* 976; Eur. *Tro.* 1123; *IT* 1050, 1346, etc. Euripides uses it frequently of lamentation (see *Tro.* 1236) or even of other strong emotions like fear (*HF* 816) or madness (*HF* 1189, *IT* 307). The best and fullest elaboration of the connection between the rhythmic beating of oars and lamentation occurs in Aeschylus (*Sept.* 854–60) for whom the metaphor, as with his sea metaphors generally, is extremely vivid. For a full discussion of the meanings of pitylos, with abundant parallels, see Barrett (note 28) 418–19.

(πένθη μέγιστα δακρύων καρπούμένω, 1427). The rhetorical lament and falling tears of the chorus, therefore (see δακρύων, ἄξιον ἰσπευθεῖς, 1464–65), are the human equivalent for the goddess' gift. At the same time these are bitter tears, unmitigated by the gentle unreality of the wished-for world of the escape ode and hence not transformed into the beautiful brightness of amber, like those shed by Phaethon's sisters "into the swelling sea of their father" (738–41). In the pitylos image, grief and tears are again associated with the sea, but without any suggestion that the sea provides comfort or consolation.

This image, on the contrary, sharpens the juxtaposition between the human world and the elemental forces that have crashed destructively into it. It evokes all the power of the sea and the whole sequence of the previous imagery, the shipwreck or storm in terms of which the coming disaster of Phaedra was presented (36, 140, 155ff., 315, 752ff., etc.) and the wreck of Theseus too upon a "sea of troubles" (822ff.). Most poignantly, it recalls the description of the doomed Hippolytus as a steersman who has lost control of his ship (1221, 1224, 1227). As the image for the measured sound of man's control over one of the elements of this world, the pitylos points up, finally, man's helplessness against the measureless and the uncontrollable.⁶³

It is this lament, then, which answers the previous attempts to control or escape the sea. Like the hunters' song earlier (1102–10), it marks a sadder but more realistic acceptance of all that the sea implies. Hippolytus' attempt to resist its elemental force is only reflected tragically back upon him in the oarlike beat of the lamentation at his death. Yet this lament combines in itself the images both of human weakness and of the possibility of human compassion. In its sealike rhythm it acknowledges the uncontrollable and the nonhuman yet transmutes its violence into pity. Thus the pitylos reasserts another side of man's capacity for measure. It resolidifies man's social bond against the unknown and gives final and enduring expression to the human—and humanizing—side of grief and loss, the compassionate understanding to which men, through suffering, can rise.

The god-sent violence of the sea thus overwhelms human life and when calm returns leaves behind a wreckage in which the only sound is the slow, steady lament, like the strokes of the oar. He who re-

63. For this aspect of the pitylos image, see Segal (note 1) 42.

jected what the sea meant is destroyed by it yet is himself mourned in terms of it. It remains as the symbol for the realities, more bitter than consoling, surrounding human life, the realities that, like the gods, endure eternally while the individual life comes and passes away.

Through the sea, then, we come back to the question of the nature of the gods raised at the beginning of this essay. Aphrodite is not only in the sea but of the sea. The sea is the necessary correlative of her power and nature, the demanding nature of the reality of our world. Hence its imagistic function in the play is indispensable for establishing the scope of the action. Through the imagery of the sea the problematical role of the gods is raised above the question of Euripides' religion to become a mirror for the broader questions of the nature of human existence, human action, and the "total reality" amid which human life is lived.⁶⁴

Commentators have, of course, objected ceaselessly to this dehumanization of the gods.⁶⁵ Yet it is essential to the tragic action that the powers against which the protagonists struggle and to which, ultimately, they yield be inhuman, pitiless, totally regardless of man's constructs and his ideals. These powers and their poetic embodiment in the wild sea serve as the foil for the humanity that is finally affirmed and as the measure of the effort involved in the affirmation.

In the sharpness and bitterness of this polarity lies one of the basic differences between Sophoclean and Euripidean drama. In Sophocles we may feel that the gods are somehow responsible for human suffering, as in the *Oedipus Rex* or in the statement that ends the *Trachiniae*, "There is nothing of this that is not Zeus" (1278). But their responsibility in Sophocles is vaguer and less pointed. His gods are less intelligible in terms of human passions and more remote from human life. They look upon man's suffering across the cold, vast distances of space, like the constellations moving for eternity along their "circling

64. Winnington-Ingram (note 2) 190: "Of this total reality from which there is no escape the gods are symbols." Norwood (note 2) 105, also speaks of Euripides' gods as symbolizing "the permanent facts of the Universe and of human life."

