

## “MY TONGUE SWORE, BUT MY MIND IS UNSWORN”

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Line 612 of Euripides' *Hippolytus* is one of the most famous lines in Greek tragedy. It is spoken by Hippolytus in his quarrel with the Nurse after she has revealed to him Phaedra's love. She had sworn him to secrecy earlier, before she made the revelation. At line 610 Hippolytus implies that he will make public the proposal and the Nurse pleads with him not to dishonor his oath, to which Hippolytus answers with line 612:

ἡ γλῶσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώματος.

It is crucial to the action of the play that Hippolytus does not break his oath, and later in the same scene he says he will honor his oath and remain silent (656–60). The line then is not essential for the action of the play.<sup>1</sup> Yet the line is famous today and seems to have been famous in antiquity. It is known now because it was “so often quoted in comedy.”<sup>2</sup>

If we turn to comedy we find that the line was referred to three times in extant comedy, once in the *Thesmophoriazusae* (275–76) and

<sup>1</sup> Except perhaps for the theory that Phaedra did not hear the end of the scene, so that she believed that Hippolytus meant not to keep his word. This is one way of explaining Phaedra's belief that Hippolytus will tell Theseus of the Nurse's proposal and thus ruin Phaedra's reputation (689–92). But if Phaedra did not hear the end of the scene, she did not hear 612 either. She would then base her belief that Hippolytus would tell on what she heard while the Nurse and Hippolytus were offstage (565–600). This is the view put forth by W. D. Smith, *TAPA* 91 (1960) 162–77. But I believe that the scene between Hippolytus and the Nurse is more effective if Phaedra is on stage hearing it all. Her belief that Hippolytus will tell Theseus comes from what she had heard earlier offstage, from her mental state induced by Hippolytus' speech, and her deep sense of mortification and guilt.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. A. Grube, *The Drama of Euripides* (London 1941) 183, note 2; cf. G. Murray, *Aristophanes* (Oxford 1933) 113, note 1, where the line is said to be “much-quoted.”

twice in the *Frogs* (101-2 and 1471). In the first passage Mnesilochus has agreed to attend the Thesmophoria on Euripides' behalf. But he extracts a promise from Euripides to rescue him if anything goes wrong. Euripides swears an oath and Mnesilochus says, "Remember that your mind swore, but your tongue didn't, nor did I want it to swear."<sup>3</sup> There is no direct quote here, just a play on the idea of the line. Similarly in the first *Frogs* passage, we find a paraphrase of the line. Heracles asks Dionysus to give examples of the sort of poets he likes. Dionysus answers, "Some one who makes daring statements like . . . my mind swore unwillingly by the gods, but my tongue foreswore privately from my mind." Only at *Frogs* 1471 do we find a direct quote and then only of the first half of the line. Dionysus finally has to make a choice between the poets. Euripides reminds him that he swore to take him back. Dionysus answers, "My tongue swore, but I will choose Aeschylus."

These allusions to *Hippolytus* 612 make it clear that Aristophanes believed his audience was familiar with the line. The question is, why did everyone know the line so well? The usual answer is that Aristophanes used the line as part of his indictment of Euripides' new morality—or lack of any morality. But this answer raises in turn other serious problems. Most important, what was Aristophanes' real attitude towards Euripides? The attitude must have been complex and perhaps it is impossible to describe accurately from this distance.<sup>4</sup> One thing is clear: Aristophanes was fascinated by Euripides and his work. Euripides figures largely in two of Aristophanes' plays (*Thesmophoriazusae* and *Frogs*), and plays a role in a third (*Acharnians*). He is mentioned in all the other plays except the *Birds*, *Ecclesiazusae*, and *Plutus*. Nor is this all, for we find frequent mention of Euripides in the fragments of the lost plays of Aristophanes.<sup>5</sup> Thus Aristophanes was involved for more than twenty years with Euripides and his work. Most of Aristophanes' references to Euripides are literary or

<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting that Euripides did keep to his oath and did rescue Mnesilochus.

<sup>4</sup> For a restrained and sensible attempt to describe what Aristophanes' references to Euripides meant to his audience, see Rosemary Harriott, "Aristophanes' Audience and the Plays of Euripides," *BICS* 9 (1962) 1-8.

