and fear by the representation of these events. The essence of "the tragic," for the ancient Greeks, is the representation of acts in which *philoi* harm or are about to harm *philoi*.

To approach Greek tragedy with this generic characteristic in mind greatly enhances our understanding of the plays, in large part because it leads us to pay attention to the role of biological and social relationships in tragedy. *Philia* is central to the plots of most of the tragedies and is an issue in nearly every scene. The dramatic figures define themselves in relation to their *philoi*, and they constantly speak and interact in terms of *philia*. *Philia* is not simply one "theme" or subject of tragedy, it constitutes the biological, social, religious, and emotional reality within which the action takes place. Only when we read or view the plays from this perspective can we fully appreciate the extent to which they are works whose meaning depends on the social structures that inform them.

Appendix A: Violation of *Philia* in the Extant Tragedies

Chapter 1 provided a typology of the thirty-two extant tragedies, grouping them according to various categories of *philia* relationships. Five of these plays (Aiskhylos's *Suppliants*, Sophokles' *Aias* and *Philoktetes*, and Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* and *Andromakhe*) have been analyzed in detail in the preceding chapters. Appendix A provides a survey of the ways in which violation of *philia* figures in each of the remaining twenty-seven plays. I group the plays within the categories of relationships discussed in chapter 1. These categories are not intended to be rigid or exclusive; indeed, most of the tragedies represent or allude to harm to *philoi* in more than one category. Within each category the plays are grouped by author, in alphabetical order of the English titles. The study of each play begins with a short summary of the plot.

The table below summarizes the central *pathê* in all thirty-two of the extant tragedies according to the various kinds of relationships.

I. Blood kinship (17 plays)
  A. Parent harms child (7 plays)
    Aiskhylos: *Eumenides*
    Euripides: *Bacchae*, *Herakles*, *Hippolytos*, *Ion*, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, *Medea*
  B. Child harms parent (5 plays)
    Aiskhylos: *Libation Bearers*
    Sophokles: *Elektra*, *Oedipus the King*
    Euripides: *Elektra*, *Orestes*
  C. Sibling harms sibling (3 plays)
    Aiskhylos: *Seven Against Thebes*
    Euripides: *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Phoenician Women*

- D. Harm to other blood kin (2 plays)
  - Aiskhylos: *Prometheus Bound*
  - Sophokles: *Antigone*
- II. Reciprocal relationships (9 plays)
  - A. Marriage (2 plays)
    - Aiskhylos: *Agamemnon*
    - Sophokles: *Women of Trakhis*
  - B. *Xenia* (3 plays)
    - Sophokles: *Philoktetes*
    - Euripides: *Hekabe, Helen*
  - C. Suppliancy (4 plays)
    - Aiskhylos: *Suppliants*
    - Sophokles: *Oedipus at Kolonos*
    - Euripides: *Children of Herakles, Suppliants*
- III. Exceptional Plays (6 plays)
  - Aiskhylos: *Persians*
  - Sophokles: *Aias*
  - Euripides: *Alkestis, Andromakhe, Rhesos, Trojan Women*

I. Blood Kinship (17 Plays)

In seventeen plays, the central *pathos* is a violent act, whether actually occurring or only threatened, between *philoi* who are related by blood. The majority of these acts take place between parents and children.

I.A. *Parent Harms Child (7 Plays)*

■ Aiskhylos's *Eumenides.* In obedience to Apollo, Orestes has killed his mother, Klytaimestra, in punishment for her murder of his father, Agamemnon. Pursued by his mother's Furies, Orestes takes refuge in Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi. The god protects him and tells him to supplicate Athena, asking her to decide the case. When he does this, Athena says that her people must help in the decision. After presiding over a trial by jury, at which Orestes is acquitted, Athena persuades the Furies to be well disposed toward Athens.

Eumenides has sometimes been categorized as a suppliant drama,[1] and its plot indeed follows the suppliant pattern in many respects.[2] Nevertheless, I group it with plays concerning harm to blood kin because the primary emphasis is on this *pathos*, and not on the suppliant action. Son has killed mother, and in turn she, in the guise of her Furies, attempts to harm him. In *Eumenides* the threat from suppliant to the agents supplicated is emphasized less than it is in the four suppliant plays (Ais. and Eur. *Supp.*, Soph. *OC*, Eur. *Heracl.*), in large part because those supplicated are divine. Moreover, the main issue in this last play of the trilogy is not supplication for its own sake, but the resolution of the problems resulting from a series of violent acts within the family.

In the primary *pathos* of this play, mother, in the form of her Furies, attempts with full knowledge to harm son, who has killed her. Because Klytaimestra's Furies are her curses (417), representing the anger of a *philos* who has been wronged, when they threaten to harm Orestes, they threaten him with harm by his mother. Klytaimestra herself urges on the Furies (94–139), and they threaten to kill Orestes by sucking his blood (264–75). Orestes' matricide plays a central role in this play as well as in *Libation Bearers*, and it is frequently alluded to (e.g., at 84, 100–102, 122, 202, 230, 256, 281, 425, 460, 463, 493, 595, 653).

Other violent acts against *philoi* also play a role. Orestes killed his mother in vengeance for her murder of her husband, an act that is alluded to in a number of passages (e.g., 211, 464, 602, 625–39, 740). Ixion, the first kin killer, is mentioned at 441 and 718 (πρωτοκτόνοισι προστροπαῖς Ἰξίονος). Among the gods, Zeus is said to have bound his father (640–41). More generally, the Furies are said to have the duty of punishing those who harm *philoi*: mothers (210), parents (513–14), *xenoi* and parents (270–71, 545–48), blood kin (604–5), and *philoi* within the house (354–59).

The main *pathos* takes place within the context of two supplications. Orestes is at first a suppliant of Apollo (41, 91–92, 151, 176, 205, 577–78), who fears the anger of a suppliant just as a human being does:

> ἐγὼ δ' ἀρήξω τὸν ἱκέτην τε ῥύσομαι·
> δεινὴ γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖσι κἀν θεοῖς πέλει
> τοῦ προστροπαίου μῆνις, εἰ προδῷ σφ' ἑκών. (232–34)
>
> I will aid and save the suppliant,
> for the wrath of a suppliant is terrible
> among mortals and gods, if I willingly betray you.

Apollo accepts Orestes as suppliant and thereby recognizes him as a *philos* when he says, "I will not betray you" (64, cf. 232). Pollution plays an important role in connection with this supplication. Orestes appears first as a polluted suppliant whose hands drip with blood (41–42), and according to the Furies, his presence pollutes the hearth of Apollo at which he is a suppliant (166–72). Apollo, like a human who gives refuge to a suppliant-exile, purifies Orestes of murder (φόνου δὲ τῷδ' ἐγὼ καθάρσιος: 578; cf. 280–83).[3] At Apollo's bidding, Orestes next supplicates Athena (79–80, 439–41, 474), whose role is similar to that of a human ruler in suppliant plays. Orestes supplicates the goddess, asking her to defend him, while his enemies, the Furies, argue that he should not be defended, threatening harm to both Orestes and Athens. After consulting her people by holding a formal trial, Athena decides in favor of the suppliant, recognizing his claim to be treated as a *philos*. Athena then defends Orestes against his enemies, not by going to war, as human rulers often do, but by persuasion.

■ Euripides' *Bacchae*. Agave and the other sisters of Dionysos's mother Semele have denied his divinity, as has Agave's son Pentheus, king of Thebes. The god punishes these unbelievers by causing mother and aunts to kill son and nephew in a Bacchic frenzy. Agave later realizes what she has done and goes into exile.

The central *pathos* of this play is the killing and tearing apart of son (Pentheus) by mother (Agave), who is maddened and does not know who he is. Pentheus's aunts also participate in the murder. Agave later recognizes her son and learns what she has done. This central event is recounted in gruesome detail by a messenger (1114–52), who describes Pentheus's supplication of Agave (1117–21). The aftermath is vividly represented on stage when Agave carries her son's head back to Thebes and invites her *philoi* to participate in a feast (1242).

Other instances of harm to *philoi* are less important in the play. The Theban women who deny the divinity of Dionysos are his aunts, his "mother's sisters, who ought least to do this" (26). The fact that Dionysos is Semele's son also means that Pentheus and Dionysos are cousins. However, this relationship is only indirectly alluded to. For example, Kadmos tells Pentheus that even if Dionysos is not a god, Pentheus should claim that he is so as to bring honor to the whole family (333–36). After the catastrophe, the old man states that Dionysos has destroyed his kin (βρόμιος ἄναξ ἀπώλεσ' οἰκεῖος γεγώς: 1250). The idea that Semele, who was killed by Zeus's lightning (3, 88–93, 598–99), was destroyed by her own "husband" may have figured in Aiskhylos's *Semele*, but this idea is not explicit in the *Bacchae*. An interesting side issue is the comparison of Pentheus's fate to that of his cousin Aktaion, who was torn apart by the dogs he himself had reared (ὃν ὠμόσιτοι σκύλακες ἃς ἐθρέψατο διεσπάσαντο: 338–39). This parallel is some evidence that the Greeks saw similarities between kin killing and the killing of masters by their own domestic animals, an event that is central to several fragmentary plays.[4]

■ Euripides' *Herakles*. Herakles has been away from home for a long time, persecuted by Hera and made to undergo many labors. At home, his city has been captured by an enemy, Lykos, and his family is about to be killed. He arrives home, is recognized by some, attacks, and is himself saved while he destroys his enemy.[5] Herakles is then driven mad by Hera. Intending to kill the children of his enemy, he instead kills his own wife and sons. Afterward, he recognizes what he has done. He is about to kill himself when Theseus arrives and, by offering him a refuge, prevents Herakles' suicide.

The main *pathos* is Herakles' murder, in ignorance, of his wife and children. The child-killing is in itself the more terrible act, since it involves the shedding of kindred blood, and its dramatic horror is increased in several ways. Even Madness is reluctant to cause Herakles to kill his family (858). In the Messenger's graphic report, Herakles does the deeds while about to perform purificatory sacrifice at the altar of Zeus, with the assistance of his family (922–30). Rejecting the supplications of his father (963–69) and son (984–94),

he kills his wife and one son with a single arrow (1000) and is about to kill his father when Athena stops him (1001–6). The Messenger concludes with the statement that Herakles is now sleeping, "having killed children and wife. I know of no mortal who is more wretched" (1013–15). Herakles then appears on stage, surrounded by the corpses of those he has killed (1097). Herakles' pollution by kin murder is repeatedly stressed (1212, 1279–1300, 1324), and he veils his head and keeps silent in order to avoid polluting Theseus (1159–62, 1199–1201, 1219, 1234). He refers to himself as "child-killer" (παιδοκτονήσας: 1280), *authentês* of his own children (παίδων ὄντα μ' αὐθέντην ἐμῶν: 1359; cf. 839: αὐθέντῃ φόνῳ), and laments that he killed those he himself begot (1367–68; cf. 1183–84), and that he rewarded his wife's faithfulness with death (1371–73). Even his weapons are a source of pollution; Herakles imagines that they say to him, "With us you killed children and wife. In us you hold the killers of your children" (Ἡμῖν τέκν' εἷλες καὶ δάμαρθ'· ἡμᾶς ἔχεις παιδοκτόνους σούς: 1380–81).

Other acts of harm to kin also figure in the plot or are alluded to. Herakles tells Theseus that his life was unhappy from the beginning, for his father, Amphitryon, married his mother, Alkmene, while he was polluted with her father's murder (1258–62; cf. 16–17). The suicide Herakles is about to commit in order to avenge his children's murder (1150) is still another act of harm to kin—himself. The Chorus compare Herakles to others who harmed their *philoi*, to the Danaïds, who killed their husbands, and to Prokne, who killed one child; Herakles, however, who killed three children, has done deeds worse than these (1016–24). They fear that the sleeping Herakles will wake and go on to destroy his city, father, and house (1055–56). Amphitryon also fears that his son will wake and kill him (1068–75), acquiring still more pollution from kin murder (αἷμα σύγγονον: 1076–77). Zeus himself is accused of betraying his own grandchildren (339–47) and son (1087–88). Finally, Herakles compares his own fate to that of Ixion (1297–98), alluding to the first mortal to harm kin.[6]

Herakles is prevented from killing himself by the kindness of Theseus, his kin, friend, and *xenos* (συγγενὴς φίλος τ' ἐμός . . . φιλτάτῳ ξένων ἐμῶν: 1154–56; cf. φιλίαν ὁμόφυλον: 1200). In gratitude to Herakles for saving him from Hades, Theseus offers his friend purification, a refuge in Athens, and honors from the citizens in life and death (1322–1339). Dramatically and emotionally, these acts in which *philos* benefits *philos* are an inversion of the tragic *pathos* in the first part of the play, in which *philos* kills *philoi*.[7]

A subsidiary suppliant action takes place in the first part of the play when Lykos threatens to burn Herakles' suppliant family at the altar (238–46) and they in turn are about to commit suicide (289, 307, 451–53). The rescue of these suppliants by Herakles is reversed when Herakles himself kills them, after they have become his own suppliants (520–22, 963–69, 984–94).

■ Euripides' *Hippolytos*. Theseus has been away from home, leaving behind his wife, Phaidra, and a bastard son, Hippolytos, with whom Aphrodite has caused Phaidra to fall in love. When Phaidra's Nurse tells Hippolytos of

her mistress's love for him, Hippolytos reacts with horror, and Phaidra kills herself. Theseus returns and finds a letter in which his dead wife accuses his son of rape. He curses his son, who is mortally injured as a result. Artemis then tells Theseus of his son's innocence, and the dying Hippolytos frees his father from blood guilt.

This plot has a pattern similar to that of *Oedipus the King*: Theseus kills Hippolytos, deceived by Phaidra into believing that his son is his enemy. He later recognizes that Hippolytos is a true *philos* (recognition leading to a state of *philia*). Theseus's ignorance is emphasized in a number of ways. Before his son's death, Theseus longs in vain for a token that will distinguish the true *philos* from the person who is not a *philos* (925–27). Not having such a token, he uses the curse given him by his father, Poseidon, to kill his son, when he might have used it against an enemy (1317). According to Artemis, Theseus kills his son involuntarily (ἄκων: 1433), and because of his ignorance, his *hamartia* (error) does not involve wickedness (τὴν δὲ σὴν ἁμαρτίαν τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι μὲν πρῶτον ἐκλύει κάκης: 1334–35). Compare Aristotle's characterization of the best plot as one that represents someone "changing [from good] to bad fortune, not because of vice and wickedness but because of some *hamartia*" (μήτε διὰ κακίαν καὶ μοχθηρίαν μεταβάλλων εἰς τὴν δυστυχίαν ἀλλὰ δι' ἁμαρτίαν τινά: *Po.* 1453a8–10). Theseus's *hamartia* is again mentioned at 1409 and 1434.

Even though Theseus acts in ignorance, the murder of his son is an act of impiety toward the gods, and in particular toward Artemis and Poseidon (παῖδ' οὐχ ὁσίως σὸν ἀποκτείνας, 1287, 1320), because he acted too quickly (1320–24). The horror of his deed is increased by the fact that Theseus uses a curse given by his own father, Poseidon, to destroy his own son (44–45, 1167–68), and by the fact that Hippolytos is killed by the horses he himself fed and reared: "Oh hateful chariot team," he says, "fed by my own hand, you have utterly destroyed me, you have utterly slain me."[8] On the other hand, the fact that Hippolytos lives to absolve his father (1442, 1448–51) helps to mitigate the evil consequences of this act of kin murder. The killing of son by father is powerfully represented on stage, as Theseus curses his son (887–90), then reviles and exiles him (936–80). A touch of irony is added when Hippolytos, who does not know that Theseus has already cursed him, tells his father that if he were in his place he would kill, not merely exile, a son who touched his wife (1041–44). The Messenger's speech recounts Hippolytos's accident in great detail (1198–1248), and the dying man himself appears on stage (1342–1466).