65. See, among others, Greenwood (note 2) 41, 45 (rather one-sided); Wilamowitz (note 6) 112-13, who speaks of Euripides' gods as having "des Menschlichen zu viel" while lacking "das Beste des Menschen"; yet he sees the "disharmony" between human nobility and divine baseness as part of his intention and dramatic technique. For the conflict of humanity and the inhuman see Lester Crocker, "On Interpreting *Hippolytus*," *Philologus* 101 (1957) 245: "It is man *against* the universe—insofar as he wants to be human." See also the references cited above, note 59.

paths" (see *Trach.* 130-31). For him, then, the definition of humanity comes exclusively through man, his greatness and his blindness and the uncertainty of his life, and not, as in Euripides, through the opposition between man and a divine inhumanity.

The prologue of the *Ajax* perhaps comes closest to the *Hippolytus* in depicting a pitiless divinity (note especially the contrast between Athena and Odysseus, 118ff.); but even Sophocles' Athena is far from the wanton spite of Euripides' Aphrodite. Athena's role in the play is much less significant, and her wrath is not unjust (see 760ff.) and, perhaps, not inexorable (see 756-57). In Euripides, on the other hand, divine inhumanity makes the affirmation of humanity necessarily more tenuous, hesitant, and uncertain. It is perhaps doubtful whether the human compassion asserted in the last scene of the *Hippolytus* is an adequate or fully satisfying counterforce to the divine indifference. The dirge is nevertheless *something*. It is the final term in the progression from the wild shouting of Hippolytus (581ff.) and the rancorous letter of Phaedra which "shouts" though silent (877ff.) to the ritual songs of the disaster to be sung by the Troezenian girls (1423ff.) and the pain-wrung forgiveness of the son-victim toward the agent-father. But it marks perhaps the ultimate helplessness of the man in such a world. To be human means to die at the hands of the gods, but it also means to be able to lament.

The divinities of the *Hippolytus*, then, possess both the indifference and the power of the elements with which they are associated (in fact the combination of indifference and power defines in large part their divinity); and these elements, sea and woodland, come to play as large a symbolic role in the action as the gods themselves. Together they comprise a whole, no part of which can man neglect or seek to escape without incurring the risk of its striking back. It is this wholeness of the world which makes it dangerous to men. The Greeks generally did not separate the positive and negative aspects of divinity. Apollo is the god who cures diseases as well as he who sends them; and Dionysus is a god "most terrible" as well as "most mild" (*Ba.* 861).⁶⁶ The gods thus themselves contain something of the duality of the natural world, both life-giving and destructive.

These antinomies in the gods, which are therefore the antinomies faced by human life, run throughout the play. Love is "sweetest and

66. See A. R. Bellinger, "The *Bacchae* and *Hippolytus*," *YCS* 6 (1939) 25f.

painful at the same time" (348), and so its goddess brings both eros and thanatos. Destructive and spiteful in the prologue, she is hymned as a beautiful and life-giving power just after she has done her worst.⁶⁷ And Phaedra, who enters determined to die, surrenders to Aphrodite with the return of her desire to live (see 441ff.: "Will you then because of love destroy your life . . ."). Yet, through Aphrodite, she generates death on a wider and more violent scale. Similarly, as Aphrodite's sea can be warm and soothing in the parodos, and violent and destructive as the action develops, so too the peace and removal of the woodland has its negative aspect in some of the imagery associated with Hippolytus (646-47, 689).

Conversely, there is the suggestion of a similar duality in Artemis. As Aphrodite is associated both with the joyous, creative release of sexual energy and with its thoughtless, blind violence, so Artemis, the cold, chaste goddess, can be called upon as the gentle helper of women in childbirth (161-69).⁶⁸ The play presents us with the paradoxical associations of Aphrodite and death, Artemis and birth. Artemis too is associated with the sea (148ff., 229), the element of her enemy and opposite. Indeed, in the exodos she seems to share Aphrodite's sea qualities, with her indifference to the "third" victim (1404) and her willingness to involve, on her own initiative, a fourth (1420ff.). She seems, furthermore, to have been worshiped at Troezen as a goddess who saves from the sea, and it is perhaps to this aspect of her that Phaedra refers in 229, "Lady Artemis of Limne by the sea."⁶⁹ She is thus Hippolytus' goddess in her association with both woodland and Limne by the sea. Another Troezenian legend, however, involves her in the death, by the sea, of one of her followers, also a hunter: Saron, for whom was named the sea from which death comes to Hippolytus (1200).⁷⁰ Thus despite the basic