<sup>5</sup> See the following fragments (cited from J. M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, vol. 1, Leiden 1957—the same numbering is to be found in Hall and Geldart's Oxford text of Aristophanes): 51, 290, 328, 376, 580, 628A, 638, 676b.

personal.<sup>6</sup> The attacks on Euripides as a corrupter of Athenian morals are less frequent and often ambiguous, for at times it is not clear whether Aristophanes is attacking Euripides seriously or simply making a sexual joke and playing on Euripides' supposed dislike for women (for example, *Clouds* 1371-81 and the attack on Euripides by the women in *Thesmophoriazusae* 383-458). More serious charges are brought against him in the *Frogs*,<sup>7</sup> and the final decision on which poet to bring back to earth is based on serious, that is, political and moral, grounds (1417-65). But after serious arguments have been offered by both poets, Dionysus decides on whim (1467-71). All of this indicates that Aristophanes' involvement with Euripides and his works was not primarily, or even largely, moral. This being the case, the usual reason given for Aristophanes' use of *Hippolytus* 612 seems less cogent.

An additional problem is raised when we consider the dates of the plays involved. The *Hippolytus* was performed in 428, the *Thesmophoriazusae* in 411, and the *Frogs* in 405. No matter how prodigious the literary memory of the Athenians was, it seems excessive to expect them to remember one line from a tragedy produced seventeen years before one comedy and twenty-three years before the other.<sup>8</sup> The usual answer to this problem is that the line became notorious in 428 because it shocked the moral sensibilities of the Athenians and that it remained in people's minds, perhaps referred to in the meantime by Aristophanes and other comedians in lost plays. Why was this line so shocking? Because it seemed to indicate that men could swear oaths with internal reservations. But is this in itself so horrible? Didn't men break their oaths in Athens? There was a place in Hell for those who did (*Frogs* 145-51). Were there not other lines in the

<sup>6</sup> If we were to depend on purely mechanical criteria we would have to believe that Aristophanes thought the most interesting thing about Euripides was that his mother sold vegetables, for this specific charge is repeated most often over the longest period of time (from the *Acharnians* to the *Frogs*). Whatever the point of this joke was, it is probably too trivial to consider seriously in the relationship between the two poets.

<sup>7</sup> See lines 850 (cf. *Clouds* 1371-81), 889 (cf. *Thesmophoriazusae* 450-51), 964-70, 1009-17, 1069-88. But even these are so intermingled with obvious jokes that it is difficult to tell exactly how serious Aristophanes was at any particular moment.

<sup>8</sup> Note that the main literary parodies of the *Thesmophoriazusae* deal with plays produced the previous year. Except for the plays of 438 (especially the *Telephus* and the *Alcestis*), the tendency in Aristophanes seems to be to refer to recent plays of Euripides; see R. Harriott (above, note 4), table on pages 6-7.

*Hippolytus* which could be construed as being equally, or even more shocking (for example, 359, 1415)? I believe that the usual answer is not the right one, especially when we consider (1) the lack of evidence outside of Aristophanes that Athenians were shocked at the line for seventeen years, and (2) the lack of evidence that Aristophanes was seriously concerned with attacking Euripides' moral views.

I wish to propose two other reasons, themselves interconnected, as to why the line was famous. These reasons also help explain why Aristophanes could refer to the line so long after the production of the *Hippolytus* and still expect his audience to understand the reference.

The first reason is historical rather than literary. Aristotle tells us in passing (*Rhetoric* 1416A28–34)<sup>9</sup> that a certain Hygiainon was involved in an *antidosis* trial with Euripides. Hygiainon attacked Euripides as impious because he had written a line of verse advocating perjury. The line was *Hippolytus* 612. Aristotle tells the story because of Euripides' answer: that he, Euripides, had already been judged about that line in the Dionysiac contest (the second hypothesis to the *Hippolytus* tells us Euripides won first prize that year), and that he was willing to stand trial there again if Hygiainon wanted to accuse him. This story raises two questions: when was the trial about the *antidosis*, and does the story indicate that the line had been noticed right after the production of the *Hippolytus* as a way of hedging on an oath and that there was general feeling about it against Euripides?

We cannot be sure about the date of the trial. It must have taken place after 428. Hygiainon is not a common name in Athens, with only four entries in Kirchner.<sup>10</sup> There is, however, no persuasive

<sup>9</sup> ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης πρὸς Ὑγιαίνοντα ἐν τῇ ἀντιδόσει κατηγοροῦντα ὡς ἀσεβής, ὃς γ' ἐποίησε κελεύων ἐπιорκεῖν

ἢ γλῶσσ' ὁμώμοχ', ἢ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος.

ἔφη γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ ἀγώνος κρίσεις εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια ἄγοντα· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτῶν δεδωκέναι λόγον ἢ δώσειν, εἰ βούλεται κατηγορεῖν.