Harm to *philoi* also figures in other ways in the *Hippolytos*. Another act of kin murder is mentioned: Theseus killed the Pallantidai (35), who are his cousins in myth,[9] although the relationship is not alluded to in this play. In revealing Phaidra's secret, the Nurse betrays an unrelated *philos* (592–97, 682), and abuses an act of supplication by forcing (βιάζῃ: 325) her mistress to reveal her love.[10] Violation of the marriage relationship is of particular significance in the play. Phaidra's love for her stepson is never said to be incestuous, but

Hippolytos accuses her of betraying her husband's bed (590), just as Theseus accuses his son of committing an outrage against his father's wife (885–86; ὑβρίζειν: 1073) and says that Hippolytos's very presence before Theseus is pollution (*miasma*: 946). Phaidra's adulterous love leads directly to her suicide, which is also a means of destroying Hippolytos (728–29), her *philos* (319, 613). Amphimetric strife is not an issue here, although both the Nurse (305–10) and Theseus (962–63) think that it is. Several mythological exempla of violation of the marriage relationship are alluded to. Phaidra mentions her mother Pasiphaë, who loved the bull, and her sister Ariadne, wife of Dionysos (337–39), and the Chorus mention the "murderous bridals" (φονίοισι νυμφείοις: 552) of Iole and Herakles, who raped her after sacking her city, and the "bloody fate" (πότμῳ φονίῳ: 561–62) given Semele by her marriage to the thunder god.[11]

■ Euripides' *Ion*. After Kreousa, daughter of the king of Athens, exposed the child she bore to Apollo, the god ordered it taken to Delphi to be reared. The child, Ion, grew up as a priest of Apollo, while Kreousa married Xouthos, with whom she has not yet had a child. When the play opens, husband and wife have come to Delphi to consult the oracle about their childlessness. Trusting in revelations by the oracle, Xouthos believes that Ion is his own son and tries to embrace him. Ion, after questioning him, acknowledges the older man as his father. Upon learning that her husband intends to make the young man the heir to her father's kingdom, Kreousa attempts to kill Ion, not knowing that he is her son. The attempt fails, and, her life threatened by her son, she takes refuge at an altar. Mother and son recognize each other by tokens. Kreousa tells Ion that he is the son of Apollo, but he does not believe this until Athena confirms it.

This play is concerned with violence between mother and son. Kreousa is about to kill her son Ion, in ignorance of the relationship, but her attempt fails. Then, after he discovers that Kreousa has attacked him, Ion, also in ignorance, attempts to kill his mother. In this case, recognition prevents the act from taking place. These two *pathê* occupy the entire second half of the play, from line 844, when the Old Man first suggests killing Ion. Of the two events, the mother's attack on her son is of greater dramatic importance, occupying more time and motivating Ion's retaliation. It is also more vividly presented, in a powerful messenger speech describing the death of a dove that drank poisoned wine meant for Ion (1196–1208).

Many other acts of violation of *philia* play a lesser role in the plot or are alluded to. Kreousa's family history is stained with kin murder, for her father Erekhtheus sacrificed his other daughters (277–78). She herself exposed her child, an act of injustice for which she blames herself (963). The mortals in the play, however, hold Apollo to be more blameworthy (252–54, 384–89, 960), since he raped Kreousa and then abandoned his son (881–922, 952). Although both Ion and Kreousa agree with Athena, at the end of the play, that "Apollo has done all things well" (1595), the god's violence to his "wife" causes her last-

ing pain, and his concealment of his son's identity leads to the enmity between mother and son that nearly results in kin murder. Kreousa attempts to kill Ion with poison from the Gorgon, son of Earth, which was given to Kreousa's ancestor Erikhthonios by Athena after she killed the Gorgon in the battle of gods and Giants (987–1019). Thus enmity between Kreousa, daughter of the earthborn Erekhtheus, and Ion, son of Apollo, is associated with the strife between the gods and their earthborn kin, the Giants, recounted in detail in the Parodos (184–218). Just as Kreousa's divine husband, Apollo, injures her, so her mortal husband, Xouthos, is about to do so when he plans to bring to Athens a man whom he believes to be his bastard (*nothos*: 592, 1105). Since Kreousa is an heiress (814) and Xouthos a foreigner, this is a betrayal and an act of enmity to Kreousa's house, which rules Athens (808–16, 864–80, 1090–1105). It also leads to a form of amphimetric strife, as Kreousa sees her supposed stepson as an enemy. Ion attempts to force Kreousa to leave the sanctuary, threatening violence to a suppliant (1275–76,[12] 1306), and she in turn threatens to injure Apollo if he does not protect the suppliant at his altar (1311).

The possibility of harm to other *philoi* is more briefly suggested. When Xouthos first tries to embrace Ion as his son, the young man threatens him with the bow, leading Xouthos to warn him not to become the murderer of his father (527). The Old Man suggests that Kreousa kill her mortal husband (845,[13] 976) and burn the oracle of her divine lover (974).

■ Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*. The text of this play, in which Euripidean lines are inextricably mixed with later additions, is very uncertain. The ending in particular (1532–1629, bracketed in the summary below) is spurious.

Agamemnon intends to sacrifice his daughter Iphigeneia to Artemis, in obedience to a prophecy, and he deceives his wife Klytaimestra in order to persuade her to bring the girl to him at Aulis. After mother and daughter arrive, they learn that Agamemnon intends to kill Iphigeneia. His wife and daughter supplicate Agamemnon, but he does not yield. The girl resolves to die voluntarily and goes to her death. [Artemis saves Iphigeneia, substituting a deer for her.]

The central *pathos* in this play is the murder of daughter by father, an act frequently alluded to in the text. For example, Klytaimestra tells Agamemnon that she will say to herself after the sacrifice: "The father who begot you, child, destroyed you, himself and no other killing you, with no other hand than his own" (Ἀπώλεσέν σ', ὦ τέκνον, ὁ φυτεύσας πατήρ, / αὐτὸς κτανών, οὐκ ἄλλος οὐδ' ἄλλῃ χερί: 1177–78; cf. 89–98, 364, 396, 399, 490, 511–12, 873, 935). This event is made more pitiable by Iphigeneia's lamentations on stage at 1080–84 and 1312–18, by Klytaimestra's representations to Agamemnon of the girl's laments (1098–1105) and of her own future mourning at home (1164–93), and especially by Iphigeneia's supplication of her father (1211–52).

Other acts of harm to *philos* by *philos* also figure in the play. Agamemnon and Menelaos quarrel (304–414) over the sacrifice, and the Chorus comment: "It is terrible when insults and fights take place between brothers, when they fall into strife" (376–77). Enmity between husband and wife is prominent in the fourth episode (1098–1275), where Klytaimestra not only blames Agamemnon for intending to sacrifice their daughter but also recalls earlier wrongs and hints at future crimes. Their marriage, she says, began when Agamemnon raped Klytaimestra after killing her husband, Tantalos, and their young child (1149–52).[14] He is thus *authentês* to her as the murderer of members of her family. If he kills Iphigeneia, Agamemnon will again be *authentês* (1190) to her, as well as to his other children, and he will deserve an evil homecoming (1180–93). There are also quarrels among unrelated companions. Both Agamemnon (531–35, 1267–68) and Akhilleus (1348–53) fear being killed by their own armies, and Akhilleus is angry that his *philos* (1019) Agamemnon has committed *hybris* against him (961). In representing these many kinds of harm to *philoi*, the play suggests that a single act of kin murder has broad implications, mirroring, as it does, similar past acts and leading to family quarrels in the present, to continued troubles in future generations, and to strife among the unrelated *philoi* of the Greek army.

■ Euripides' *Medea*. Medeia betrayed her family and country in order to help her husband Iason, who has now betrayed her in order to marry another wife. To punish her husband, Medeia kills his new wife and father-in-law, then murders her own children. She escapes, taking refuge in Athens.

The central *pathos* in this play is the murder of children by mother, vividly represented to the audience by means of cries offstage (1270a-78) and the display of the bodies in the chariot (1317–1410). The child-murder is frequently mentioned, as when Medeia says, "I who bore them will kill them" (ἡμεῖς κτενοῦμεν οἵπερ ἐξεφύσαμεν: 1241; cf. 792–96, 816, 846–65, 976–1001, 1251–82, 1325–26, 1393, 1407, 1410–11). Aristotle cites this play in *Poetics* 14 as an example of the killing of *philoi* with knowledge, the second worst kind of plot (1453b27–29). That Medeia kills her children with knowledge is evident from her own statement in the play: "I know what evil I am about to do" (1078). As Gerald Else notes, a recognition leading to a state of enmity occurs when Iason realizes that Medeia has killed their children and calls her his "greatest enemy" (μέγιστον ἐχθίστη: 1323).[15]

Other acts of harm to blood kin are also alluded to. Medeia has made enemies of her *philoi* at home (τοῖς μὲν οἴκοθεν φίλοις ἐχθρὰ καθέστηχ': 506–7) by betraying her father and country (31–32, 483, 502–3) and by killing her brother (167, 1334). She has also killed Pelias, king of Iolkos, "in the way it is most painful to die, at the hands of his own children" (486–87; cf. 9–10, 504–5). Medeia's child murder is compared to the act of Ino, who, in madness, leapt into the sea with her children (1283–89).

Iason, in turn, has betrayed his wife and children, behaving badly to his *philoi* (κακός γ' ὢν ἐς φίλους: 84; cf. 470). As a result of his actions, *philoi* have become enemies (ἐχθρὰ πάντα καὶ νοσεῖ τὰ φίλτατα: 16; cf. 467). In betraying his wife, Iason has also violated suppliancy and *xenia*. He has not kept the pledge (δεξιᾶς πίστιν μεγίστην: 21–22) made during his supplication of

Medeia (φεῦ δεξία χείρ . . . καὶ τῶνδε γονάτων: 496–97), and she calls him an "oath breaker and deceiver of *xenoi*" (ψευδόρκου καὶ ξειναπάτου: 1392).[16]

Amphimetric strife also plays a role in *Medea*. Iason's plan to advance the children of his first wife, Medeia, by giving them siblings by his second wife (547–65) fails to take this kind of rivalry into account. Medeia replies angrily when he explains this idea (579–87), and Iason's new wife is also angry at the sight of Medeia's children, only being persuaded to welcome them by the gifts they bring and by Iason's mollifying words (1147–55).[17]

I.B. *Child Harms Parent (5 Plays)*

In five plays, the main *pathos* involves harm to parent by child. As was shown above, this is also an important secondary *pathos* in Euripides' *Ion*. Four of the five plays are about the Orestes story. In three plays (Ais. *Cho.*, Soph. *El.*, and Eur. *El.*), the murder of Klytaimestra by her son is the main event in the stage action. Although each treats the subject differently, all three of these plays have a similar plot: Klytaimestra has killed her husband, King Agamemnon, and now rules in his stead, along with her lover, Aigisthos, who is implicated in the murder. Orestes, the son of Agamemnon and Klytaimestra, lives in exile, while their daughter Elektra lives at or near home and is at enmity with her mother. Orestes returns from exile and is recognized by his sister. He kills his mother's lover and with or without his sister's help puts his mother to death. In the fourth play about Orestes, Euripides' *Orestes*, the stage action begins after the matricide. Aiskhylos's *Eumenides* (see section I.A) focuses on the harm Klytaimestra and her Furies attempt to do Orestes. Euripides' play, however, is included in section I.B because the emphasis is on the matricide that has just taken place. Only one play in this group is about another family in which harm to parents takes place: Sophokles' *Oedipus the King*. This play is praised by Aristotle as having one of the best plots, one in which someone acts in ignorance and later recognizes *philia* (*Po.* 1453b29–31).

■ Aiskhylos's *Libation Bearers*. See the plot summary at the beginning of section I.B.

In this play, son kills mother, with knowledge, but this act is made to appear less blameworthy because he does so in obedience to Apollo's oracle, telling him to avenge his father's murder and threatening him with his father's Furies if he disobeys (269–305). The divine command is stressed in Pylades' speech at 900–902, when Orestes hesitates as he is about to commit matricide: "Count all humans as enemies rather than the god." The matricide is vividly represented in the stage action by means of Klytaimestra's supplication of her son (896–930), the display of the bodies of Klytaimestra and Aigisthos at 973ff., and Orestes' pursuit by his mother's Furies (1048ff.). On the other hand, the play also emphasizes the horror of Klytaimestra's murder of her husband (306–509, 909, 930, 973–1015, 1070–71). As the killer of Orestes' father (πατροκτόνον: 1028; cf. 909, 974), she has become the enemy of her children. Orestes says: "I know that our nearest kin are bitter to us" (τοὺς φιλτάτους γὰρ οἶδα νῷν ὄντας πικρούς: 234), and he remarks that Klytaimestra's child "once dear is now an enemy" (φίλον τέως, νῦν δ' ἐχθρόν: 993). Other acts of harm to kin are briefly alluded to: the feast of Thyestes (1068–69); the sacrifice of Iphigeneia (242); Althaia's destruction of her son Meleagros (603–12); Skylla, who caused the death of her father Nisos (613–22); and the Lemnian women, who killed their male *philoi* (631–34).

The play has several recognitions. That of Orestes by Elektra, beginning at 212, involves much more than a realization on Elektra's part that the man before her is her brother. This recognition leading to a state of *philia* involves the acknowledgment of the mutual rights and obligations that are entailed by the *philia* relationship, as the siblings pledge loyalty to their father and enmity to their mother. In contrast, Orestes' recognition (16–18) that the woman he sees is his sister (recognition of *philia*) has relatively little emotional impact. Another recognition, that of Orestes by Klytaimestra (887–88), is a recognition leading to a state of enmity. The mother recognizes that her son is her enemy, because he has just killed Aigisthos, the man who is most *philos* to her (893).

In *Libation Bearers* there is a close connection between kinship on the one hand and suppliancy and *xenia* on the other. The bringing of offerings to Agamemnon's tomb is a supplication (προστροπῆς: 85, cf. 21); Orestes and Elektra are suppliants when they invoke their dead father (τάφος δ' ἱκέτας δέδεκται: 336, cf. 501: ἐφημένους τάφῳ); and Agamemnon himself is a suppliant to his kin for vengeance.[18] Klytaimestra supplicates Orestes when she bares her breast to him, asking for *aidôs* (896–98), and when she threatens him with the curses and Furies of a mother (912, 924). At the end of the play, Orestes leaves Argos, carrying suppliant branches, in order to seek purification at Apollo's shrine (1034–39, cf. 1059–60). Moreover, Orestes and Klytaimestra are in a false relationship of *xenia* to each other. In order to gain entrance to his mother's house, Orestes says that he will pose as a *xenos*, the friend of Pylades, who is the spear-friend (*doryxenos*) of the house of Agamemnon (560–62); he will be a *hiketês* at the gates of Aigisthos (569). Klytaimestra's first word to Orestes and Pylades is *xenoi* (668), and *xenos* (674) is the son's first word to his mother.[19] This false *xenia* relationship between mother and son foreshadows Apollo's theory in *Eumenides* (657–61) that the relationship between mother and child is not blood kinship but *xenia*. Ideally, the *xenia* relationship is a most kindly one (τί γάρ ξένου ξένοισιν ἐστιν εὐμενέστεροpον: 702–3), but this pretended *xenia* cloaks enmity.

■ Sophokles' *Elektra*. See the plot summary at the beginning of section I.B.

In the central *pathos* of this play also, Orestes kills his mother, with knowledge of the relationship. However, unlike Aiskhylos's Orestes, who is reminded of the oracle as he hesitates at the crucial moment, Sophokles' matricide states (59–72) that he is moved by desire for glory, vengeance, and gain (κέρδει: 61). The oracle's role is limited to telling him how (ὅτῳ τρόπῳ: 33) he can accomplish his goal. The matricide is frequently alluded to, before, dur-

ing, and after its occurrence. Orestes has been raised by the Pedagogue to be the avenger of the murder of his father (14), and Apollo's oracle has told Orestes how he might punish the murderers (τῶν φονευσάντων) of his father with "just slaughter" (34–37).[20] Elektra mentions the bloody ax that split her father's head (99), as do the Chorus (484–87); she prays for vengeance (115–16; cf. 248) and hopes that Orestes will come as the avenger of his father's murder (953, 1154–56). When she thinks that Orestes is dead, Elektra herself is about to undertake this vengeance, either with her sister (954–89) or alone (1019–20, 1319–21). The matricide itself is vividly represented. Orestes and Pylades are said to enter the palace like Furies (1388), holding "newly-whetted murder in their hands" (1394). Klytaimestra cries out within, asking Orestes to pity his mother (1410–1411), while Elektra urges her brother on with the horrific line, "Strike, if you have strength, a second blow!" (1415). When the act is completed, and Orestes appears on stage, Elektra notes that his "bloody hand drips with sacrifice to Ares" (φοινία δὲ χεὶρ στάζει θυηλῆς Ἄρεος: 1422–23).[21]

Klytaimestra's murder of her husband is mentioned in many of the passages just cited, and in others as well (for example, in 124–26, 558, 779, 1411–12). As a result of the murder, Agamemnon is "the most hostile of mortals" (δυσμενεστάτῳ βροτῶν) to Klytaimestra, who killed him (407–8; cf. 433, 440–41, 444–45, 454–56: ἐχθροὺς . . . ἐχθροῖσιν); she in turn has also become her children's greatest enemy (τὰ μητρός, ἥ μ' ἐγείνετο, ἔχθιστα συμβέβηκεν: 261–62; ἐχθίστοισιν ἀνθρώπων ἐμοί, φονεῦσι πατρός: 815–16; cf. 638, 647, 979), a "mother who is no mother" (μήτηρ ἀμήτωρ: 1154). This state of affairs results in the internal conflict Klytaimestra expresses when she learns of Orestes' supposed death: "It is a painful thing, if I am to save my life by means of my own ills" (767–68). Even though Orestes has become her enemy, she cannot, she says, hate the child she has borne (770–71).