67. See *ibid.* 26: "But compare her [Aphrodite's] unlovely appearance in the prologue with the exquisite song in her honor strangely put just before the entrance of Artemis, her foe." Equally significant, however, is what comes *before* this song. So too Eros, in the same sentence, can be a sacker of cities (541ff.) and the "keeper of keys to Aphrodite's dearest chambers" (539-40).

68. For Artemis as a birth goddess see Plato, *Theatr.* 149b, and, in general, M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 2d ed. (Munich 1955) 1:492ff.

69. For Artemis' connection with the sea at Troezen see Wilamowitz (note 6) 95; also Jebb (note 49) on Soph. *Trach.* 636; Apollon. Rhod. 1.571: Ἀφροδίτην, ἢ κελύκος σπονδίας ἁδὸς ἀφιέρεισθαι.

70. See "Saron" in Roscher (note 18) 4 (1909-15) 388. Wilamowitz (note 6) 95 n.2.

opposition between the two goddesses there is, as several scholars have noted, a terrible likeness between them,⁷¹ which on the psychological level perhaps signifies something of the ambivalence of the human mind toward the elemental passions and desires it must both live with and repress. Phaedra, possessed by Aphrodite, longs for the purity of her opposite; and Hippolytus, serving the chaste Artemis and desiring the calm woodlands and removal from human affairs (1013ff.),⁷² denounces sex with a vehemence that itself violates the severe sophrosyne he supposes himself to possess.

On another level this likeness between the two goddesses expresses the ineluctable wholeness, the unity in complementaries, of the elemental world. Men may try to divide up this wholeness against itself, to transform it mentally by claiming to worship one of its aspects, though, as in Phaedra's case, they may be using the opposite only to conceal the power to which they are really subject. Yet whatever divided forms this reality takes in the human mind, its wholeness is still inescapable. That which is longed for becomes that which destroys. Phaedra's love for Hippolytus causes her death, just as his devotion to Artemis causes his. She seals her death with an oath in the name of the goddess opposite to the one to whom she is in fact bound (σεμνὴν Ἀφροδίτην, 713-14) and with words that repeat the prayer of her beloved's chaste followers (see 61ff.). His death comes from the forces he has most resisted, the wildness of the sea, the sexuality of the Bull, and from the creatures he has reared and loved. Thus the ambiguities in both Aphrodite and Artemis and the interplay between them reveal how easily and mysteriously eros leads to thanatos, how one instinct leads to its opposite, and how dangerous and complex generally are the basic instincts, even the life instincts, that rule our existence.

It is this complexity, this dangerous wholeness, which Hippolytus seeks to ignore or escape. Perhaps there is even an aspect of the goddess he worships, and worships exclusively, which he does not

regards Saron as "ein Doppelgänger des Hippolytos nach der einen Seite seines Wesens, der wohl aus ihm differenziert ist."

71. See Knox (note 5) 28-29, who notes other parallels. On Phaedra's concealing of "Aphrodite" by "Artemis" see the "Discussion" of Winnington-Ingram's paper (note 2) 197; also Dodds (note 30) 103-4.

72. For this *topos* of the peaceful private life see in general G. Heintzler, "Das Bild des Tyrannen bei Platon," *Tüb. Beitr.* 3 (1927) 26ff.