<sup>10</sup> J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1901–3) nos. 13898–901. The name of one Hygiainon appears with the epithet *kalos* on a series of Attic white lekythoi by the Achilles painter, dated about the middle of the fifth century; see J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1963) 997, nos. 147–54. Another Hygiainon was *epistatēs* on the day of the second prytany in 426/5 when two extant decrees were passed: IG 1<sup>2</sup> 65 = ATL D8, line 32; for a new fragment which identifies Hygiainon, see B. D. Meritt, *AJP* 88 (1967) 29–32; the second inscription is IG 11<sup>2</sup> 71 = SEG 10, 73.

reason to link any other Hygiainon with Euripides' accuser. The story in Aristotle must stand by itself. One other piece of evidence might have some bearing on the problem. Satyrus' *Life of Euripides*, partially preserved on papyrus,<sup>11</sup> informs us that Cleon once prosecuted Euripides for impiety (ἀσεβεια). Cleon died in the fall of 422, so this trial must have been before that date. It is impossible to know if this trial had any connection with the trial involving Hygiainon. The most important consideration against identifying the two occasions is that the Hygiainon trial was about an *antidosis* whereas the Cleon trial seems to have been specifically about impiety. Because of this it seems best to dissociate the two trials. The evidence from Satyrus, then, does not help us with the date of the Hygiainon trial. There is no way of dating precisely the confrontation between Hygiainon and Euripides. Given this evidence, we could assume two dates with equal validity: one soon after the production of the *Hippolytus* when the line would be fresh in men's minds; or another soon before the production of the *Thesmophoriazusae* when Hygiainon's accusation would be fresh in men's minds.

We may now turn to the second question posed above, that is, was *Hippolytus* 612 notorious through the twenties and 'teens of the fifth century because of what it was thought to imply about oaths? The story in Aristotle does not help in considering this question, because the trial may be dated to just before the production of the *Thesmophoriazusae* as well as to any other time. Does the story about Cleon's accusation support the contention that the line was considered immoral at least before 422? Not really. Impiety charges may have been serious or they may have been far-fetched. In the present state of the evidence<sup>12</sup> we are unable to say what Cleon's motives were in bringing the charge and on what basis he made it. For all we know, the charge may have referred to some other line of the *Hippolytus*, or to some other play, or to some event in Euripides' life completely separate from his works, or even to some putative impiety with no basis in fact. Outside of the evidence in Aristophanes in 411 and 405, we do not have any

<sup>11</sup> POxy. IX, 1176, col. x, lines 15-22.

<sup>12</sup> More information might be forthcoming. The papyrus fragment tells us that the trial was discussed earlier in the same work. That part has not yet been found, or if found, not identified.

indication that *Hippolytus* 612 was considered immoral, except by Hygiainon. I think it is of the greatest importance in regard to Hygiainon's accusation that it was not the question on which his trial with Euripides was based. The charge made by Hygiainon was dragged into an *antidosis* trial to discredit Euripides' sworn statements. Euripides' answer to the charge as recorded by Aristotle indicates that he was confident that the line could not be held against him (and indeed had not been held against him when the plays of 428 were judged). Furthermore, Aristophanes quoted from the *Hippolytus* as early as 424 (*Knights* 16 = *Hippolytus* 345), so he knew the play then. But he makes no reference to line 612 and its supposed immorality until 411. This indicates that Aristophanes, at least, did not think the line immoral until some time about 411.<sup>13</sup>

Hygiainon's accusation then seems like a desperate move to malign the word of Euripides when the trial seems to have been going against him. We do not know the outcome of the trial, but again Aristotle's story indicates that Euripides was confident of his position. Given these circumstances it seems to me that the immoral interpretation of the line could have arisen in this trial, and that Aristophanes in the *Thesmophoriazusae* could be making as much fun of the hopeless maneuver of Hygiainon as he is of Euripides when he cites the line. Hygiainon would have made the line notorious by twisting its meaning to suit his own purposes. This would mean that the trial took place sometime soon before 411, which, as we have seen above, is entirely possible.

But this interpretation leads us to other questions. Why did Hygiainon pick on this line? How did he come to remember it some fifteen or sixteen years after the production of the *Hippolytus*? This brings us to the second reason why the line was famous, which would explain how Hygiainon came to have it in mind when he was casting about for a means to discredit Euripides. The line was famous because it represented a whole dimension of the *Hippolytus*. It summed up an aspect of this complex, subtle, and successful work of art.<sup>14</sup> Hygiainon,

<sup>13</sup> Phaedra is also not held up by Aristophanes as a type of wanton woman before 411; see *Thesmophoriazusae* 153, 497, 547, 550, and *Frogs* 1043, 1052. Fragment 453 (from the *Polyidus*) may be earlier and it may refer to Phaedra as an evil woman, but we cannot be sure.

<sup>14</sup> "This play is not only the most beautiful, the most pathetic and penetrating,

in looking for some weapon against Euripides, thought of this line because it was well known as a sort of key to one of the significant themes of the *Hippolytus*. He cited it out of context and perverted its meaning<sup>15</sup> so that the line took on a second life in its new guise, a life picked up by Aristophanes for comic purposes.