The murder of husband by wife has resulted in other evils as well. Elektra is forced to live with her *authentai*, Aigisthos and her mother, who have killed her father (1190). She laments (262–76) the fact that she is forced to share a house with them, that Aigisthos pours libations at the hearth where he killed Agamemnon, and that she is forced to see the greatest *hybris* of all, the killer of her father[22] sleeping in his bed with his victim's wife. She accuses her mother of sleeping with her husband's killer and of making children with him (ἥτις ξυνεύδεις τῷ παλαμναίῳ . . . καὶ παιδοποιεῖς: 587–89), and of having married her enemy (ἐχθροῖς γαμεῖσθαι: 594). Elektra also accuses her sister Khrysothemis of associating with the murderers of her father (358) while betraying her dead father and her *philoi* (368).

Other acts of harm to *philoi* are alluded to more briefly. Agamemnon was guilty of killing his own daughter, Iphigeneia (530–32). The story of Amphiaraos, who was betrayed by his wife, Eriphyle, and whose death was avenged by their son Alkmeon, is mentioned at 837–48 as a mythological example that parallels the story of Agamemnon, Klytaimestra, and Orestes.[23]

In *Elektra*, as in *Libation Bearers*, *xenia* plays a role in the matricide. Orestes, Pylades, and the Pedagogue pretend to be *xenoi*, in the sense of

strangers (44, 1442, 1450), who also claim a *xenia* relationship with Klytaimestra and Aigisthos as the messengers of Phanoteos, the "greatest spear-friend" (μέγιστος . . . δορυξένων: 46) of the latter. As the supposed envoy of this *xenos* (801) of Aigisthos and Klytaimestra, the Pedagogue is welcomed by Klytaimestra: "*Xenos*, you would come as a *philos* worthy of much good" (797). Finally, as she lures Aigisthos into the palace to his death, Elektra ironically refers to Klytaimestra as the *proxenos* ("protector of a *xenos*") of the disguised Orestes (1451).

Although *Libation Bearers* ends with the pursuit of Orestes by the Furies, they are notably absent from Sophocles' play.

■ Sophokles' *Oedipus the King*. Oidipous was given an oracle stating that he would kill his father and marry his mother. Fearing this, he fled Polybos and Merope of Korinth, who had brought him up as their own child, and came to Thebes, after killing a man whom he met on the way. In Thebes, he married Queen Iokaste and acquired the throne. When the action begins, a plague is attacking Thebes. An oracle states that the plague can be stopped only by punishing the murderer of the former king. Oidipous searches for this person, and his inquiries lead him to discover that he himself has killed the former king, who was his father, while the woman he has married is his mother. Iokaste commits suicide and Oidipous blinds himself.

In this play, Oidipous harms his parents, without knowledge of the relationship, and then learns that he has done so, in a recognition leading to a state of enmity. Although the central *pathê*, the patricide and incest, occur before the beginning of the stage action, Oidipous himself recounts the patricide (798–813), and the incestuous couple and their children appear on stage. Other *pathê* are Iokaste's suicide and Oidipous's self-blinding, both reported in detail by the Messenger. Oidipous's sufferings after his blinding are represented on stage.

The patricide and incest are repeatedly emphasized. Before the recognition, oracles and prophecies stress these acts. First, Teiresias tells Oidipous, who fails to understand, that he is "living most shamefully with his closest *philoi*" (σὺν τοῖς φιλτάτοις αἴσχισθ' ὁμιλοῦντ': 366–67), that he is an enemy to his own (415–16), and that he will be found to be both brother and father to his own children, son and husband to his mother, wife-sharer and murderer to his father (457–60). We hear next of the two oracles, one to Laios (an oracle Iokaste believes to be worthless: 720–22, 851–58) stating that he will be killed by his own child (713), and one to Oidipous prophesying that he will commit patricide and incest (791–93, 994–96). As a result of this oracle, Oidipous fears to return to those he believes to be his parents (823–27). After learning the details of Laios's death, however, he also fears that in invoking a curse on the murderer of Laios he has cursed himself, and that he is *authentês* to Iokaste, having killed her former husband (813–22). When he learns that Polybos is dead, Oidipous rejoices that part of the oracle has proved false (964–72), but he still fears his mother's bed (976). A slightly different version

of the oracle to Laios, according to which the child of Laios will kill its parents (1176), is reported by the Herdsman. This man speaks more truly than he knows, for Iokaste, as well as Laios, is now dead because of Oidipous.

When Oidipous discovers the truth, the oracles are revealed to have been fulfilled. Oidipous says that he was born from, has lived with, and has killed the wrong people (1184–85), and the Chorus lament Oidipous's marriage, in which the son plowed the furrows his father sowed, and begetter and begotten are one (1208–15). In the Messenger's report of the suicide of Iokaste and the blinding of Oidipous, the incest is described in graphic terms. Iokaste calls it a child-making in which she conceived children by her own child (1247–50), and Oidipous speaks of Iokaste as the "maternal field of himself and of his children" (1256–57). No details of Oidipous's bloody self-blinding are spared (1268–79). Oidipous, the Messenger concludes, accuses himself of patricide and incest (1288–89).

When Oidipous reappears on stage, he refers to his self-blinding as an act done αὐτόχειρ ("with one's own hand"), using a word that frequently refers to kin murder (1331). He states that he wishes he had died when his parents exposed him, for then he would not have been a great grief to his *philoi*, the murderer of his father and the bridegroom of his mother (1355–61). He invokes the crossroads where the earth drank his father's blood, which is his own blood shed by his own hand (τοὐμὸν αἷμα τῶν ἐμῶν χειρῶν ἄπο / ἐπίετε πατρὸς: 1400–1401), and the marriage that revealed the most shameful deeds (αἴσχιστ' . . . ἔργα: 1408), calling it an incestuous and murderous kinship (αἷμ' ἐμφύλιον: 1406)[24] in which fathers, brothers, children, wives, and mothers are confused (1405–7). He rightly calls his daughters his closest *philoi* (φίλοιν, τὰ φίλτατ': 1472, 1474), for he is both brother and father to them (1481–85, 1496–99). The patricide is also mentioned in this final section (1441, 1496–97). The play ends before Kreon decides what Oidipous's fate is to be, but we know from Teiresias's prophecy that he will be driven out of the land by the double curse of father and mother (417–18), a curse that has turned out to be identical to the one that Oidipous invoked on himself in ignorance.

■ Euripides' *Elektra*. See the plot summary at the beginning of section I.B. This play, like Aiskhylos's *Libation Bearers*, is centered on Orestes' matricide. However, it treats the subject very differently, emphasizing the ambiguous ethical qualities of the deed. The matricide is represented in very negative terms. Apollo's oracle is blamed by Orestes (971–73, 979, 1190–93) and by Kastor (1245–46, 1296–97, 1302). The horror of the act is highlighted in a number of ways. When it takes place, the audience hears Klytaimestra crying out within, "Children, by the gods, do not kill your mother" (1165), and immediately afterwards, Orestes and Elektra appear "stained with the newly shed blood of their mother" (1172–73). Orestes refers to the murder as "polluted" (μυσαρά: 1179), and Elektra also expresses regrets, leading the Chorus to say that she is only now thinking piously (1198–1205). Orestes recounts the deed in vivid terms, dwelling on Klytaimestra's supplication of her son (1206–17)

and his own inability to look at her (1221–22). Kastor sums up the ethical qualities of the act by telling Orestes, "She has received justice, but you have not acted justly" (1244).

Particularly shocking to a Greek audience would have been Elektra's eager participation. When the disguised Orestes asks her if she would dare to kill her mother, she answers, "Yes, with the same ax with which she killed my father" (279), and she adds, "May I die, having shed my mother's blood" (281). She undertakes to prepare for the matricide (647), and when Orestes hesitates, Elektra urges him on (967–987). According to the Chorus, it is she who did terrible things when her brother was not willing (δεινὰ δ' εἰργάσω, φίλα, κασίγνητον οὐ θέλοντα: 1204–5). Elektra herself says that she is responsible (αἰτία: 1182), and (1224–25), that she encouraged her brother and held the sword with him (ξίφους τ' ἐφηψάμαν ἅμα).

Other acts of violence against *philoi* figure less prominently in the play.[25] Klytaimestra's murder of her husband is mentioned frequently (86–87, 122–23, 276, 479–81, 599–600, 745–46, 1065–66, 1093–95, 1155–64, 1170–71). Agamemnon's body was outraged by being thrown out of the house instead of receiving burial (288–89). Klytaimestra sleeps with her husband's murderer (211–12), and Aigisthos lives in his house and dishonors his grave (319–31). In the background is Agamemnon's murder of his daughter Iphigeneia, for which Klytaimestra blames her husband (1011–29), and the quarrel of Atreus and Thyestes (699–726). Finally, Kastor alludes to Ares' murder of his cousin Halirrhothios, son of Poseidon, who raped Ares' daughter (1258–62).

Orestes' murder of Aigisthos is represented as an act of just vengeance against an enemy (πολέμιον), for which Elektra crowns her brother as victor (880–85). However, even this act is presented in a somewhat negative light: Orestes kills his enemy during a sacrifice after accepting *xenia* from him. Aigisthos invites Orestes to share his hearth (συνεστίους . . . γενέσθαι), takes him by the hand (χερὸς λαβὼν), and refers to him and the Messenger as *xenoi* (783–96). Orestes' negative reciprocation of *xenia* contrasts sharply with the hospitality and guest-gifts Orestes himself received from the Farmer and the Old Man (*xénia*: 359, 414; cf. 493–500). Moreover, Elektra's abuse of Aigisthos's corpse (907–56), of which even she is ashamed (900–902), is uncomfortably similar to the outrages committed against Agamemnon's corpse and grave.

■ Euripides' *Orestes*. The action takes place a few days after Orestes, with the help of Elektra and Pylades, has killed his mother. The Argive people are about to vote on their punishment. Brother and sister supplicate Menelaos, asking for help, but he instead sides against them and with his father-in-law, Tyndareos. Pylades speaks in defense of the siblings before the Argives, but they decide that Orestes and Elektra must die. Orestes, Elektra, and Pylades take vengeance on Menelaos by stabbing Helen, who, however, mysteriously vanishes, and by threatening to kill her daughter Hermione. Apollo reconciles the quarreling *philoi*.[26]

The consequences of matricide are the subject of *Orestes*. Orestes is tormented by his mother's Furies; he and Elektra are condemned by the Argives to die for this deed, and many quarrels among kin result from it. Although the matricide is frequently alluded to, the act is not recounted in detail; Tyndareos merely asks Orestes how he felt when Klytaimestra bared her breast in supplication (526–28). Elektra has less direct responsibility for the murder than she does in Euripides' *Elektra*, because it is Pylades who held the sword with Orestes (1235).[27] The ethical quality of the deed is characterized in similar terms in both plays, for in *Orestes* also, Klytaimestra is said to have suffered justly, although it was not right for her to die at Orestes' hands (538–39). The two plays are also similar in their negative representations of Apollo. In *Orestes*, both Elektra (28–31, 191–93) and Orestes (591–95) blame the god, and Apollo himself takes responsibility (1665).

The *Orestes*, however, differs from the other plays about this subject in that many other *pathê* among kin occur or are about to occur in the stage action. Grandfather (Tyndareos) harms grandchildren (Orestes and Elektra) by urging the Argives to punish them. Uncle (Menelaos) harms nephew and niece (Orestes and Elektra) by refusing to protect them (1056–57, 1462–64). Nephew and niece (Orestes and Elektra) attempt to kill aunt (Helen), an act recounted in detail by the Phrygian slave and made to appear more horrible by the fact that when Orestes approaches Helen he pretends to be a suppliant (1414–15). Cousins (Orestes and Elektra) threaten to kill cousin (Hermione).

Enmity among kin also figures in more minor ways. It forms the mythological background of the story of the house of Atreus, which began with the enmity of Atreus and his brother Thyestes (11–18, 811–18, 996–1010). The frequent mention of the Argives as descendants of Danaos (872, 933, 1250, 1279, 1621) may also hint at the Danaïds' murder of their husbands in the remote past.[28] In the more recent past, Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter Iphigeneia (658), and Klytaimestra in turn murdered her husband (25–26, 195, 366–67). Pylades is guilty of killing Klytaimestra, his aunt by marriage,[29] and he was exiled by his father for his part in the murder (765–67). Finally, when both siblings are condemned to kill themselves, Elektra urges her brother to put her to death, a suggestion he rejects, telling her to die instead by her own hand (1035–40).

In this play, as in *Andromakhe*, the same people are both *philoi* and enemies. Orestes and Elektra are enemies of their mother. Although they consistently act as friends of each other, one of the most important aspects of their relationship is their complicity in matricide. Similarly, their friend and cousin Pylades shows his loyalty by his complicity in harming other kin. Moreover, his help in the matricide has caused his father to exile him. Hermione is the friend of her aunt Klytaimestra, by whom she was brought up (63–65), but she is now living with her cousins, who murdered this aunt. Menelaos is the uncle of the matricides and the brother-in-law of the murdered woman, while Tyndareos is the grandfather of Orestes and Elektra and the father of the woman they have killed. Alliances shift and change under these circumstances. When Orestes and Elektra fail to gain the support of Menelaos and Tyndareos, they act as enemies to Menelaos and his wife, Helen, and daughter, Hermione. After Apollo reconciles the enemies (νείκους τε διαλύεσθε: 1679), former enemies become friends as Orestes marries Hermione, becoming the son-in-law of Menelaos. However, Apollo himself is both friend and enemy. He reconciles enemies and brings about a happy ending (1670), yet his oracle is to blame for the matricide that caused the enmities in the first place.

I.C. *Sibling Harms Sibling* (3 *Plays*)

■ **Aiskhylos's *Seven Against Thebes*.** The sons of Oidipous, Eteokles and Polyneikes, are disputing the rule of Thebes; Eteokles defends the city, against which Polyneikes is leading an invading army. Eteokles assigns a defender to fight against an attacker at each of six gates of the city and meets his own brother at the seventh gate. The city is saved, but brother kills brother. [Antigone resolves to bury Polyneikes, in spite of a decree against this.][30]

This is the last play in a trilogy, of which the first two plays, now lost, were *Laios* and *Oidipous*. The primary *pathos* is fratricide: each brother kills the other, with knowledge of the relationship. The horror and pollution of this act are stressed throughout the play: "When two men of the same blood die in mutual slaughter, the pollution does not grow old" (ἀνδροῖν δ' ὁμαίμοιν θάνατος ὧδ' αὐτοκτόνος, οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας τοῦδε τοῦ μιάσματος: 681–82; see also 672–75, 718, 734–40, 805, 811, 850, 888–99, 930–40, 971–72). Even though the deaths take place offstage, they are forcefully presented to the audience when the bodies are brought on at 848.[31]

This central *pathos* is associated with a number of other *pathê* among *philoi*. The Chorus recount the history of three generations of the royal house of Thebes. First, Laios, in disobedience to Apollo's oracle, begot Oidipous, who killed his father and begot on his own mother children whom he cursed. Oidipous's curse, they fear, will be fulfilled in the mutual fratricide of those children (720–91). Thus, the events represented in this play are the result and culmination of a serious of terrible events within the family: Eteokles and Polyneikes are the children of the incestuous marriage of Oidipous (753–57, 926–30), who killed his own father (751–52, 783), and the fratricide is the fulfillment of the curse of Oidipous, the presence of which is felt throughout the play (70, 655, 695–97, 709, 720–26, 766, 785–91, 886–87, 898, 946, 955, 975–76 = 987–88). Moreover, the attack of Polyneikes on Thebes is itself portrayed as patricide and matricide against the land that is both father (πατρῴας χθονός, "fatherland": 668) and mother (τεκούσῃ μητρί, "the mother that bore him": 415; cf. 477, 580–89, 640). Both brothers have destroyed their fathers' house (876, 880–85) and done evil to the citizens of Thebes (923).[32] Eteokles' realization that his father's curse is being fulfilled (πατρὸς δὴ νῦν ἀραὶ τελεσφόροι: 655) is a recognition leading to a state of enmity, in which Eteokles understands that his father has acted as an enemy to him and that he in turn is about

to act as an enemy to his brother. This recognition, however, does not change the direction of the action, but confirms its ongoing progression toward bad fortune.

■ Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*. This play is discussed in chapter 2.

■ Euripides' *Phoenician Women*. After discovering that he had committed patricide and incest, Oidipous cursed the two sons of his incestuous marriage.[33] Eteokles and Polyneikes have quarreled over the rule of Thebes. As the play begins, Polyneikes is leading a foreign army to attack the city, which is defended by Eteokles. The city is saved, but the two brothers kill each other in single combat. Iokaste kills herself over their bodies.

The play represents the fulfillment of the curse of Oidipous (1425–26, 1556–59), which entails the destruction of his house (379, 624, 1495–97). This curse is inherited from Laios and passed on to Oidipous's children (1611). Laios disobeyed the oracle telling him not to beget children (17–22, 868–69) and then tried to kill his son by exposing him (1600–1601). Oidipous, in turn, killed his father and begot on his own mother children whom he killed with curses (32–68, 1043–54, 1608–11). Even before Laios, however, the history of the Theban royal house was tainted with kin murder. After Kadmos killed the snake of Ares and sowed the earth with its teeth (657–69), the Spartoi (Sown Men) rose from the earth and, in acts that the Chorus describe in terms reminiscent of fratricide and incest, soaked it with blood as they killed one another, after which they returned to the earth:

> ἔνθεν ἐξανῆκε Γᾶ
> πάνοπλον ὄψιν ὑπὲρ ἄκρων
> ὅρων χθονός· σιδαρόφρων
> δέ νιν φόνος πάλιν ξυνῆψε Γᾳ φίλᾳ.
> αἵματος δ' ἔδευσε Γαῖαν, ἅ νιν εὐαλίοισι
> δεῖξεν αἰθέρος πνοαῖς. (670–75)

> Then the Earth sent up a vision of armed men above the uppermost limits of the land. And iron-minded murder joined them again to dear Earth. It soaked with blood the Earth that had shown them to the bright breezes of the air.[34]

In the action represented on stage, Kreon's son Menoikeus dies because, according to Teiresias, one of the race of the Spartoi, from whom Kreon is descended, must pay with his life for the murder of the snake (930–44).

The central *pathos* is the fratricide, on which attention is continually focused by means of allusions to the curse of Oidipous; by Teiresias's prophecy of their fratricide (880); by the brothers' expressions of their desire to kill one another (610, 622, 754–56); by the choral ode at 1284–1307, by the Messenger's report (1356–1424), according to which each of the brothers prays to succeed in killing the other (1365–69, 1373–76); and finally, by the corpses brought on stage at 1480.[35]

Euripides' play, however, has a more episodic structure than does Aiskhylos's *Seven Against Thebes*, allowing many other acts of harm to *philoi* to take place. Oidipous is dishonored by his sons (63–65, 872–77), Eteokles is unjust to his brother in refusing to share the rule (491–93), and Polyneikes attacks Thebes, an act that makes him an enemy of his land (270–71), of the earth that nourished him (626), of his city (432–33, 609), of his own family (617), and of his fellow Thebans (357–58). Eteokles' denial of burial to Polyneikes (775–77) is enforced by his uncle Kreon (1627–34), who also exiles Oidipous, an act the latter says is a death sentence (1621). Menoikeus and Iokaste kill themselves, and Antigone threatens to act like her relatives the Danaïds[36] by killing her cousin Haimon on their wedding night if she is forced to marry him (1675). Finally, it is possible to see a veiled allusion to the sacrifice of the daughters of Erekhtheus in Teiresias's statement that he has just returned from helping Erekhtheus in his war against Eumolpos (852–57).[37] Polyneikes' statement sums up the central idea of the play: "How terrible, mother, is the enmity of kindred *philoi*" (ὡς δεινὸν ἔχθρα, μῆτερ, οἰκείων φίλων: 374).[38]

I.D. *Harm to Other Blood Kin (2 plays)*

■ Aiskhylos's *Prometheus Bound*. Prometheus, because he has helped mortals, is bound to a rock by his nephew Zeus.[39] He is visited by Oceanos and the daughters of Oceanos, and by Io, whose future sufferings and deliverance he prophesies. After Prometheus states that he alone knows how Zeus can be saved from being deposed, Hermes threatens him with further tortures if he does not reveal the secret to Zeus. Prometheus refuses and is given further punishments by Zeus.

In this play, harm to divine *philos* by *philos* is central to the plot. Violation of *philia* among the gods is important in many other ways as well.[40] All of the gods are related, and Zeus is called "father" by the other gods (4, 17, 40, 947, 984). In Aiskhylos's version, Zeus's injuries to Prometheus are particularly terrible because he is Prometheus's nephew. In Hesiod, Prometheus is the son of the Titan Iapetos, brother of Oceanos, and, like Zeus, he is the grandson of Ouranos and Gaia (*Theogony* 507–10, 132–34). According to Hesiod, therefore, Prometheus is Zeus's cousin. In the *Prometheus Bound*, however, Prometheus is himself a Titan, as the son of Gaia (209–10), Zeus's grandmother.[41]

Relationships by blood and marriage are also important in the words and actions of those who visit Prometheus. Hephaistos is reluctant to help punish Prometheus because of his kinship (συγγενῆ θεόν: 14; cf. 39) with the Titan. Hermes, as the son of Zeus, whom he calls "father" at 947, is Prometheus's great-nephew. Oceanos is doubly related to Prometheus, as blood kin and as father of his wife, Hesione (558–60).[42] He visits Prometheus as kin (ξυγγενές . . . γένους: 290–91) and states that no one is a more "steadfast friend" (φίλος . . . βεβαιότερος: 297) of Prometheus. Oceanos attempts to act as a friend by interceding with Zeus on Prometheus's behalf, although Prometheus for-

bids this (325–96). The Oceanids, who come in *philia* (127), mention their relationship by marriage to Prometheus, stating that they are the sisters of his wife (558–60). They immediately sympathize with Prometheus, who is "pitiable to his *philoi*" (246), and they join with him in indignation over his unjust punishment (ξυνασχαλῶ: 162, 243). At the end of the play, the Oceanids willingly share in his torments (ξυγκάμνουσαι: 1059), refusing to leave when he is threatened with further punishments. Their final words express a hatred for traitors (1069). Io is the niece of the Oceanids, as Prometheus points out (κασιγνήταις πατρός: 636), and therefore related to Prometheus himself. In addition, because she is the bride of Zeus, her mortal descendants will be even more closely related to Prometheus.

Prometheus's relationship with Zeus varies between friendship and enmity. Prometheus has been Zeus's political friend (τὸν Διὸς φίλον: 304): he helped him win the throne, taking Zeus's side in the civil war (στάσις: 200) against the Titans (199–225). Prometheus then became the enemy of Zeus and his allies (37, 120–21, 975, 1041) because of his too-great friendship with mortals (λίαν φιλότητα βροτῶν: 123; cf. 28). As a result, Zeus now inflicts outrages (αἰκείαισιν: 94; λύμαις: 148) on him. Zeus also punished Prometheus's Titan kin (κασιγνήτου: 347, ξυνομαιμόνων: 410) for opposing him in the war. Nevertheless, Prometheus prophesies that one day Zeus will again enter into friendship (φιλότητα: 191) with him.

Zeus is involved in unfortunate relationships with other *philoi* also. He took over the throne of his father Kronos (πατρῷον . . . θρόνον: 228) after a war with him. Zeus then hid Kronos and his allies in Tartaros, following Prometheus's advice (219–21). As a result, Kronos cursed Zeus (910–12). In seeking a marriage with Io, Zeus treats her more like an enemy than a friend, driving her from her father's home against her will and that of her father (ἐξήλασέν με κἀπέκλῃσε δωμάτων, ἄκουσαν ἄκων: 670–71) and arousing Hera's enmity against her (592, 704). The descendants of the troubled marriage of Zeus and Io will be involved in troubled marriages of their own, since the Danaïds will flee from marriages with their cousins (συγγενῆ γάμον ἀνεψιῶν: 855–56) and all but one of them will kill her husband (862–67). Moreover, according to Prometheus's prophecy, Zeus is destined to lose his throne because of a marriage that will give him a child mightier than its father (764–68). Only Prometheus, Zeus's kin and enemy, can save him from this fate.

■ Sophokles' *Antigone*. After the sons of Oidipous, Eteokles and Polyneikes, kill one another in battle over the rule of Thebes, Kreon, the new ruler, decrees that no one shall bury Polyneikes on pain of death. Antigone buries her brother and is condemned to death by her uncle Kreon. After being immured in a cave, she commits suicide, and Haimon, Kreon's son and her betrothed, kills himself over her body after a failed attempt to stab his father. Kreon's wife, Eurydike, also kills herself, blaming her husband for her son's death.

There are many *pathê* in the stage action of this play, all involving harm to *philoi*.[43] Kreon harms his nephew Polyneikes in refusing him burial, and his niece Antigone in condemning her to death. Kreon's condemnation of Antigone leads to other *pathê*: Antigone's suicide, Haimon's attack on his father, Haimon's suicide, and the suicide of Eurydike. All of these suicides are vengeance suicides directed against Kreon.[44] When Antigone hangs herself, she brings on the pollution that Kreon had tried to avoid by providing her with some food when immuring her (775–76). Haimon kills himself in anger at his father's murder of his fiancée (1177), and Eurydike kills herself at the household altar (1301),[45] charging Kreon with the murder of his son (1312–13), and calling him a "child-killer" (παιδοκτόνῳ: 1305). Kreon fully accepts responsibility for the death of Haimon, calling the Chorus to look on the kin killer and the killed (ὦ κτανόντας τε καὶ θανόντας βλέποντες ἐμφυλίους: 1263–64) and repeating that he has killed his son and wife (ὅς, ὦ παῖ, σέ τ' οὐχ ἑκὼν κατέκτανον / σέ τ' αὖ τάνδ': 1340–41; cf. 1319). Haimon's aborted attack on his father (1231–34) is condemned by Aristotle (*Po.* 14.1453b37–1454a2) as an act that is *miaron* (polluted) and "without *pathos*," because someone is about to act, with knowledge of the *philia* relationship, but does not. Seen as a prelude to his vengeance suicide, however, Haimon's act makes better dramatic sense than Aristotle indicates.

Kreon errs by acting impiously both in refusing burial to the dead and in burying the living (1068–73), and he later recognizes his mistake ("I know it," ἔγνωκα: 1095). This error is closely bound up with a failure to act as *philos* to his own kin, followed by a recognition of this mistake. Kreon states that he now rules Thebes because he is next of kin to Polyneikes and Eteokles (174), but he also states that he does not count as a *philos* the enemy of his country (187–88), that an enemy is never a *philos*, even in death (522), and that Antigone must die no matter how closely related she is in blood (486–88). When Kreon later realizes that he has erred, he understands that his errors (ἁμαρτήματα: 1261; αὐτὸς ἁμαρτών: 1260) have led to kin murder (1263–64). Thus, Kreon's error in failing to treat his kin as *philoi* is similar to that of Oidipous, who harmed his kin in ignorance. Antigone makes a mistake similar to that of Kreon in failing to acknowledge as *philoi* those who do not act with her in honoring blood kin. For this reason, she rejects her sister Ismene, calling her an enemy (ἐχθίων: 86, ἐχθαρῇ: 93), and she refuses to consider the claims of her uncle Kreon. She dies lamenting that she is bereft of *philoi* (876–82).

In the background of the stage action is the history of Oidipous and his sons. Ismene forcefully reminds her sister of their father's infamy and self-blinding (49–52), of the suicide of Oidipous's mother and wife (53–54), and of their brothers' mutual fratricide:

> τρίτον δ' ἀδελφὼ δύο μίαν καθ' ἡμέραν
> αὐτοκτονοῦντε τὼ ταλαιπώρω μόρον
> κοινὸν κατειργάσαντ' ἐπαλλήλοιν χεροῖν. (55–57)

Third, our two brothers in one day,
two wretched self-killers, with each others' hands
brought about a common doom.

The misfortunes of the house of Oidipous are frequently mentioned elsewhere as well (for instance, at 144–47, 171–72, 594–603, 857–66).

Other instances of kin killing are also alluded to. Kreon is responsible for the death of another son, Megareos.[46] The Chorus also allude to a number of mythological exempla that involve kin murder, in at least some version of the myths (944–87). Danaë and her son Perseus were cast adrift in a chest by Danaë's father, Akrisios, who in turn was later killed by his grandson Perseus. Lykourgos killed his son Dryas, and in one version of the myth, Kleopatra blinded her sons, the Phineidai.[47]

II. Reciprocal Relationships (9 Plays)

In nine plays, *philoi* harm or threaten *philoi* in the reciprocal relationships of marriage, *xenia*, and suppliancy.

II.A. *Marriage (2 Plays)*

■ Aiskhylos's *Agamemnon*. Agamemnon has sacrificed his daughter Iphigeneia in order to sail to Troy. He returns after a victory and is killed by his wife Klytaimestra and her lover Aigisthos.

In the main *pathos*, wife deliberately kills husband. This act is vividly represented in the play as about to occur, as actually taking place, and as an event in the past. First, Kassandra prophesies (1100–29) Klytaimestra's murder, "unbearable to *philoi*, incurable" (1103), of her "husband of the same bed" (ὁμοδέμνιον πόσιν: 1108). She repeats the prophecy, saying that "the female is murderer of the male" (1231–32), "breathing Ares against her *philoi*" (1235–36). Next, the audience hears Agamemnon cry out within the palace that he has been struck (1343, 1345). Finally, Klytaimestra recounts the deed she has just committed, standing over the body of her husband and boasting that she struck him three times, rejoicing in the bloody drops with which he spattered her as crops rejoice in rain (1379–98). She boldly proclaims, "This is Agamemnon, my husband, a corpse, the work of this right hand, crafter of justice" (1404–6). In another violation of decency, Klytaimestra, in response to the Chorus's questions, says that she, who murdered her husband, will also give him burial (1541–54).

In this play, in contrast to the accounts in Homer, where it is usually Aigisthos who is responsible for the actual killing (see chapter 1, section 2, with note 35), Klytaimestra does the deed and her lover merely helps in the planning (1604, 1609, 1614, 1627, 1634–35, 1643–46). The Chorus complain to Aigisthos that because the wife did the actual deed, there is pollution of the land and of its gods (χώρας μίασμα καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων: 1645). Although Aigisthos is kin to Agamemnon (1583–85), in stressing the pollution that results from husband-murder and asking Aigisthos why he did not do the deed himself (1643–44), the Chorus imply that Aigisthos's murder of Agamemnon would have created less pollution.

Klytaimestra and Aigisthos are also guilty of adultery, of which she openly boasts (1435–37), even stating, in a line that continues to shock modern editors, that the murder of Kassandra gives her a sexual thrill (1447).[48] The Chorus accuse Aigisthos of adultery at 1626, and Kassandra alludes to it at 1258–59.

The central act of husband-killing is closely linked to past acts of kin murder. Klytaimestra says that she killed her husband in vengeance for his sacrifice of their daughter Iphigeneia (1417–18, 1432–33, 1525–29, 1555–59), and the Chorus narrate this act in the Parodos (205–47). For his part, Aigisthos helped plan the murder in revenge for the crimes of Agamemnon's father, Atreus, against Atreus's brother Thyestes, Aigisthos's father. According to Aigisthos (1583–1602), Atreus first exiled Thyestes, and then, when his brother returned to his hearth as suppliant (προστρόπαιος ἑστίας: 1587), gave him as guest-gift (ξένια: 1590) the flesh of his own children to eat (παρέσχε δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν: 1593). Thyestes then cursed the house of Atreus (1598–1602). Aigisthos sees himself as fulfilling this curse in avenging his father Thyestes (1577–82, 1603–11). Although Klytaimestra's main concern is for Iphigeneia, she also believes herself to be the ἀλάστωρ ("avenging spirit"), who punishes "Atreus, the cruel giver of the feast" (1497–1504). The feast of Thyestes is also alluded to by Kassandra, who recoils from the "kin murders" (αὐτοφόνα κακά: 1091) in the house and who has a vision of the children eaten by their father (κλαιόμενα τάδε βρέφη σφαγάς, / ὀπτάς τε σάρκας πρὸς πατρὸς βεβρωμένας: 1096–97). She paints an especially vivid picture at 1219–22:

παῖδες θανόντες ὡσπερεὶ πρὸς τῶν[49] φίλων,
χεῖρας κρεῶν πλήθοντες οἰκείας βορᾶς
ξὺν ἐντέροις τε σπλάγχν', ἐποίκτιστον γέμος,
πρέπουσ' ἔχοντες, ὧν πατὴρ ἐγεύσατο.