know, just as he does not know an aspect of the horses he trains in her service. She is invoked, as we have seen, as the goddess of childbirth, and it is significant that Hippolytus specifically denounces childbirth, like everything connected with sex, in the most violent and extravagant terms (618–24). In this he denies the most immediate of the realities of life, the act wherein men are most bound to the necessities of their animal nature, where the boundary between the controlled human world and the wild, pain-filled world of the beasts is narrowest. Thus he refuses to know a basic aspect of his goddess, one wherein she too is perhaps touched by the wildness of the sea, the inevitable risks of man's participation in the process of creating life. To these risks the women of the chorus are closer, as women have always been. (Euripides also appears, atypically for his society, highly sensitive to the supposed ἀτινδυνον βίον of women: *Med.* 248–51.) Hence they can find the sea gentle and peaceful in the parody, while Hippolytus, abominating women, is to know only its violence. In seeking to banish the creative powers of life, he renders inevitable his full exposure to its destructive powers. Indeed, his chief occupation, the hunt, is destructive, and again serves only a partial aspect of his goddess, the πόντια θηρῶν, the goddess connected with wild animal life. The Artemis whom the women know and invoke, however, is the complement, not the enemy, of Aphrodite. She yields the bow (167) but also gives good births (εὐλοχόν, 166). Thus it is the gentle, pitying, life-giving aspect of his goddess, as she manifests herself to women, which Hippolytus ignores; and hence he is destroyed by her complement, also a goddess of life, in her most cruel and inhuman form.

Hippolytus' rejection or ignorance of this other aspect of Artemis is, of course, deliberate. His life is a pure expression of the masculine desire to re-form his world, to make himself as free as possible of the physical and animal exigencies of his existence, to which women must yield (or at least from which they can less easily escape). Hence, to assert his freedom he must reject them and their bondage to the creation of life. His freedom is ultimately the spiritual freedom men have always sought, and the search cannot but be tragic.⁷³ There is an

73. See Crocker (note 65) 242: "His [Hippolytus'] total rejection of sex is the rejection of enslavement to a disorderly, non-rational, non-moral force, which women, the arousees and objects of our desires, embody. It is a tragic assertion of will—the

element of true idealism in his aims and in his uncompromising rigidity (his akribeia) which contrasts favorably with the Nurse's amoral expediency or the chorus' wish for easy adaptability, wealth, and principles that are not too firm (see III1ff.).⁷⁴

Yet in his idealism he is opposed by one of the strongest and most relentless realities of physical existence, symbolically associated with the equally forceful and resistless power of the sea. In trying to resist, Hippolytus almost destroys his own humanity, only to rediscover it at his death and with it his own tie, rooted in physical generation, to his father. With his humanity and compassion he triumphs, as a man, over the wildness of the sea. But as his body is borne away, it is the rhythm of the sea that echoes behind him as a dirge.

to surpass the animal in us, to live on purely human terms of idealism, mind, and spirit." See also Méridier (note 4) 24. To see these possibilities in Hippolytus' tragedy is not, of course, to maintain that Euripides intended us to regard him as an Orphic. See D. W. Lucas, "Hippolytus," *CQ* 40 (1946) 65–69; Winnington-Ingram (note 2) 186–87; Knox (note 5) 21 with note 22; Méridier (note 4) 20 n.1. The religious character of Hippolytus' worship of Artemis is well discussed by Festugière (note 17) 14ff. with note 19, pp. 145–46. The mystical element that Festugière emphasizes in this worship, however, seems to me only to deepen and embitter his tragedy rather than mitigate it, as Festugière seems to imply in his discussion of the final scene (pp. 16–17). It must be remembered too that Hippolytus shows no belief in an afterlife. In such a situation Artemis' "No; but you die dear to me" (1398) is cold comfort; and his curse in 1415 and his final address to the goddess in 1441 indicate that he is not in fact comforted. Here, as in the *Bacchae*, it is very difficult to determine what actually are Euripides' religious attitudes or how favourably he regards the kind of worship which Hippolytus practices. On the religious implications, positive and negative, of Hippolytus' *sophrosyne* see Barrett (note 28) 172–73; and on Hippolytus and Orphism, 342–43.

74. There is perhaps an interesting affinity between Hippolytus' outburst against sex and women with a more famous and more influential idealistic proposal for gaining a measure of freedom for the human spirit: Plato's construction of his ideal state. Compare Hippolytus' suggestion for "buying the seed of children" from temples with a certain weight of gold or bronze or iron each according to his value (620–23) with *Repub.* 3.415aff. and 8.547aff. The resemblance is, of course, superficial (Plato is using Hesiod, *Op.* 109–201 without any reference to Euripides), and Hippolytus is simply here overemotional and negative rather than serious and constructive, but it is essentially the same universal limitation of human freedom which is in question. Euripides' attitude about the possibility of this freedom is, as the course of the play makes clear, quite different from Plato's.

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MYTH, POETRY, TEXT

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