What is the aspect of the *Hippolytus* which line 612 represents? Stated simply, it is the contrast and conflict between inner truth and outer appearances. This phenomenon is common enough. Most human beings have felt at one time or another, some very frequently, the enormous distance between what one actually is and what one appears to be. When Hippolytus says, "My tongue swore, but my mind is unsworn," he is simply describing his dilemma as he has just come to recognize it. There is no doubt in the play that Hippolytus is pure. Whatever other faults he has, they do not detract from his inner and outward purity. But once he has taken the oath Hippolytus knows that he cannot explain his inner purity in any convincing way and that he has to let himself be judged by outward appearances. These, although he does not know it yet, have been rigged by Aphrodite to bring about his destruction. His dilemma is that he must maintain these outward appearances to preserve the inward purity (part of which is his respect—*σέβας*—for the gods). His statement is meant to be a cry of anguish at the recognition of his dilemma.

This clash between inner truth and outward appearance is not limited to this line, nor is it an isolated aspect of the play; rather it is a pervasive element in the whole fabric of the play, an element which has particular significance for the characters of Hippolytus and Phaedra. Though it will take us some way from Aristophanes and Hygiainon, I wish to examine, in sufficient detail to support my contention, how this inner-outer dichotomy functions first in Hippolytus and then in Phaedra.

A few lines after the statement in question, Hippolytus launches into a long speech (616–68) which is in a sense an elaboration of the line. The speech falls into two parts. The first (616–50) is an attack on

among Euripides' extant works: it is also the most finely wrought and many-sided . . . " G. Norwood, *Essays on Euripidean Drama* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1954) 74.

<sup>15</sup> Note that in Aristotle's story Hygiainon has to explain that Euripides in composing the line encouraged perjury. See note 9 above.

women. This is usually thought of as a childish outburst by Hippolytus to illustrate his adolescent and unbalanced nature. But actually the speech carries on the idea of the difference between inner truth and outer appearance enunciated in line 612. Hippolytus immediately proclaims women to be a fraudulent evil (*κίβδηλον κακόν*). The adjective, basically referring to counterfeit money, implies that women are not really what they seem to be. Hippolytus goes on to describe two types of women: one (627-39) is simple, a baneful idol, whose husband outfits her in beautiful clothing; the other (640-50) is more dangerous because she is intelligent. Kypriis conceives evil in women of this type, and they sit within while their servants carry their wicked plans outside. Hippolytus clearly considers Phaedra one of the intelligent women, and the image (649-50) of the woman inside, thought to be evil, having her schemes carried to the world by her servant, fits Phaedra exactly. In the second part of the speech (651-68), Hippolytus drops the guise of speaking in generalities and addresses the Nurse directly (and Phaedra, who is on stage, indirectly). He says that he feels outwardly contaminated, but he is aware of his inner goodness, his piety, which will save her (653-56).<sup>16</sup> If he had not been taken off guard in swearing the oath he would tell Theseus, but as it is he will remain silent (657-60). The last lines of the speech (664-68) have been characterized as weak,<sup>17</sup> but they seem to me to fit and to round out the speech. In these lines Hippolytus returns to his hatred of women and to their evil character. He says that he will feel free to attack them until they are taught *σωφρονεῖν*. In Hippolytus' mouth this word and its derivatives mean the sort of inner purity he knows that he himself possesses. Women cannot be other than evil until they learn to be good within. At that time they will no longer be a *κίβδηλον κακόν*.

The theme of inner goodness and outward appearance is carried on in the scene between Theseus and Hippolytus (902-1101). At the beginning of the scene, there is complete misunderstanding between the two characters. The situation described in 612 has taken effect. Theseus

<sup>16</sup> Is the *γύναι* of line 656 a direct reference to Phaedra? The Nurse is called *γύναι* only one other time in the play, by the chorus (267). Phaedra regularly calls her *μαῖα* (243, 311) when not angry with her (as she is, for example, in 682). Hippolytus speaks to her in insulting terms just a few lines earlier (651: *ὦ κακὸν κάρα*).