Children, it seems, whom their own relatives have killed;
their hands are full of meat—their own flesh served as food,
a pitiable burden! I can see them holding up
the vitals and the entrails, which their father tasted.
(trans. Ewans 1995)

Kassandra also sees Aigisthos's role in Agamemnon's murder as an act of vengeance for Atreus's deed (1223–25), as does the Chorus (1338–40, 1505–12). However, Kassandra alone briefly mentions the adultery of Thyestes with Atreus's wife (1193) that began the bloody cycle in the version of the story this play appears to follow.

Frequent allusions to Orestes' future matricide remind us that Agamemnon's murder is not the end of the chain of kin murders. Kassandra

prophesies that an avenger will come, the "mother-killing offspring, avenger of his father" (1281), and the Chorus also speak of vengeance, first in general terms (1429–30, 1533–36, 1562–64), then stating clearly their hope that Orestes will come as murderer (φονεύς) of both Aigisthos and Klytaimestra (1646–48, cf. 1667). Klytaimestra, however, hopes to ward off further kin murders (θανάτοις αὐθένταισιν; μανίας μελάθρων ἀλληλοφόνους: 1567–76).

Finally, Paris's violation of *xenia* is in the background of the Trojan War. It is Zeus Xenios who sends the sons of Atreus against Paris (60–62, 362–64), who shamed the table of *xenia* by stealing a woman (399–402; cf. 700–704). The marriage of Paris has destroyed his own *philoi* (1156).

■ Sophokles' *Women of Trakhis*. Herakles has been away from home for a long time, forced to undergo labors. When he is about to return home, his wife Deianeira learns that he has fallen in love with another woman, Iole, whom he is bringing home as a captive. Deianeira gives Herakles a drug she thinks is a love charm but that turns out to be poison. When she learns that her husband is dying, she kills herself. Before he dies, Herakles persuades his son Hyllos to carry him to a funeral pyre and to marry Iole.

The main *pathos* is the killing of husband by wife. Deianeira kills Herakles unintentionally because of *hamartia* (ἥμαρτεν οὐχ ἑκουσία: 1123)[50] and recognizes later what she has done (712–13). This act of husband-killing is the center of a web of other interconnected acts of violence against *philoi*. Deianeira acts because Herakles has treated her badly in bringing another woman, who will be more than a slave (367), to live with her, sharing her bed and marriage (539–46). Moreover, Iole's capture is the last of a series of events connected with violation of *xenia*. According to Likhas, when Herakles was a guest (δόμους ἐφέστιον, ξένον παλαιόν: 262–63) in the home of Eurytos, king of Oikhalia and Iole's father, Eurytos insulted Herakles and threw him out of the house. In revenge, Herakles killed Iphitos, Eurytos's son, by throwing him from the walls of Tiryns, Herakles' home, when the young man was not paying attention. Zeus punished him for killing Iphitos by trickery. Later on, Herakles sacked Oikhalia and killed Eurytos and his sons (262–83). Although Likhas's story leaves out Iole's part in Herakles' attack on Oikhalia, this does not change the fact that Eurytos violated his *xenia* relationship with Herakles and that Herakles, in turn, killed Iphitos while he was visiting Herakles' home.[51]

Deianeira's husband-killing also results in other acts of violence against *philoi*. Herakles, mad with pain because of the poison, murders his faithful friend Likhas (777–84), and Deianeira commits suicide, partly because her son curses her (808–12, 932–33).[52] Without knowing that she is already dead, Herakles also curses his wife, wishing that she might die just as she killed him (1037–40) and that he himself had killed her (1133). In what Jan Coenraad Kamerbeek calls "perhaps the most savage passage in Greek Tragedy," Herakles asks Hyllos to bring Deianeira to him for punishment, so that he can see whether his son is pained more by his father's or his mother's sufferings (1066–69).[53] Even when he learns that Deianeira did not intend to kill him, Herakles says nothing to show that he, like Hyllos, forgives Deianeira; he does not mention her from 1143 on.

Herakles' sufferings lead, in turn, to the terrible orders he gives Hyllos, telling his son to bring about his father's death. Hyllos is to place Herakles on the pyre with his own hand (αὐτόχειρα: 1194), or his father will be a curse to him even in the underworld (1201–2). After Hyllos expresses horror at the idea of becoming his father's murderer (φονέα γενέσθαι καὶ παλαμναῖον σέθεν: 1207), Herakles allows his son to escape pollution—technically, at least—by avoiding actually touching the pyre (1211–15). But the horror of the deed remains. Herakles also orders his son to marry Iole, the woman who is part cause (μεταίτιος) of the deaths of both his parents (1233–37). Hyllos is also *authentês* to Iole because Herakles killed her father and brothers. When Herakles again threatens his son with a curse (1239–40), Hyllos yields, saying that he must learn to act impiously (ἐκδιδαχθῶ δῆτα δυσσεβεῖν: 1245).[54] He agrees to obey both orders but places the responsibility on his father (1249–50). Herakles not only asks his son for death, he makes the same request of others. He calls the Greeks, whom he saved from many dangers, "most unjust" because they will not give him death (1010–16). He calls on Hades, as the brother of his father, Zeus, to put him to sleep (1040–43), and on his father to kill him with his thunderbolt (1087–88).

Herakles' death is complex and paradoxical, being a release from sufferings and labors (1170–71, cf. 79–81, 166–68, 821–30), which he himself desires. Responsibility for this death is equally problematic. Of the many who share in Herakles' death (Iole, the cause of Deianeira's decision to use the poison; Nessos, who gave Deianeira the poison; Deianeira, who administered the poison; Hyllos, who takes his father to the pyre; and Zeus, who does not help his son), who is ultimately responsible? According to Hyllos, it is Zeus, who looks with indifference on his son's sufferings (1264–74). According to Herakles, however, it is Nessos, his enemy. Herakles has the authority of a prophecy of Zeus, stating that a dead man would kill him (1159–63). Yet, if "none of these things is without Zeus" (1278), it is after all Herakles' father who fulfills the prophecy.

II.B. Xenia (3 Plays)

■ Sophokles' *Philoktetes*. This play is discussed in chapter 4.

■ Euripides' *Hekabe*. Hekabe has seen Troy sacked by the Greeks, who killed her husband and sons and enslaved her and her daughters. In the stage action, a remaining daughter, Polyxene, is sacrificed by the Greeks at Akhilleus's tomb, and her last living son, Polydoros, is killed by Polymestor, a *xenos* to whom he had been sent for safekeeping. Hekabe takes vengeance on Polymestor by blinding him and killing his sons.

This play is concerned with violation of an established *xenia* relationship.[55] Polymestor kills his *xenos* Polydoros, and Hekabe in turn takes vengeance on Polymestor and his sons. The murder of Polydoros is alluded to throughout the play. The young man's ghost speaks the Prologue, telling how the *xenos* of his father (ξένος πατρῷος) killed him and threw his body into the sea, where he lies unburied (25–30). Hekabe has an evil dream concerning her son (54, 68–82) and realizes that it is fulfilled (703–7) when she recognizes that her Thracian *xenos* has killed her son (710–20). This is a recognition leading to a state of enmity. Vengeance for the murder occupies the rest of the play.

Hekabe interweaves the representation of these central *pathê* with many other allusions to *philia* and its violation.[56] Hekabe suffers as a slave after the Trojan War, a conflict that began when Paris married Helen (629–56, 943–51), thus violating his *xenia* relationship with Menelaos, and ended with Akhilleus's murder of Priam at an altar (23). Hekabe supplicates Odysseus in vain, asking him to spare her daughter's life, claiming that he owes her a debt (ἀντιδοῦναι: 272) since she once saved his life when he was her suppliant in Troy (239–78). She also claims that it is contrary to accepted law to kill a woman he has saved after dragging her from an altar (288–92). Odysseus, however, answers that he owes a greater debt to Akhilleus, his *philos* (311), and says that she, as a barbarian, has no true concept of *philia*: "The barbarians do not believe *philoi* to be *philoi*" (328–29).

After she discovers that Polymestor has killed Polydoros, Hekabe supplicates Agamemnon, asking him to punish Polymestor, "the most impious *xenos*," who did "the most impious deed" after frequently receiving hospitality at the table of *xenia* (790–94).[57] She argues that the law requires those who kill *xenoi* to be punished (799–805). Hekabe also attempts to persuade Agamemnon that because his relationship with Kassandra is a kind of marriage, Polydoros is in fact his brother-in-law (κηδεστήν: 834). The Chorus remark that the laws of necessity make enemies *philoi* and *philoi* enemies (848–49). Agamemnon, however, argues that Polymestor is friendly (*philios*) to the Greeks, while Polydoros is an enemy (858–60). In persuading Agamemnon to let her take vengeance on Polymestor, Hekabe cites women who have overcome men: the Danaïds and the Lemnian women (886–87), who killed their husbands and male kin.

The unsuspecting Polymestor still claims to be a friend of the Trojans. He enters with the words, "O Priam, dearest [φίλτατ'] of men, and you the dearest woman [φιλτάτη], Hekabe" (953–54). He agrees to send his bodyguard away, telling her, "You are dear [φίλη] and this army of the Greeks is friendly [προσφιλές] to me" (982–83). Hekabe pretends to reciprocate, echoing Polymestor's own words in addressing him as "dearest" (φίλτατ': 990) and in saying to him: "O loved (φιληθείς) as you are now loved (φιλῇ) by me (1000)." Her revenge is appropriately reciprocal. After luring Polymestor into her tent on the pretext of treating him as a trusted *philos* (ὡς δὴ παρὰ φίλῳ: 1152), she acts just as he did, killing the children of her *xenos*. In addition, she blinds him.

In the final debate, the blinded Polymestor claims friendship with the Greeks, calling Agamemnon "dearest" (φίλτατ': 1114) and making his defense on the grounds that he was acting out of *philia* to the Greeks: since Priam's son was an enemy to the Greeks, Polymestor was doing Agamemnon a favor in killing him (1175–76). Hekabe's accusation begins with an echo of Odysseus's words to her at 328–29: "The barbarian race could never be *philon* [dear] to the Greeks" (1199–1201), apparently not realizing that the words apply to herself as well as to Polymestor. She goes on to state (1202–3) that Polymestor is neither blood kin (συγγενής) to the Greeks nor a relation by marriage (κηδεύσων). She claims that Polymestor was guilty of murdering a *xenos* at his hearth (1216), that he killed Polydoros only after Troy fell, and that he has kept the Trojan gold given him by Priam along with Polydoros, which shows that he is not a true *philos* to the Greeks (1208–23). She argues, moreover, that Agamemnon will show himself to be evil if he supports an impious *xenos* (1232–35). When Agamemnon agrees with Hekabe, stating that the Greeks consider it shameful to kill a *xenos* (1247–48), Polymestor loses his case. Before he dies, however, he prophesies Agamemnon's own death at the hands of his wife (1277–81).

■ **Euripides' *Helen*.** While the Trojan War was being fought over a phantom Helen, the real Helen was taken by Zeus's orders to Egypt to be kept safe for her husband, Menelaos, by King Proteus. The play opens after Proteus's death. His son Theoklymenos is pursuing Helen, whom he wants to marry against her will. She takes refuge at Proteus's tomb. Menelaos arrives, shipwrecked, recognizes his wife, and learns that she has not betrayed him. Husband and wife are protected by Theonoë, the sister of Theoklymenos. With the help of Helen's divine brothers, the Dioskoroi, Helen and Menelaos escape from Egypt by trickery and sail to safety in Sparta.

Euripides' *Helen* is best understood as a play concerning *xenia* and its violation. Zeus gave his daughter Helen to Proteus, the king of Egypt, to keep her safe for her husband while he was away at Troy fighting to regain the phantom Helen (44–48, 909–11, 964). Since this action created a *xenia* relationship between Helen and Proteus, the relationships among Zeus, Proteus, and Helen are much the same as those among Priam, Polymestor and Polydoros in the *Hekabe*. Proteus's *xenia* relationship has been inherited by Proteus's son Theoklymenos, who, however, violates it by attempting to force Helen to marry him.[58] Even though the term *xenia* is never used of these relationships, they are clearly represented as such.

In addition to being essential to the main events of the plot, *xenia* relationships figure in more minor ways in the *Helen*. The play is concerned with the Trojan War, which began with Paris's violation of *xenia* in Menelaos's house, an act alluded to at 229–35 and 691. Not only does Theoklymenos violate his *xenia* relationship with Helen, he kills all Greek *xenoi* he catches (155), according to Helen, and the Old Woman states that he will give Menelaos death for a guest-gift (*xénia*) if he catches him (480). Although Menelaos

escapes this fate, he says that he was driven like a beggar from Theoklymenos's door (790).

Theonoë, on the other hand, acts like her just father Proteus (μιμοῦ τρόπους πατρὸς δικαίου: 940–41; cf. 920) in protecting her *xenoi*, Helen and Menelaos, from her brother Theoklymenos. When Theonoë discovers the couple, Helen appeals to her, arguing that Proteus would want his daughter to give back (ἀποδοῦναι πάλιν) what belongs to another (915–17). Theonoë agrees, telling Menelaos, "I would do wrong if I did not give back [sc. Helen]. For if he [sc. Proteus] were living, he would give her back [ἀπέδωκεν] to you, and you to her" (1010–12). For this reason, she honors Menelaos's request to save a *xenos* (954) by not revealing his presence. In protecting her *xenoi*, Helen and Menelaos, Theonoë also honors suppliants at her father's tomb (961), who threaten to kill themselves there (980–87), just as she honors her own suppliant, Helen (894). The play ends with a reference to theoxeny (the hosting of gods by mortals), as Kastor prophesies that the deified Helen, together with her brothers the Dioskoroi, will have *xénia* from mortals (ξένια τ' ἀνθρώπων πάρα / ἕξεις μεθ' ἡμῶν : 1668–69).[59]

In both major and minor incidents, then, *Helen* is structured around *xenia* and its violation. Theoklymenos's violation of *xenia* in order to gain the real Helen mirrors Paris's violation of *xenia* that gave him the phantom Helen. On the other hand, Theonoë's respect for *xenoi* and suppliants is the counterpart of Proteus's justice and piety in protecting Helen and of his tomb when it serves as a refuge for the suppliants and *xenoi*, Helen and Menelaos. On the divine level, the Dioskoroi help mortals who are threatened *xenoi*, and they receive *xénia* in return.

Another major concern in the play is the harm that has been done to her *philoi* by the false Helen, that is, by her false reputation as an adulteress. Helen has not, of course, really betrayed her husband, and Menelaos's recognition of Helen's identity also involves the recognition that she is a true *philê*, who has remained faithful to him (566–624). Even though Helen did not harm her *philoi*, however, her name did so (42–43, 1653). For one thing, her evil reputation has injured the Greeks at Troy or on their way home (72–74, 383–85, 1122–36). Teukros, as a result of the war, was exiled by his father, who blamed him for the death of his brother, Aias (90–94). Helen's reputation has also harmed her mother, who killed herself for shame; her brothers, who are reported to have committed suicide because of her (133–42, 200–210, 280: φονεὺς αὐτῆς ἐγώ, 284–85, 686–87); and her daughter Hermione, whom no one will marry (282–83, 688–90, 933). Menelaos suffers from his vain labors in Troy and from his wanderings on his return (520–27, 603), and Helen herself suffers from an unjust evil reputation and from living in exile as a slave in a barbarian land (270–76, 694–95, 1147–48).

In minor events, several acts of harm to *philoi* are averted. Theoklymenos threatens to kill his sister Theonoë (1632) but is immediately persuaded by Kastor not to do so (1682). Menelaos and Helen swear that they will kill themselves rather than survive each other (835–40; cf. 1401–2), and Menelaos says

that he will kill Helen and then himself (842). The play also contains a few allusions to mythological exempla in which *philoi* harm *philoi*: Kallisto and Merope (375–83), Oinomaos, Pelops, and Atreus (386–92).[60]

II.C. *Suppliancy (4 Plays)*

■ Aiskhylos's *Suppliants*. This play is discussed in chapter 3.

■ Sophokles' *Oedipus at Kolonos*. Oidipous, in ignorance, committed patricide and incest. After discovering what he had done, he blinded himself. When the play opens, he is living in exile from Thebes, attended in his wanderings by his daughter Antigone. Oidipous and Antigone come to a sacred grove near Athens, whose king, Theseus, accepts Oidipous as suppliant. Oidipous's daughter Ismene arrives from Thebes to tell Oidipous that his sons, Eteokles and Polyneikes, have quarreled over which of them is to rule in Thebes. Eteokles has exiled Polyneikes, who is preparing to attack his brother with a foreign army. Moreover, Ismene says, Kreon, because of an oracle, wants to gain possession of Oidipous's body after his death. Theseus protects Oidipous and his daughters when Kreon threatens them. Polyneikes then supplicates his father, asking for help in his war against Eteokles, but Oidipous refuses and curses both his sons. He then dies in a mysterious manner after promising benefits to Athens.