<sup>17</sup> See W. S. Barrett, *Euripides: Hippolytus* (Oxford 1964) note to the passage.



can see only the outward appearance of things and the apparently conclusive evidence left by Phaedra. Relying on this evidence he believes Hippolytus to be evil. Hippolytus at first trusts in his inner goodness but he becomes aware late in the scene (after 1050) that the knowledge of his own goodness will not save him, that in fact he has been caught by circumstances. Theseus, for his part, believes that Hippolytus is inwardly evil and he refuses to accept any outward manifestations of Hippolytus' innocence. Paradoxically Theseus calls for some clear evidence to judge men by and for a way to diagnose their minds (925-31). He wishes men had two voices so we could tell when they are being just and when not. This is in essence what Hippolytus said about women at 616-17, and this "need for an outward indication of men's character" is found elsewhere in Euripides and in Greek literature.<sup>18</sup> Theseus' long speech in this scene (936-80) is an elaborate example of the distance between inner truth and outer appearance. A few lines earlier Theseus had wished for a sure way to see inside men's minds, but he had spoken in bitterness, feeling he knew the truth about Hippolytus. In reality he knows only falsehood and depends absolutely on an outward appearance which is false. Theseus concludes from the false appearance that Hippolytus is guilty, and, more than guilty, evil. This seems clear to him (944-45). He dares Hippolytus to show his face<sup>19</sup> now that he is steeped in guilt (946-47). The irony continues as Theseus savagely attacks Hippolytus' purity and holiness (948-65) and completely rejects his innocence on the apparent evidence (966-80). At the end of the speech Theseus actually brings himself into disrepute, when he pits all his heroic accomplishments against being defeated by Hippolytus in this matter (976-80). In the end, of course, he is bested, by the truth, and the audience, which knows the truth, knows that Theseus is throwing away his reputation with these words.

<sup>18</sup> See Barrett (above, note 17) note to 925-27.

<sup>19</sup> The Greek word is *πρόσωπον*. There is a complex net of irony in Theseus' use of the word. Theseus depends on surface appearance and thinks he is right when actually he is wrong. Hippolytus' *prosōpon* is pure and when Theseus dares him to show it, he speaks bitterly, but, in reality Theseus does not see clearly, though he continually proclaims that he does. The use of the word *prosōpon* also looks forward to the last action in the play (1458), which is discussed below, pages 34-35. See also below, note 25.

Hippolytus' long speech which follows (983-1035) is also crucial for our theme. He tells the truth throughout, but, especially at the beginning, he is so cool, affected, and prissily didactic that he is bound to appear offensive, especially to Theseus, who is caught in the throes of sorrow and anger. Hippolytus' manner may be attributed to his youthful innocence, but, whatever the reason, he appears unattractive. Here, then, we see a slight inversion. Hippolytus, who speaks the truth and is inwardly pure, assumes an offensive exterior. Towards the end of his speech, Hippolytus speaks of Phaedra (1022-24 and 1032-35). In these passages he seems to recognize the existence in Phaedra of the same dualism that exists in himself. He knows Phaedra has done him wrong and that she would seem outwardly evil, but he also realizes that she, too, is good inwardly. In the first passage he wishes for a witness such as he himself is (that is, pure inwardly) and if Phaedra were alive Theseus would see in reality<sup>20</sup> who had done wrong. Here he sees at least the possibility that Phaedra is as pure as he. In the second passage (1034-35 in particular) he speaks in riddles, but he more clearly acknowledges that Phaedra had the quality he so prides himself on, *sôphrosynê*, but she could not stay constantly true to that quality.<sup>21</sup> These passages serve to stress the similarities in the characters of Hippolytus and Phaedra, who have no direct contact during the play. The same is true of lines 1051-52. Here Hippolytus finally realizes that his inner goodness will not save him, and he cries out to Theseus, "Will you not let time inform about me?" Hippolytus knows that time, as it does, will vindicate him. Phaedra too has the same confidence in the power of time (428-30, see page 31, below).

The climax for Hippolytus in the scene with Theseus comes at 1070-79. At this point he completely loses the cool confidence he had earlier and the full realization of the hopelessness of his position comes upon him. He says that it is enough to make him cry if he *appears* evil and *seems* so to Theseus.<sup>22</sup> Theseus does indeed see only the

<sup>20</sup> "In reality" translates *ἐργοῖς*. In the dichotomy described in this paper there are similarities to the *logos-ergon* dualism so popular in the second half of the fifth century. The *logos-ergon* contrast is also found in this play, where it tends to supplement the inner-outer conflict, e.g. 413-14, 501-2, 957, 971-72 (the *ergon* is the corpse).

<sup>21</sup> 1034: *ἔσωφρόνησεν οὐκ ἔχουσα σωφρονεῖν*. See Barrett's commentary for the importance of the tenses.

<sup>22</sup> 1071: *εἰ δὲ κακός γε φαίνομαι, δοκῶ τέ σοι*.

surface and he sees that as evil. At 1078–79, Hippolytus makes an important statement: he wishes he could be out of himself so he could shed tears about what he is enduring.<sup>23</sup> In this complex wish he wants to be outside himself so there would be at least one person who could understand the inner goodness he knows he possesses and who would thus sympathize with him. The wish also expresses his desire to be separated from his false-seeming self which no one wants to see beyond. A few lines later Hippolytus goes offstage accompanied by his companions, who do understand him and have confidence in him (1249–54). Their company allows him to regain enough confidence in himself to maintain that he is purer than any other man, no matter how he seems to his father (1100–1).