It has been argued that *xenia* is the central issue in *Oedipus at Kolonos*, and that Theseus accepts Oidipous as *xenos* when he settles him in Athens.[61] This argument would have more weight if there were some evidence for the renewal of a previously existing *xenia* relationship between the two men or for the initiation of a new one.[62] There is, however, no evidence that Oidipous is given status as a *xenos* in Athens and no indication of *xenia* ritual. The final handclasp between Theseus and Oidipous's daughters (1631–35) hardly constitutes a ratification of a *xenia* compact between Theseus and Oidipous.[63]

On the other hand, there is abundant evidence for the primary importance of supplication in this play. Oidipous supplicates Theseus, asking the king to protect Oidipous and his daughters against Kreon and the Thebans. Theseus agrees and defends Oidipous against his enemies, thereby acknowledging him as *philos*. In return, he and Athens receive great benefits. As Peter Burian has shown, this play follows the pattern of the suppliant plot, in which "[t]he suppliant, in flight from a powerful enemy, seeks refuge in a foreign land. He must win the support of his host, who, when the enemy approaches, undertakes to save him even at the cost of war. The battle ends favorably for the suppliant's cause, and his safety is assured."[64]

The importance of and frequent references to supplication in *Oedipus at Kolonos* support this interpretation. Oidipous is the suppliant of the Eumenides (44, 634), and he and Antigone supplicate the Chorus (142, 241, 275). After the Chorus raise (ὥσπερ με κἀνεστήσαθ': 276) the suppliant

Oidipous by giving him a pledge of safety (ἔλαβες τὸν ἱκέτην ἐχέγγυον: 284). Oidipous remains a suppliant of the Eumenides (487) until Theseus arrives to consider Oidipous's "suppliant petition" (προστροπὴν: 558) to the city and himself and at last agrees to settle Oidipous in his land (637).[65] In defending Oidipous, Theseus condemns Kreon for "plundering what belongs to me and to the gods, by force leading off wretched suppliant people" (συλῶντα τἀμὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν, βίᾳ / ἄγοντα φωτῶν ἀθλίων ἱκτήρια: 922–23). Oidipous blames Kreon for attempting to kidnap a suppliant (1008) and at the same time supplicates the Eumenides, asking for help against his aggressor (1010–12). The end of the play concerns Oidipous's reciprocation of the favors given him by Theseus and Athens.

Suppliants and pursuer are kin by blood and marriage, for Kreon is Oidipous's uncle and brother-in-law and the uncle of Antigone and Ismene, who are said to suffer terrible things at the hands of their kin (δεινὰ τλασᾶν . . . πρὸς αὐθαίμων πάθη: 1077–78). Although Oidipous and the Athenians are not kin, Antigone asks the Chorus to treat her as kin (ὥς τις ἀφ' αἵματος ὑμετέρου προφανεῖσα: 245–46), and the sympathy between Oidipous and Theseus is increased by the fact that they have both been *xenoi* in foreign lands (562–68).[66]

In a secondary suppliant action, Polyneikes is first a suppliant at the altar of Poseidon (1156–59, 1171, 1278), asking to speak to his father.[67] When Oidipous refuses, Theseus asks him to "consider whether his suppliant seat does not compel" Oidipous to hear his son (θάκημ' ἐξαναγκάζει: 1179). After being raised from the altar (1286–88), Polyneikes supplicates his father (1309, 1327), but he is rejected. Antigone then supplicates her brother (1414), asking him not to attack Thebes, but she also is rejected.

Harm to *philoi* is important in many other ways in this play.[68] Oidipous's patricide and incest are frequently alluded to (220–23, 266–74, 510–48, 944–46, 960–1002, 1077–78), and the consequences of these acts continue into the present of the stage action: the Chorus, fearing that he will harm the city (226–36), tell Oidipous to leave the sanctuary; the Thebans refuse to receive or bury him in their city (407, 600–601); and Oidipous, knowing he is polluted, refuses to touch Theseus (1130–36). Although Oidipous benefits his unrelated *philoi*, the Athenians, he curses Kreon (864–70, 951–53), states that Polyneikes' treatment of his father is equivalent to murder (1361), and curses his sons (787–90, 1370–96), condemning them to mutual fratricide. This latter curse, however, is not a simple act of harm to kin; because it is conditional on the fratricidal war's taking place (εἴπερ: 1371), it is instead a curse on those who violate *philia*.[69] It is Polyneikes and Eteokles themselves who bring the curse to fulfillment (1424–25).

■ Euripides' *Children of Herakles*. After Herakles' death, his children, together with his mother, Alkmene, and nephew, Iolaos, are pursued by their father's enemy, Eurystheus, Alkmene's cousin, who wants to kill them. They take refuge at an altar in Marathon, where King Demophon protects them.

Eurystheus is defeated in battle, captured, and put to death, while the children are saved.

This play, like others in this category, focuses on a suppliant action, in which suppliants are acknowledged as *philoi* and protected. Unlike Theseus in Euripides' *Suppliants* and Pelasgos in Aiskhylos's *Suppliants*, Demophon is not represented as hesitating and agonizing over the decision to protect the suppliants, although he does refuse to perform human sacrifice in order to obtain victory.[70] He says that he will not "pollute the gods" (μὴ μιαίνοντος θεούς: 264) by failing to protect the suppliants, and that his greatest reason for helping them is the altar of Zeus at which they sit (238–39). In this play, however, the danger of pollution to the person supplicated is overshadowed by the pollution and violence committed and threatened by Eurystheus. Iolaos says at the beginning of the play that Eurystheus wants to kill Herakles' family (13; cf. 466–67, 1002–3), and immediately after his speech, the Herald announces that the suppliants must go to Argos to be stoned to death (59–60). When he does violence to Iolaos (βιαζόμεσθα: 71, 79), knocks him down (75–76), and drags him from the altar (79), the Herald "pollutes the suppliant wreaths" and is guilty of "dishonoring the gods" (71–72, 78). Demophon, in turn, threatens physical violence against the Herald at 270.[71] The Herald refers to the suppliants as "runaway slaves" (δραπέτας: 140), and his desire to remove them from the altar by force is continually stressed (79, 106, 196, 224–25, 955).[72]

The play ends with a reversal of roles. When Alkmene, a former suppliant, wants to kill Eurystheus (959–60), both the Servant and Eurystheus himself argue that it is against Greek law to kill a prisoner of war (961–72, 1009–15), who is a suppliant (προστρόπαιον: 1015).[73] Alkmene, however, is no more willing than was Eurystheus to respect a suppliant, and our text ends with her order to kill Eurystheus and throw him to the dogs.[74]

Blood kinship plays a major role in *Children of Herakles*. Eurystheus, as he himself states, is Alkmene's cousin and therefore kin to Herakles (987–88) and his children. Thus, both Eurystheus's attempt to kill Herakles' family and Alkmene's murder of Eurystheus are acts of harm to kin.[75] On the positive side, Iolaos, Herakles' nephew, has freely chosen to accompany the children in their flight because he respects ties of kinship (6–9). The suppliants come to Marathon because Demophon is their kin (37), and Iolaos makes an appeal for protection on the basis of this kinship, reciting a lengthy genealogy (207–13) to show that Theseus, Demophon's father, and Herakles were the children of cousins (αὐτανεψίων: 211).[76] Iolaos supplicates Demophon, urging him to "become kin and *philos* to these [children]" (γενοῦ δὲ τοῖσδε συγγενής, γενοῦ φίλος: 229), that is, to act as kin, and when he does so, Iolaos states, "We have found these men to be *philoi* and kin" (ηὕρομεν φίλους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς τούσδ': 304–5).

The self-sacrifice of Herakles' daughter Makaria, who gives her life to appease the gods and save her family, is a minor *pathos*. A paradigmatic reversal occurs when the Messenger states that Eurystheus, who was coming to sack Athens, has instead suffered the opposite—defeat and capture (931–35).[77]

■ Euripides' *Suppliants*. After Polyneikes and his Argive army were defeated in their war against Thebes, Kreon refused burial to the Seven who had attacked Thebes. In the stage action, the mothers of the dead Seven and Adrastos, king of Argos, supplicate Theseus, king of Athens, asking him for help in obtaining burial for their sons. He agrees and defeats Thebes in war. The dead sons are given funeral rites.

This suppliant drama, like Aiskhylos's *Suppliants*, gives a particularly strong emphasis to the relationship between suppliant and supplicated. The Thebans' status as suppliants contains an implicit threat of pollution,[78] while Theseus's initial refusal to help threatens their safety. Acknowledgment of *philia* occurs when Theseus agrees to protect the suppliants (334–65). Blood kinship is an important aspect of the relationship between suppliant and supplicated. Theseus is a blood *philos* of the Argives who supplicate him, a fact that is repeatedly emphasized. The Chorus of Argive women state, "We have the same ancestral blood [πατρῷον αἷμα] as you" (264). Theseus is descended through his mother Aithra from Pelops (4–7, 263), to whom the Argive race is related through their descent from Danaos (130, 1150, 1190, 1220), descendant of Io, daughter of Inakhos (372, 628–30). The women also appeal to Zeus as their ancestor through Io (628–31).[79] Aithra's part in the supplication increases the emphasis on kinship. Aithra's role is complex: she is herself supplicated by the women (42–43, 68–69), and she acts as their representative to Theseus.[80] Although Theseus's mother is not actually a suppliant, her similarity to the suppliants whose part she takes is emphasized by her physical position: seated at the altar (93, 290) and encircled by suppliant branches (32–33, 102–3). In taking the suppliants' part and identifying with them, she makes their supplication resemble the supplication of son by mother. Aithra also makes an appeal of her own on personal grounds when she tells Theseus, "Since you are mine, child, do not do this" (320). When Theseus agrees, at Aithra's request, to help the suppliants, he tells them to take their branches away from her, "so that I may lead her to the house of Aigeus, touching her dear hand" (360–61). In leading his mother from the sanctuary to his house, Theseus performs an action that is equivalent to the raising and leading of a suppliant. Theseus also has a *xenia* relationship with Polyneikes (928–31), although this is not mentioned until the eulogy.

Although Adrastos and the Argive women do not flee harm from their own kin, they are deeply involved in the plight of Polyneikes, whose burial Kreon, who is both the ruler of Thebes (16–19, 358, 400) and Polyneikes' uncle, forbids. Adrastos became involved in the war against Thebes—although it was forbidden by the gods (155–60), after he married his daughters to Tydeus, who had shed kindred blood, and to Polyneikes, who had left Thebes to avoid fratricide in fulfillment of his father's curse (144–50). These marriages turned out to be bitter ones (832). Led by Adrastos and his son-in-law, Polyneikes (14–16), the Argives attacked Thebes, which was ruled by Eteokles, and were defeated, in a war in which the sons of Oedipus, Eteokles and Polyneikes, killed one another (ἀδελφῇ χειρί: 402). Kreon's refusal of burial to his nephew Polyneikes

and to Polyneikes' allies leads to the suppliant action of this play. Thus, through their alliance and kinship by marriage with Polyneikes, Adrastos and the other Argives are involved in his fratricidal death and in the harm done to him by his kin, who forbid his burial. All, as the Chorus state, have shared in the fate of Oidipous (1078–79), and "the Erinys who causes many groans, leaving the house of Oidipous, has come to us" (835–36).

The suicide of Evadne, who leaps into her husband's funeral pyre, is a minor *pathos*, similar to that of Herakles' daughter in Euripides' *Children of Herakles*, in which *philê* harms *philê* (herself).

III. Exceptional Plays (6 Plays)

I have classified six plays as exceptional, because their main *pathê* do not at first appear to be primarily concerned with harm to blood kin or to *philoi* in reciprocal relationships. Closer analysis, however, reveals that harm to *philoi* is in fact an important issue in all but one of these tragedies.

■ Aiskhylos's *Persians*. While Xerxes, king of Persia, is away leading an army against Greece, his mother the Queen, and his countrymen wait for news. A Messenger announces defeat. Xerxes' mother calls on her dead husband, King Dareios, whose ghost reveals that his son's defeat was predicted by oracles. Xerxes returns and all mourn.

On the most obvious level, *Persians* appears to represent enemy (Greeks) harming enemy (Persians). According to this interpretation, it does not have a tragic plot, by Aristotle's criteria (*Po.* 14.1453b17–18), for it does not arouse pity and fear, nor is it a play in which *philos* harms *philos*. However, Xerxes' act of attacking Greece can also be seen as unintentional harm of his own kin and other *philoi*. Intending to gain glory and make conquests, he has instead caused his own ruin and that of his country. It is this aspect of the defeat that Aiskhylos emphasizes, by setting the play in Persia, among those who have stayed at home and taken no part in the war, rather than in Greece, at the scene of the battles. Throughout the play, Xerxes' defeat is represented as an act that has harmed himself; his mother, who is the major dramatic figure; his kindred Persians, who are represented by the Chorus; and even his father Dareios, whose ghost appears. This view of the play best accounts for the emotional impact it would have had on a Greek audience. Instead of being glad that their enemies have been defeated, the Athenians would have felt pity and fear for the innocent victims who suffer from the mistakes of their *philos*.

The play also represents Xerxes as having harmed his *philoi* by stressing the kinship of all the Persians, through their common ancestry. Xerxes belongs to the "golden race" (80), because he is descended from Perses, the son of Danaë and of Zeus, who came to her in a shower of gold.[81] In the corrupt lines 145–46, the Chorus make the same point—that Xerxes and the other Persians are related through their common ancestor.[82] When the Chorus address the

Queen, Xerxes' mother (156, 157), as "mother" (215) and Dareios as "father" (662), they give them titles that not only are respectful but also reflect a genealogical truth, because the Persians are one race (Περσικῷ γένει: 516, Περσῶν γενεᾷ: 911; γέννας: 946; γένος τὸ Περσᾶν: 1013), as are the barbarians as a whole (βαρβάρων γένει: 434). Given these relationships, the many occurrences of *philos* and its cognates (for example, three times in 647–48 in reference to Dareios) have connotations of kinship.

Interpreted as an action in which *philos* harms *philos*, *Persians* has a complex plot, with reversal and recognition.[83] The action of the play is summarized by the Queen: "My son, thinking that he would exact vengeance for them [sc. those killed at Marathon], brought on such a great number of woes" (476–77; cf. 942–43: δαίμων . . . μετάτροπος ἐπ' ἐμοί). According to this view, Xerxes' statement at 931–34, "Here am I, lamentable; I have become a wretched evil to my race [γέννᾳ] and fatherland [γᾷ τε πατρῴᾳ]," is a recognition that he has been an enemy to his *philoi*. Mae Smethurst correctly notes that this play does not evoke pity and fear in the best way because no recognition scene is enacted on stage and because Xerxes is not a figure with whom the audience would identify.[84] Nevertheless, what takes place is a true recognition, however inferior, in that Xerxes' statements indicate that he has undergone "a change from ignorance to knowledge."

Dareios agrees with Xerxes, stating that his son has proved to be "the spring of evils to all his *philoi*" (743), and the Chorus say that he is "the great ruin of the Persians" (μεγάλατε Περσᾶν: 1016).[85] The Persians pity Xerxes for the misfortunes he has suffered, but they also blame him for the destruction of the army. The Queen states that Xerxes emptied the whole plain of Asia (κενώσας: 718), and Dareios says that his son destroyed the youth of the allies (ἀπώλεσεν: 733), unlike Dareios himself, who never cast such a great evil on the city (κακὸν τοσόνδε: 781). The Chorus plainly state that unlike Dareios, who never destroyed men (οὔτε . . . ἀπώλλυ: 652) and who did not cause evil (ἀκάκας: 855, ἄκακε: 663), Xerxes destroyed the army (ἀπώλεσεν: 551), killed the Persian youth, and crammed Hades with Persian dead (ἥβαν Ξέρξᾳ κταμέναν, Ἅιδου σάκτορι Περσᾶν: 923–24). They recite (955–1001) a lengthy catalog of the dead whom Xerxes left behind (ἀπέλειπον: 963; ἔλιπες ἔλιπες: 985). The long final lament (908–1077) and procession escorting Xerxes into the palace (1038, 1068) is a kind of funeral in which the whole family of the Persians, led by Xerxes, join in mourning the dead.

■ Sophokles' *Aias*. This play is discussed in chapter 6.