Let us now turn back to take up this inner-outer dualism in Phaedra. In Phaedra's case, there are two aspects of this dualism. First, she hides within herself her passion for Hippolytus. This is something internal which is made manifest by the probing of the Nurse. Second, there is an aspect similar to Hippolytus' dilemma. The inner goodness of Phaedra is in sharp contrast to the harm she does Hippolytus. One significant difference, however, is that Phaedra struggles with the dichotomy set up by the difference between her inner reality and her outer appearance. On the first count, her inner passion for her stepson is morally unworthy but she tries to maintain a good appearance outwardly. On the second, she tries to preserve her good reputation, which would reflect her actual goodness, but in trying to preserve it, she is driven to a device which is evil and harmful.

The first aspect of Phaedra's dualism is seen in the scene which runs from 198 to 361. The whole scene is directed toward externalizing Phaedra's inner passion. Until line 310, the first mention of Hippolytus, there is complete misunderstanding between the Nurse and Phaedra, just as in the later scene between Theseus and Hippolytus. Phaedra tries to hide her passion, but everything she says is directed by her internal feelings. The Nurse and the chorus do not know her problem and can judge her only on outward appearances. Therefore, everything she says is incomprehensible to them. They misjudge everything

<sup>23</sup> εἴθ' ἦν ἐμᾶντὸν προσβλέπειν ἐναντίον  
στάνθ', ὥς ἐδάκρυσ' οἷα πάσχομεν κακά.

she says and cannot make sense of it, just as Theseus misjudges everything Hippolytus says later. Both Phaedra and Hippolytus speak the truth, but the others do not have the knowledge with which to know the truth. After line 310 the course of the scene is set clearly toward the revelation of Phaedra's passion. As the moment of truth comes closer, Phaedra expresses the contrast between her inner feelings and her outward appearance, most clearly in 317: "My hands are pure, my mind is polluted" (cf. 612). The scene reaches its climax with the second mention of Hippolytus' name by the Nurse and her horrified reaction<sup>24</sup> to the love Phaedra has for him.

The second aspect of Phaedra's dualism is best seen in the speech she addresses to the chorus after her secret becomes known (373-430). Here she elaborates on this revelation of her internal self. She no longer talks about her illness or directly about Hippolytus. The truth has cured her wild distraction and now she speaks calmly about her inner thoughts on how men's lives are ruined (376). She says people know what is right, but for a variety of reasons they do not do it. Phaedra here is speaking in general terms, but she is also speaking about herself. She recognizes this dualism, this difference and distance between the inner consciousness of right and the outer wrongs, or appearance of wrongs, that exist in herself and in the world as a whole. After her general statements she describes the course of her fight against her passion (391-404). First she hoped to overcome it by silence, then by *sôphrosynê*, and now lastly by death. Her inability to stay with one course is an essential part of her character. This vacillation is her basic weakness and it is as important in effecting the punishment of Hippolytus as her falling in love with him is. She ends this section with an inverted statement of the inward-outward theme (403-4): she does not want her good qualities overlooked, nor does she want many witnesses to her faults. In these lines she makes it clear that she understands that all men do some evil and that there is falseness in the world. Her desire is to show only her good side and

<sup>24</sup> The Nurse also carries on the inward-outward theme. Her speech of horror on learning the truth (353-61) is a completely surface and outward reaction. This is the sort of thing men should feel when incest is mentioned and unholy loves are revealed. But when she recovers herself and considers her second and better thoughts (436), her long speech advocating consummation of the love (433-81) reveals her inner and true feelings on the matter.

keep the bad hidden. Later (413-14) she returns to the theme when she expresses her hatred for women who are *sôphrôn* in appearance (*logois*), but who secretly have evil drives. She asks Kypriis how these women can look their husbands in the face,<sup>25</sup> how, that is, they can maintain outward appearances while inwardly evil (415-18). No matter what the world is like, Phaedra knows that she could not be evil within and be able to live as if she were not. In addition she cannot bear to disgrace her husband, her children, or herself. Therefore she must die (419-25). She also understands that only a good and just mind (that is, an internal confidence in what one has done) can see a person through the trials of life (426-27). She ends her speech (428-30) with a statement about the importance of time, which, like a mirror set before a young girl, will reveal those who are evil.<sup>26</sup> The idea of time revealing the truth about people is expressed later by Hippolytus (1051-52; see page 28, above). Hippolytus says that it will reveal his internal goodness, Phaedra that it will show who is truly evil. Thus, the two statements complement one another and depend upon one another for a full exposition of the power of time to make the inner person outwardly manifest. Both Phaedra and Hippolytus are vindicated in time before the end of the play. For the continuation of the theme of time as the revealer of truth see lines 1320-24, where Artemis says Theseus has been shown to be evil (*kakos*) because he did not wait in time for better proof about Hippolytus' guilt.