■ Euripides' *Alkestis*. Alkestis, who has agreed to give her life so that her husband Admetos may live, dies on the fated day. Immediately after her death, Herakles arrives and is received as a *xenos* by Admetos, who does not tell his guest what has happened. When he discovers the truth, Herakles rescues Alkestis from death and brings her back to her husband. Admetos recognizes his wife and receives her back into his house.

That this is an exceptional play, in which the central *pathos* does not represent harm to *philos* by *philos*, may have something to do with the fact that *Alkestis* was performed in fourth place instead of the usual satyr play and has many features associated with satyr plays, such as captivity and liberation, emergence from the underworld, and concern with *xenia*.[86] Although harm to *philoi* is not central to the plot, *philia* is nevertheless an important issue in this play, whose subject is *philia* between husband and wife, parent and child, host and guest, mortal and god.[87]

Xenia is particularly important in *Alkestis*. Apollo rewards Admetos for his piety as a *xenos* (6–12), and Admetos receives Herakles, his "best *xenos*" in Argos (559–60), even though he is in mourning, an act for which he is called *philoxenos*, "*xenos*-loving," by Herakles (830, 858) and the Servant (809; cf. πολύξεινος . . . οἶκος: 568–69). Herakles blames Admetos (μέμφομαι: 1017) for concealing the truth, but he nevertheless rescues Alkestis in gratitude for his act of extraordinary *xenia* (ὑπουργῆσαι χάριν: 842, 854–60). In contrast to Admetos, the model host, stands Diomedes, to whom Herakles is journeying when he first arrives. This *xenos* (484) is the owner of the man-eating horses Herakles must capture, and the clear implication of the Chorus's words is that he feeds his guests to these monsters (484–96).

Alkestis's excellence in *philia* to her husband corresponds to Admetos's excellence in *xenia*. Admetos reveres her *philia* (279), and the Chorus call her "a wife not [merely] dear but most dear" (οὐ φίλαν ἀλλὰ φιλτάταν γυναῖκα: 230–31) She is "best" (ἀρίστη: 83, 151), "fair-famed" (εὐκλεής: 150, 938), and "most noble of all" (993). For her self-sacrifice she should be honored like the gods and will be said to have become a "blessed daimon" (995–1005). Moreover, Alkestis's position as wife is like that of a *xenê*, for she is not kin (συγγενής) but a foreigner (ὀθνεία: 532–33, 646, 810–11), who was received into the house on the occasion of her marriage. When she returns from Hades, she is again received into Admetos's house as an apparent *xenê* (1117), in a scene recalling the marriage ceremony.[88] In contrast to Alkestis's excellent *philia* as wife stand the defective *philia* relationships of Admetos and his blood kin. Admetos quarrels with his father Pheres, who refused earlier to die in his son's place. Admetos says that he is not Pheres' son (641), that he will not care for his parents in old age or bury them (662–65), and that he would disinherit his father if it were possible (737–38). In turn, Pheres accuses his son of murdering his wife (φονεύς: 730; κατακτάς: 696) by allowing Alkestis to die in his stead. A counterpart, on the divine level, of these quarrels among mortal kin is the quarrel, briefly mentioned, between Apollo and his father Zeus. Zeus killed Apollo's son Asklepios, and Apollo in turn killed the Kyklopes, for which act Zeus forced him to serve Admetos (3–7, 121–30).

Alkestis, then, presents positive models of *philia* but also clearly delineates their negative counterparts, in which host kills guest, parents and children

attack one another, and husband murders wife. Even though violence against *philoi* is not a serious threat in this play, acts that benefit *philoi* are dramatically effective in large part because they are vividly contrasted with negative possibilities.

■ Euripides' *Andromakhe*. This play is discussed in chapter 5.

■ "Euripides'" *Rhesos*. Greeks and Trojans are camped in the field the night after Hektor has driven the Greeks back toward their ships. After Hektor sends Dolon as a spy to learn what the enemy is doing, the Thracian king, Rhesos, arrives with his army to help the Trojans defeat the Greeks. While Rhesos is sleeping, Odysseus and Diomedes kill Dolon and, with Athena's help, Rhesos. Rhesos's mother, the Muse, prophesies her son's deification.

The *Rhesos* is the only extant tragedy in which enemy kills enemy in the main action and in which violation of *philia* is not an important issue in either minor events or mythological allusions. Nevertheless, the idea of *philos* harming *philos* plays an interesting minor role in the form of the mutual recriminations of Trojans and Thracians. Hektor complains that Rhesos has not arrived in Troy to help until very late, although he is a kindred barbarian (ἐγγενὴς ὢν βάρβαρος: 404; cf. 413) and owes a debt of gratitude to Hektor, who made him king of Thrace (406–12). Rhesos is also a *xenos* of Hektor (336–37). In return, the Thracian Charioteer accuses the Trojans of killing the Thracians, their *philoi* (803, 838) and military allies (συμμάχους: 839–42). Both accusations are without substance. Rhesos has the excuse of another war to explain his late arrival in Troy (422–33), and the Charioteer's accusation is false: Rhesos, as the Muse explains, was killed by enemies (ἔχθρων: 893). Two other instances of violation of *philia* are also hinted at in the Muse's speech. She comes close to accusing Hektor of harming a *philos* when she complains that Rhesos went to his death at Troy because the embassies of Hektor persuaded him to help his *philoi* (935–37). Hektor, however, points out that he could hardly have done otherwise than ask for his friends' help (954–57), and the Muse herself appears to think that Athena is more to blame than Hektor when she accuses the goddess of killing Rhesos (945), although Athena owed gratitude to the Muses and to Rhesos's cousin Orpheus (938–49).

Whatever the truth may be about the authenticity and date of the *Rhesos*,[89] these minor allusions to violation of *philia* are of interest. Homer (*Il.* 10.299–563) stresses the exploits of Odysseus and Diomedes in killing Dolon (338–464) and slaughtering Rhesos and the Thracians (469–525). In the *Iliad*, the Thracians never suspect that they have been harmed by Trojans. In fact, however, the Trojan Dolon is responsible for their fate, because in telling Odysseus about the positions of the Trojans and their allies (433–41), Dolon singles the Thracians out as ideal victims.[90] In contrast to the epic, the *Rhesos* stresses the idea of treachery rather than heroic exploits. After he leaves the Trojan camp, Dolon does not return and is not mentioned by the Trojans except in two lines (863–64). The death of Dolon, so vividly recounted in the

Iliad, is compressed into a mere three lines in the play (591–93). The killing of Rhesos by his enemies is colored in the play, as it is not in the epic, by the Charioteer's accusation of treachery. These accusations and the Trojan defenses occupy a significant portion of the text, taking up one-half of the dialogue between Hektor and Rhesos, and one third of the Charioteer episode.[91]

In contrast to the *Iliad*, then, *Rhesos* emphasizes both the possibility of violation of *philia* and the fact that it does not occur. Hektor and the Charioteer make accusations of violation of *philia* that are shown to be false. The Muse also begins to accuse Hektor, then backs away from her accusations to blame Athena instead. The *Rhesos*, like the *Iliad*, avoids violation of *philia*, but unlike the epic, this play appears to call attention to its own avoidance of such events. It is also noteworthy that these false accusations of violation of *philia* occur in a play set in Troy, a city that does not fit the typical tragic pattern of the city that is saved by the destruction of a leader. The *Rhesos* is the exception that proves the rule.

■ Euripides' *Trojan Women*. Hekabe has seen Troy captured by enemies, her husband and sons killed, and her daughters made slaves of the victors. She herself is waiting to be taken into slavery. She suffers further misfortunes: the enslavement of her daughter Kassandra, the sacrifice of her daughter Polyxene, the enslavement of her daughter-in-law Andromakhe, the murder of her grandson Astyanax, and the sight of the escape from punishment of Helen, who caused the war. She prepares Astyanax for burial and is led from her burning city into slavery.

In the main action of *Trojan Women*, enemy (Greek) harms enemy (Trojan). However, Euripides arouses pity and fear in response to these non-tragic events by representing the Greeks as harming their enemies in ways that violate both divine and human laws. The acts of the Greeks are made to appear similar to harm to *philoi* in that they are represented as being impious and as undermining two of the reciprocal relationships that are the very basis of civilization: suppliancy and marriage.

In the Prologue, the gods state that the Greeks have incurred divine wrath in several ways. They killed Priam at the altar of Zeus (16–17); they raped Kassandra, a virgin dedicated to Apollo, thereby "neglecting the will of the gods and piety" (41–44); they committed *hybris* against Athena and her temple when Aias dragged Kassandra away by force (69–70); and they sacked temples and tombs (95–97). The mortal dramatic figures also stress the impiety of the acts of the Greeks. Hekabe says that she saw with her own eyes Priam slaughtered (κατασφαγέντ') at the altar of the household god, Zeus Herkeios (481–83); the Chorus sing of slaughterings around the altars (σφαγαὶ δ' ἀμφιβώμιοι: 562), and of the "impious slaughter" (ἀνοσίοις σφαγαῖσιν: 1316) of pious Priam; and Andromakhe mentions corpses flung out for the vultures beside the temple of Athena (599–600). These impious acts color our view of the murders of the innocent victims, Polyxene and Astyanax. Moreover, Andromakhe compares the killing of Astyanax to cannibalism when she tells

the Greeks to "feast on his flesh" (775), and Hekabe calls the sacrifice of Polyxene "impious slaughter" (ἀνοσίων προσφαγμάτων: 628). The impious violations of the suppliant status of Priam and Kassandra also contrast shockingly with the ultimately successful suppliancy of Menelaos by the guilty Helen (1042–48).

The Greeks have also perverted and destroyed the institutions of marriage and the family. Helen's adulterous relationship with Paris, the "deceiver of his host" (ξεναπάτης: 866), leads to her betrayal of her country and house (947) and to the destruction of the legitimate marriages of the women of both Troy and Greece. Kassandra's speech at 353–405 points out many of these connections. For the sake of Helen, who left her husband of her own free will, Agamemnon killed his daughter Iphigeneia, and he in turn will be killed because of his slave-bride Kassandra, a wife as fatal as Helen. Kassandra's "marriage" will also lead to Klytaimestra's death at the hands of her own son. Other Greek families, Kassandra notes, were destroyed by the war when soldiers died in Troy without seeing their sons, without wives to prepare the corpses for burial, and without children to tend the ancestral tombs of their fathers. In this play, not only do the Greeks destroy Andromakhe's marriage to Hektor, but her very virtues as a wife lead to increased misery. Andromakhe's fame as a good wife has caused her to be chosen as slave-wife by Neoptolemos, who, as the son of her husband's murderer (657–60), is her *authentês*. Similarly, Hektor's nobility is the cause of his son's death (742–43).[92]

The gods are, for the most part, represented as the agents of justice, who punish mortals guilty of impiety, but there is an occasional reference to a darker side of the relations of gods and mortals. Zeus, who is "ancestral father" (γενέτα πάτερ: 1288–89)[93] of the Trojans, as the father of Dardanos, their ancestor, has betrayed (προύδωκας: 1062) his descendants and the kin of his love-object Ganymede (820–47) in failing to protect their city.

Appendix B: Violation of *Philia* in the Fragments of the Major Tragedians

The preceding chapters and appendix A have shown that harm to *philoi* is an important aspect of the plots of nearly all of the extant tragedies. Is this merely an accident of the plays that happen to have survived, or is harm to *philoi* an essential aspect of the genre of Greek tragedy? Any attempt to answer this question must take into consideration the plays known to us only by means of fragments or testimonia. Because this evidence is at best incomplete and at worst confusing and contradictory, any reconstruction is necessarily speculative. H. Friis Johansen and Edward Whittle make an excellent point: "It may be well to affirm here and now that the reconstruction of a play of which only a few brief fragments survive cannot safely be assumed to have any significant resemblance to the lost original, however plausibly it uses all the available evidence. . . . It cannot reasonably be expected to do more than demonstrate a theoretical possibility."[1] In spite of these inherent limitations, there is sufficient evidence, especially in the case of the three major tragedians, to allow for some plausible conclusions about the kinds of subjects treated by this genre. In most of the lost plays by Aiskhylos, Sophokles, and Euripides, as in their extant tragedies, some kind of harm to *philoi* appears to have been a central issue. The chief exceptions to this rule are plays about epic subjects: Akhilleus, Odysseus, and Palamedes. However, even in the case of these and other exceptional plays, the *pathê* are often assimilated in some way to harm to *philoi*. For example, in the *Niobe*, where harm to *philoi* is not a central issue, Aiskhylos mentions the divine ancestry of the children of Niobe, who are killed by their kindred gods, and in his *Myrmidones*, he emphasizes Akhilleus's responsibility for the death of Patroklos, who, unlike the Homeric hero, is Akhilleus's beloved.

A few words about methodology are necessary. I divide the plays into four mutually exclusive categories:

Conclusion

1. Seaford 1994a, 360–62.
2. Silk 1996a.
3. Silk 1996b, 8–9, quoting Nietzsche in *Ecce Homo* ("The Birth of Tragedy," no. 3), in Silk and Stern 1983, 125.
4. Friedrich 1996, 260.
5. Friedrich 1996, 262, quoting Vernant 1988, 187.
6. Friedrich 1996, 263, quoting Goldhill 1990, 114.
7. Friedrich 1996, 264.
8. Friedrich 1996, 275.
9. Seaford 1996a, 293.
10. Hall 1996b, 296.
11. Mogyoródi 1996, 358.
12. Seidensticker 1996, 377, quoting Szondi 1978, 209.
13. Ewans 1996b, 440.
14. Steiner 1996, 536–37.

Appendix A

1. Kopperschmidt 1967; Taplin 1977, 192.
2. For the suppliant pattern, see Burian 1971 and below on Soph. *OC*.
3. Sommerstein 1989, on 237, notes some inconsistencies concerning the purification.
4. Aktaion is also mentioned at 230, in a line incorrectly bracketed by many editors, and at 1227 and 1291. On the parallel, see Seaford 1996b, on *Bacch.* 337–41, and appendix B below, "Domestic Animal Myths."
5. This plot outline is based on that of the *Odyssey* in *Po.* 17.1455b17–23.
6. On Ixion plays, see G. W. Bond 1981, ad loc., and appendix B.
7. The end of the play is discussed in chapter 3, section 4.
8. 1355–57, trans. Hadas and McLean 1960; cf. 1166, 1240–41. For other stories about people destroyed by their own animals, see appendix B, "Domestic Animal Myths."
9. See Barrett 1964, on 34–37.
10. On the Nurse's abuse of supplication in this passage, see Cairns 1993, 330–31.
11. For Pasiphaë, see appendix B, on Eur. *Kretes*. In the version of the Ariadne story alluded to in *Hipp.*, Ariadne deserts Dionysos for Theseus, and is then killed by the god: Barrett 1964, on 339. On text and sense of 552, see Barrett 1964, ad loc.; on Semele, see appendix B, on Ais. *Semele*.
12. Incorrectly bracketed by Diggle.
13. Incorrectly bracketed by Diggle.
14. See Jouan 1966, 276 n. 2.
15. Else 1957, 350. The *Medea* nevertheless has a simple plot because this minor recognition, unlike one that follows an act done in ignorance, does not change the direction of the action: see Belfiore 1992a, 170–75.
16. On supplication in *Medea*, see Mercier 1990, 275–90; on *philia*, Schein, 1990.
17. Ogden 1996, 194–96, discusses amphimetric strife in this play.
18. On 287 (ἐκ προστροπαίων ἐν γένει πεπτωκότων), see Garvie 1986, ad loc.