Line 688 marks an important change in Phaedra's attitude. She is no longer concerned with just preserving her reputation, but also with hurting Hippolytus. She now fears he will fill the earth with her

<sup>25</sup> For the importance of the word *prosôpon* in the play see above, note 19, and below, pages 34-35.

<sup>26</sup> It is usually said that this image is strained because the mirror reveals the truth to the young girl and not to the world in general (see Barrett [above, note 17] note to lines 428-30, and J. de Romilly, *Time in Greek Tragedy* [Ithaca, N.Y., 1968] 51-52 and 117). But I believe the image is not awkward, but rather fits into the inward-outward theme for the following reasons: (1) Phaedra is talking about herself throughout and she is interested in her appearance both to herself and to the world in general; (2) she knows she looks bad to the world because of her passion which is now known; (3) she can save herself only by death; (4) she hopes that after death time will show her to be good—as both she and we know she is, both inwardly and outwardly (until now at least)—to herself (she speaks as if she herself would be in a position to see the justification which her death will bring her) and by extension to the world in general.

shameful love (689–92). First she hints that she will harm him (715–21) and then is more explicit in 724–31. Now the external appearance of evil she feared seems to be at hand, and she puts into motion the punishment Aphrodite desired at the beginning of the play.<sup>27</sup> By doing this she actually commits an evil act and is to some extent evil both outwardly and inwardly. So in trying to avoid what she feared the most, she became worse than she might have been. She is, of course, the tool of a power greater than she. Aphrodite represents at the same time a great power within Phaedra and a great power outside of her, being as she is in this play a combination of Olympian deity and natural force.

Thus by the time Artemis comes on stage (1283) both Hippolytus and Phaedra have been caught and destroyed in a series of events, set in motion by a deity, but to a large extent dependent upon human weaknesses and faults and on the often terrifying distance between internal truth and outward appearance. It is part of Artemis' function on stage to narrow the gap between internal truth and outward appearance and even to make them one. She brings the inner truths into the open for all men to see and explains the apparent truths, to what extent they are right and how they are wrong. She immediately sets to work telling Theseus that he is wretched (1286: *τάλας*).<sup>28</sup> He has murdered his son because he believed his wife's lying words, because he believed things which were not apparent (*ἄφανῆ*), and now he himself has gotten a clear doom (*φανερὰν ἄτην*). Artemis' tone towards Theseus is harsh, especially when she tells him he has no place

<sup>27</sup> It is clear that Aphrodite's choice of Phaedra was not haphazard. Aphrodite could make her fall in love with Hippolytus, but it was Phaedra's character, her vacillation and her deep desire not to disgrace herself or her family, which makes Hippolytus' punishment possible, and even then not directly. Theseus has to be as impetuous as he is and possessed of Poseidon's gifts, as, again, he is. Aphrodite must count on his character as much as on Phaedra's to carry out her plans.

<sup>28</sup> If there is a dualism in Theseus it is connected with the word *talas* and his sorrow. When he learned of Phaedra's death he mourned her and bewailed his own miserable situation: see 807, 822–27, 836–38, 875; cf. 852. After the appearance of Hippolytus, Theseus no longer calls himself *talas*, but he directs all his emotion against his son. Now Artemis informs him that he is again wretched and that this time his unhappiness is so much more severe because he is to blame for the unjust death of his son. This is not to say that his sorrow at the death of Phaedra was merely shallow or external, but rather that it did not have the fullness and depth he experiences here when he learns the truth about himself, his wife, and his son.

in the company of good men (1294-95) and that she wants to make him suffer (1297). Her opening lines (1283-95 are set off since they are anapests) consist of an important statement of the inner-outer dichotomy we have been discussing, especially 1289 with its juxtaposition of *aphanê* and *phaneran*. She quickly tears the veil of appearance aside to reveal the basic truth to Theseus. Later at 1298 she begins to explain Hippolytus to his father. She has come to reveal (*ἐκδειξαι*) that Hippolytus' mind (*φρόνη*) was just. She then discusses Phaedra and reveals the struggle between her passion (*οἰστρον*) and her nobility in this sense (*τρόπον τινὰ γενναιότητα*). Phaedra tried to conquer Kypria with her intelligence (*γνώμη*), but she was ruined against her will by the tricks of the Nurse (1300-6). Thus Artemis reveals the inward goodness of Phaedra while explaining the evil act which she committed with her false letter. She then returns to Hippolytus to justify his piety (1307-9). Until Hippolytus is brought in, Artemis continues to broaden her explanation of what has happened, focusing particularly on Theseus' guilt (1313-14, 1316, 1320-24).<sup>29</sup>