19. *Xenia* in this scene and in the *Oresteia* as a whole: Garvie 1986, 224, and Roth 1993.
20. Reading ἐνδίκους σφαγάς at 37, with the MSS.
21. Kamerbeek 1974, ad loc., ably defends the MSS attribution of these lines to Elektra.
22. At 272 the MSS are divided between αὐτοφόντην and αὐτοέντην.
23. Kamerbeek 1974, ad loc.
24. On this phrase, see Dawe 1982, ad loc.
25. Konstan 1985 studies the meanings of *philos* and its cognates in this play.
26. On *philia* in this play, see Burnett 1971, 213–22; Schein 1975; Schmidt-Berger 1973, 145–77.
27. I follow the MSS (other than M^2) in attributing the second half of 1235, ἡψάμην δ' ἐγὼ ξίφους, to Pylades. It is he who is said elsewhere to have acted with Orestes (συνκατέκτανον: 1089; συνδρῶν: 406), while Elektra is said only to have approved (ἐπένευσας) of the deed that was done (εἴργασται) by Orestes (284). She participated (μετέσχον: 32) only in this way. Most modern editors, however, attribute the half-line to Elektra. For discussion see West 1987; Willink 1986, ad loc.
28. Most editors bracket 933.
29. Their kinship is alluded to in general terms at 1233 (συγγένεια). According to one account, Pylades' mother is Anaxibia, the sister of Agamemnon. For this and other versions, see West 1987, ad loc.; Willink 1986.
30. Lines 861–73 and the end of the play (1005–77, bracketed here) are generally thought to be spurious. See Hutchinson 1985, ad loc.
31. On the timing of the bringing on of the corpses and the question of the authenticity of the end of the play, see Taplin 1977, 169–76. Hutchinson 1985, 209, notes the parallel scene in Euripides' *Phoenician Women*.
32. On the equation of the fratricide with Oidipous's crimes of incest and patricide, see the introduction to Bacon and Hecht, 1973, 6–9; Zeitlin, 1982, 20, 29–37.
33. I follow Mastronarde's text (1994) of this play.
34. Cf. 818–21. At 1570–75 similar imagery is used of the fratricidal blood of the brothers. Mastronarde 1994 on ξυνῆψε (673) writes, "Here I would detect a sexual, almost incestuous undertone in the use of the verb: the Spartoi die in their mother's embrace . . .wetting her with blood."
35. Cf. *Sept.* 848, on which see Hutchinson 1985, 209.
36. At 676–89 and 828–29 Epaphos and Io are mentioned as the ancestors of the Thebans.
37. See Mastronarde 1994, 28–29.
38. The importance of kinship in the play is noted by Mastronarde 1994, 7–8, 231 (on 291–92), 505, 545–46 (on 1427–79).
39. The question of authenticity is not relevant to this study.
40. On *philia* in this play, see Griffith 1983, 14–15, and on 39, 162, 225, 611, 1063–70.
41. Griffith 1983, 5, discusses the two genealogies.
42. The exact nature of the relationship is not made clear in the play. According to Hesiod, Oceanos is the son of Ouranos and Gaia. Griffith 1983, on 289, states that in *PV* he is Prometheus's half-brother, as the son of Gaia.
43. On *philia* in *Antigone* see Goldhill 1986, 79–106.
44. Haimon and Eurydike: Delcourt 1939: 161–63; all three: Griffith 1999, on 1304–5.

45. The text is corrupt but the sense is clear.

46. This event is alluded to at 1303 and 1312, although the details are not given. While Megareos should not be identified with Menoikeus, who died to save Thebes, his story is similar: see Griffith 1999, on 1302–3; Kamerbeek 1978, on 995; Roberts 1989, 165.

47. On these myths, see Griffith 1999, on 944–87, Winnington-Ingram 1980, 98–109, and below, appendix B, on the myths about Perseus, Dionysos, and Phineus. The version of the Phineus myth in which Kleopatra blinds her own sons is given in frag. 645R (Soph. *Tympanistai*). Griffith 1999, on 971–73, cites the suggestion by Sourvinou-Inwood 1998, 156–57, that *Ant.* may contain a reference to this version.

48. The MSS reading, εὐνῆς, has been questioned by Fraenkel 1962, Mazon 1925, and West 1990, but is well defended by Denniston-Page 1957, ad loc.

49. τῶν is the reading of τ, followed by Fraenkel 1962, Mazon, 1925, Page 1972. West 1990 reads οὐ.

50. This kind of case is discussed by Aristotle in *EE* 1225b1–6 and *NE* 1111a2–21.

51. In *Od.* 21. 22–30, Herakles is clearly said to kill his guest. Although Sophokles is less explicit, he allows us to infer that Herakles treated Iphitos as a guest, taking him to the walls of Tiryns. M. Davies 1991, xxix, notes that Herakles commits "underhand treachery against a guest."

52. In 933, κατ' ὀργήν refers to Hyllos's anger: Kamerbeek 1959, ad loc.

53. Kamerbeek 1959, on 1066–69.

54. Easterling 1982, ad loc., notes that Hyllos's "deepest sense of what is right and holy must be overridden by his filial duty."

55. On *xenia* in this play, see Nussbaum 1986, 397–421.

56. On *philia* in this play, see Adkins 1966; Collard 1991, 25–27; Mikalson 1991, 79–80; Nussbaum 1986, 406–17.

57. Lines 793–98 are bracketed by Diggle, and Collard 1991, ad loc., gives some good arguments against the authenticity of 793–97. However, the lines are accepted by Murray, and mention of the table of *xenia* makes excellent dramatic sense.

58. These points are made by Mikalson 1991, 78, 261 n. 48.

59. On Helen and theoxeny, see Kannicht 1969, ad loc.

60. On the corrupt text at 388–89 and the possible references to Tantalos's serving of Pelops as food to the gods, see Kannicht 1969, ad loc. For the myths, see appendix B, on Aiskhylos's *Kallisto*, Euripides' *Kresphontes* (Merope), "Pelops Myths," and "Atreus Myths."

61. *Xenia* as central issue: Smith 1993, 134–98; Joseph P. Wilson 1997.

62. Joseph P. Wilson's (1997, 85–86) argument (anticipated by Jebb 1928, ad loc.) that evidence for a previously existing relationship is provided by the word *doryxenos* (632) is unconvincing. The word is used because Oidipous has just offered Theseus a military alliance against Thebes (616–23).

63. As Smith claims, 1993, 197–98. Joseph P. Wilson (1997, 85) admits that *xenia* ritual is absent.

64. Burian 1974b: 409; see also Burian 1971, 1–33, 207–62.

65. On this sequence, see chapter 3, section 1.

66. Noted by Burian 1974b, 415.

67. On this scene, see Easterling 1967.

68. On *philia* in this play, see Blundell 1989, 226–59.

69. See Kirkwood 1986: 114; Winnington-Ingram 1980, 207.

70. Burian 1971, 79–136, discusses the suppliant pattern in this play, which he compares and contrasts with Eur. *Supp.*

71. See Wilkins 1993 on 271, a line Diggle mistakenly attributes to the Herald instead of to the Chorus.

72. See also 97–98, 101–3, 112–13, 243–46, 254, 285–87, cited by Burian 1971, 97–98.

73. Wilkins 1993, on 1014–15, defends Paley's translation of προστρόπαιον as "the murdered man who calls for vengeance" but acknowledges that "[t]here is some hint of the basic sense [of suppliant] here as well," even though "Eurystheus is not literally a suppliant." In this context, however, it makes good sense to take the word to refer to a prisoner of war, who cannot be killed because he has been accepted as a suppliant.

74. On the ending of the play and the lacuna in the text, see Seaford 1994a, 126–29; Wilkins 1993, 192–93.

75. Eurystheus and Alkmene are both descendants of Perseus and Pelops: Wilkins 1993, on 987–88. Wilkins notes (177) that kin killing is "a Perseid specialty," shown in both Alkmene (882, 931, 955, 965, 969, 971) and Eurystheus (13, 60, 466, 1000–1008).

76. The genealogy is given by Wilkins 1993, on 207 ff., who also explains (ad loc.) the sense of αὐτανεψίων at 211. Children of cousins, and perhaps their children as well, were included within the Greek concept of close kinship (*ankhisteia*): see above, chapter 1, note 4.

77. ἔστειχε . . . πέρσων Ἀθάνας. ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν δαίμων ἔθηκε καὶ μετέστησεν τύχην. Cf. the example of *peripeteia* in Arist. *Po.* 1452a25–26: "coming to cheer up Oidipous . . . he accomplished the opposite" (ἐλθὼν ὡς εὐφρανῶν τὸν Οἰδίπουν . . . τοὐναντίον ἐποίησεν.)

78. Burian 1971, 146, notes that the threat of pollution is increased by the presence of the suppliants at Demeter's temple during the sacred rites.

79. See Collard 1975, ad loc.

80. See also Burian 1971, 158n. 30.

81. Broadhead 1960, ad loc., refers to Herod. 7.150, where Xerxes derives the name "Persian" from Perses, the common ancestor.

82. This general idea is clear in spite of the problematic MSS reading: Δαρειογενὴς τὸ πατρωνύμιον γένος ἡμέτερον. The scholion M (quoted by Broadhead 1960, ad loc.) explains the last four words as κατὰ πατέρα συγγενὴς ἡμῖν, "kin to us on his father's side."

83. *Persians* is sometimes cited as a clear example of a simple plot, without recognition or reversal: see, e.g., Garvie 1978, 67–71. Saïd 1988 argues convincingly that it contains many reversals. See also Broadhead 1960, xxxv; Hall 1996a, 16 and note on 158.

84. Smethurst 1989, 84.

85. Broadhead 1960, H. J. Rose 1958, and LSJ, "Supplement" take μεγάλατε (the reading of M) to mean "involved in great ruin." However, ἄτη can be used of persons in the sense of "bane" or "pest"—e.g., in Soph. *Ant.* 533 (LSJ II.3.a)—and this reading is supported by the parallel sentiments elsewhere in *Persians*.

86. Captivity and underworld: Seaford 1984, 33–38.; *xenia*: Burnett 1971, 30–46, who interprets the Herakles action, with its emphasis on hospitality, as a little satyr play; Konstan 1990, citing (215n. 17) D. F. Sutton 1974, 162–63.

87. See esp. Goldfarb 1992; Schein 1988; Stanton 1990.

88. On wedding ritual here, see chapter 3, note 87.

89. On these questions, see Fraenkel 1965; Lattimore 1960, introduction; Lesky 1983, 397 and 485n. 4; Ritchie 1964.

90. The view of Fenik (1964, summarized 37–38, 61–63) that the *Rhesos* may be based more on non-Homeric than on Homeric versions of the story has recently been challenged by R. S. Bond 1996. Whatever the play's source is, comparison with *Iliad*

10 is instructive, for it is the only model extant, and it is one with which both the au[thor] of *Rhesos* and the original audience were familiar.

91. Hektor-Rhesos dialogue: 388–453, 467–526 (= 126 lines), of which the accu[sation and defense occupy 393–453 (= 61 lines). Charioteer episode: 728–889 (= 162 lines), of which the accusation and defense occupy 802–7, 833–76 (= 50 lines). The entire play is only 996 lines long.

92. These lines, bracketed by Diggle, are consistent with 657–60.

93. The text is corrupt but the sense clear.

Appendix B

1. Friis Johansen and Whittle 1980, 1.40.

2. See above, chapter 1, section 1, and note 12 in that chapter.

3. Mette 1963; Radt 1985.

4. Dios 1983; Lloyd-Jones 1996; Pearson 1917; Radt 1977. Dios provides an excellent survey, in many ways superior to that of Lloyd-Jones. Thanks are due to André Lardinois for calling this work to my attention.

5. Austin 1968; Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1995; Mette 1981–82; Nauck 1964; Webster 1967.

6. See the introductory section of this appendix for an explanation of this and other categories.

7. Mette 1963, 122; Radt 1985, 205–6, 288–89, 333; see also March 1991–93, 4–7, 8.

8. Lloyd-Jones 1996; Pearson 1917, 2.214, 286–87; Radt 1977, 431.

9. See Nauck 1964, 379–80.

10. Kiso 1984, 27; Mette, 1963, 43; Pearson 1917, 1.130.

11. Pearson 1917, 1.72, lists only a satyr play. Radt 1977, 151, speculates that Sophokles may have written both a tragedy and a satyr play with this title and explains that the spelling is an old form of Amphiaros.

12. Discussion: Dios 1983, 92–93; Lloyd-Jones 1996, 72; Pearson 1917, 1.132; Radt 1977, 183, 189.

13. Dios 1983, 60; Lloyd-Jones 1996, 42–43; Pearson 1917, 1.68–69.

14. Mette 1981–82, 32; Webster 1967, 41.

15. Attribution: Webster 1967, 40; Collard 1995c, 112–13, who follows Kannicht's forthcoming edition in listing this fragment (312aK) with those of Euripides' *Bellerophon*, and in reading κατέκτα, "he killed" (Megapenthes speaks of Bellerophon's killing of Stheneboia).

16. Mette 1981–82, 37; Nauck 1964, 380; Webster 1967, 265.

17. Pearson 1917, 1.87, 121; Radt 1977, 177–78, also citing other conjectures.

18. ἐξείνισσα (*Il.* 3.207) and Σ bT on 205 ff. (1, 396, 69 Erbse): δολοφονεῖσθαι μέλλοντας ἔσωσεν, quoted by Radt 1977, 178. Pearson 1917, 1.121, quotes *Il.* 11.139 ff.

19. Lloyd-Jones 1996, 54–55; Pearson 1917, 1.86–87; Radt 1977, 160–61.

20. See Mette 1963, 162–64. On Ino stories, see also Lyons 1997, 122–24.

21. Mette 1963, 162–63; Radt 1985, 123.

22. Lloyd-Jones 1996, 11; Mette 1963, 164; Pearson 1917, 1.2–4.

23. Webster 1967, 98; cf. Mette 1963, 163, and 1981–82, 140; Nauck 1964, 482.

24. Austin 1968, 101–2; Mette, 1963, 163–64, and 1981–82, 299–301; Nauck 1964, 626–27; Webster 1967, 131–36.

25. Lloyd-Jones 1996, 10–11; Pearson 1917, 1.1–2; Radt 1977, 99–100.

26. Lloyd-Jones 1996, 338–39; Mette 1963, 164; Pearson 1917, 2.322–24; Radt 1977, 491.

27. Smyth 1926, 411; Mette 1963, 95–96.

28. Lloyd-Jones 1996, 138–39; Pearson 1917, 1.218; Radt 1977, 270–71.

29. Dios 1983, 183; Lloyd-Jones 1996, 184; Pearson 1917, 1.219; and Radt 1977, 315, all list this play without bracketing but express doubts about its existence.

30. D. F. Sutton 1984, 31–32.

31. See Ais. Ag. 1219–22, 1583–1602; Eur. *El.* 719–36, Or. 812–15.

32. Pearson 1917, 1.185–86.

33. Lloyd-Jones 1996, 106–7; Pearson 1917, 1.91–93, 185–87; and Radt 1977, 162, 239–40, who discusses the evidence for three Thyestes plays.

34. Webster 1967, 113–15.

35. Webster 1967, 37–39; Mette 1981–82, 166, is more skeptical.

36. Nauck 1964, 556; Webster 1967, 236–37.

37. Dios 1983, 363–64; Lloyd-Jones 1996, 340–41; Pearson 1917, 2.327–28; and Radt 1977, 494, all express uncertainty about the plot.

38. Lloyd-Jones 1996, 262–63; Pearson 1917, 2.161–63; Radt 1977, 403–4.

39. Pearson 1917, 2.162; Radt 1977, 404.

40. See Dios 1983, 266n. 1002.

41. Pearson 1917, 2.164n. on frag. 522; Radt 1977, 404.

42. See Haslam 1976, 34 and Trendall-Webster 1971, 49 (III.1.13), on Aiskhylos's *Edonoi* (both cited with approval by Radt 1977, 105, on Sophokles' *Aias Lokros* 10c); Smyth 1926, 398; Mette 1963, 138; D. F. Sutton 1975, 360.

43. Smyth 1926, 443; Mette 1963, 145; Radt 1985, 299.

44. Radt 1985, 280–81 cites this and other conjectures.

45. Mette 1963, 147.

46. Mette 1963, 145.

47. Dodds 1960, xxix, and Hartung 1855, 73 ff., cited by Radt 1985, 336, on 221. On Semele as "wife of Zeus," see Lyons 1997, 97.

48. Smyth 1926, 386–87; Mette 1963, 138–40; Radt 1985, 138–39.

49. Radt 1985, 137.

50. Radt 1985, 350, and frag. 246a.

51. Mette 1963, 147.

52. See Seaford 1996b, on 337–41.

53. Smyth 1926, 391; Radt 1985, 148–49, with frag. 39.

54. Smyth 1926, 463; Mette 1963, 134; Radt 1985, 346.

55. Cropp 1995c, 148–49.

56. See Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1995, 11: the form (e.g.) -/370 K indicates a fragment not present in Nauck or Snell that will appear in Richard Kannicht's new *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*.

57. Dios 1983, 267–68; Pearson 1917, 2.170–71.

58. For example, Pearson 1917, 2.23–24.

59. For surveys of opinions, see Dios 1983, 187–89; Radt 1977, 321.

60. Dios 1983, 178–79; Pearson 1917, 2.23; Radt 1977, 308.

61. Smyth 1926, 474; Mette 1963, 185.

62. Radt 1985, 211 (frag. 89R of *Ixion*), and 300 (on *Perrhaibides*). Cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* 2.32: ἐμφύλιον αἷμα πρώτιστος οὐκ ἄτερ τέχνας ἐπέμειξε θνατοῖς (cited by Smyth 1926, 409), and Ais. *Eum.* 441, 717–18, with Sommerstein's notes (1989).

63. Nauck 1964, 490; Webster 1967, 160.

Murder Among Friends

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