At 1389 Artemis addresses Hippolytus, who cannot see her. The relationship between Artemis and Hippolytus is essentially mystical,<sup>30</sup> internal. He hears her now (as he had earlier: lines 85-86) and he can discern her aroma, but he cannot see her now (as he had not earlier: 86). Artemis assures Hippolytus of her affection and of the unjustness of his fate, establishes the rites to be celebrated for him and Phaedra, and reconciles him to his father before she goes off stage at 1439.

Hippolytus and Theseus are left alone. In this final scene the father and son are brought together. They are no longer separated by confusion and misunderstanding. For them inner truth and outer appearance have melted together to become identical. Hippolytus frees his father of blood guilt (1449) and swears his last oath (1451), which is his greatest since it is the product of the evolving love the father and son feel for one another now that they are fully revealed to each other,

<sup>29</sup> She also exculpates Theseus (1325-37), placing the blame on Aphrodite. But then her last words (1340-41: "The gods destroy evil men along with their children and their houses") might refer to Theseus—who has been shown to be evil and whose son and wife have been destroyed. But if the reference is intended, it is not clear.

<sup>30</sup> A. J. Festugière, *Personal Religion among the Greeks* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1960) 1-18.

Hippolytus in his purity and narrowness, Theseus in his guilt and sorrow. Theseus recognizes this when he cries out (1452), "Beloved, how noble you are revealed to your father," and says that Hippolytus was pious and good within.<sup>31</sup>

Finally we come to the last action of the play, when at 1458 Hippolytus asks Theseus to cover his *prosôpon* since he is about to die. The internal Hippolytus has been revealed for the good man he is and now, at the point of death, his inner goodness is fully manifest. At this moment Theseus covers Hippolytus' face for the last time. Hippolytus, now fully integrated with himself and his world, is hidden away to be placed within the earth.

This covering of Hippolytus' *prosôpon* before burial brings into the discussion another aspect of the inward-outward theme. This aspect does not deal directly with the human conflicts and dichotomies found in Hippolytus and Phaedra, but rather it is a manifestation of this dualism on a larger scale. When Hippolytus comes on stage after hearing the Nurse's proposal, his first words are, "Mother earth and spreading sun,<sup>32</sup> I have heard words which should not be spoken." Hippolytus here calls on the elements, the earth and the sun, a common enough way of expressing strong emotions in Greek tragedy.<sup>33</sup> But in the context of the theme we have been discussing, the cry is more than merely conventional: it brings to mind the inner and outer aspects of the world around us. It represents the same idea as line 612 does a few moments later, but on a cosmic scale. Once this note has been sounded by Hippolytus it continues through the whole play,<sup>34</sup> reinforcing and counterpointing the personal dualism we have been discussing, until at the end of the play Hippolytus, vindicated, but weary and suffering, yearns for final sleep to be brought to him by

<sup>31</sup> Line 1454, according to the Oxford text assigned to Theseus: οἱμοὶ φρενὸς σῆς εὐσεβοῦς τε κάγαθῆς.

<sup>32</sup> 601: ὦ γαῖα μήτηρ ἡλίου τ' ἀναπνυχάι.

<sup>33</sup> See Barrett (above, note 17) on line 601 for some other examples in Euripides and the other tragedians.

<sup>34</sup> The theme is not always stated in the same words, but the general concept is the same: earth and sky. The other occurrences are: 672 (Phaedra answers Hippolytus' cry with her own); 993-94; 1025; 1278-79; and 1290-93 (Artemis tells Theseus that he should hide beneath the earth or fly away like a bird into the sky, because he should no longer be able to live on earth as a result of what he has done; for other instances of similar wishes see Barrett's commentary on lines 1290-93).



the night-black force of Hades (1386-88). The black and the dark do envelop him when he asks Theseus to cover his face.

I hope enough has been said to support adequately my contention that *Hippolytus* 612 was famous in fifth century Athens, not because it represented the moral laxity of which Euripides was sometimes accused, but rather because it represented a significant aspect of the play and was recognized as such. That is, it was famous for literary rather than moral reasons. The evidence of the comedies themselves indicates that Aristophanes' involvement with Euripides was primarily on literary grounds. All the other so-called attacks on Euripides are so mixed up with jest that it is very difficult—if not impossible—to separate the serious from the merely jocular. The view presented here of the meaning of *Hippolytus* 612, both within the play and outside it, thus squares with the evidence of comedy.