Euripides' *Hippolytus* and the Trials of Manhood (The Ephebia?)

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> Conflict seems to bring fundamental aspects of society, normally overlaid by the customs and habits of daily intercourse, into frightening prominence.[1]

THIS essay focuses on a particular aspect of Hippolytus' social nature in Euripides' drama, his status as an ephebe, and the relationship between Euripides' drama and the ephebia. My goal is to show how the drama engages certain Athenian social rituals as an integral part of its form and meaning. Through a close study of the play's language, we will find that the drama's text embodies and enacts these social structures as Hippolytus undergoes a passage to a manhood that he can only achieve in death. I pursue this inquiry in the light of recent work by Vidal-Naquet and Winkler on the ephebia and Greek drama, examining the social function of Euripides' drama, its evocation and imitation of specific Athenian social practices, and the way the text's language specifically negotiates these practices.[2]

Any rite of passage is designed to prepare its initiant for her or his next stage in life, and for an adult Athenian male this meant marrying, producing legitimate offspring to be the next generation of citizens, serving in the army, and taking part in the assembly. While Hippolytus is a young man refusing to marry and to participate in civic life, neither studies of the ephebia nor specifically of Euripides' *Hippolytus* have discussed him in much detail as an ephebe.[3] I thus examine the intersection of this drama both with the language of manhood and the cultural practices which guided the transition to manhood and celebrated the Athenian model of civic male virtue, Theseus, who also happens to be Hippolytus' father.[4] The male members of this drama's audience, who themselves underwent rites

and participate in festivals wherein they imitate Theseus, watch a young man who ostensibly rejects his father as a paradigm, but is nonetheless compelled to suffer strange, dislocated forms of the events celebrated in the very rites and festivals associated with him.

Structure, Ritual, and the Ephebe

Following Vidal-Naquet's brilliant study, one easily identifies Hippolytus, who enters the play returning from the hunt, as a variation on the Black Hunter. The founding myth of the Apatouria, the festival where the young joined their fathers' phratries, involved a border dispute that a fight between Melanthus ("Darky") and Xanthus ("Blondie") resolved when the former employed the classic ruse, "Who's that standing behind you?"—and killed the latter.[5] The name of the Apatouria thus paradoxically both signifies joining the father [*patêr*] and deception [*apatê*] and marks how the ephebe must devote himself first to practices which transpose his father's values before he can fully join him. The combat on the frontier, outside the collective fighting of the hoplite phalanx and, similarly, the use of trickery together invert the behavior adolescents passing through the Apatouria would be expected to uphold, a pattern of inversion typical of initiatory rituals world-wide, as van Gennep showed long ago. The placement of the ephebe at the literal boundaries of the *polis* symbolizes his liminal position in society, and Hippolytus' activities around the city's wild border reflect the ephebes' frontier patrols engaging in solitary, nocturnal, guerrilla, and generally antihoplite combat.[6] The categories of hunter and ephebe were for the Greeks quite similar, since they regarded hunting as preceding, and hence external to, civilization, and the hunt is marked by the lack of force and the presence of dolos.[7] The Black Hunter characteristically uses nets instead of spears, which is a trademark of deception, and trickery is the mark of Melanthus the Black Hunter.[8] Hippolytus' speech to Artemis' statue features a denial of blades for cutting in the inviolate meadow and a woven crown (73–76), so the noetic structure suggests a preference for nets over spears, amplified by contrast, we shall see later, when he requests a hoplite spear with which to kill himself after his punishment and transformation. The absence of references to weaponry in the prologue is especially noticeable when Phaedra later expresses the desire to go hunting in the wild, for she specifies the desire to hold a "bladed spear" [*epilonchon belos*] (221–22).

While the frontier trials and practice of trickery emphasized the

youths' acquaintance with, and thus necessitated later avoidance of, individual combat and deception, their subsequent participation in the major festivals began a process of reincorporation into the collective citizenry, a process that culminated in the ephebic oath that bound the ephebe to the defense of the fatherland and featured a promise not to desert his fellow members of the hoplite phalanx. Enacting the boy's move from the company of women to the company of other men, Hippolytus undergoes two *agones*, the first with the Nurse and the second with his father, and the symmetry of these scenes around Phaedra's suicide underscores the pivotal role of the oath in the play. While elsewhere in tragedy, ephebes such as the Aeschylean Orestes and Neoptolemus in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* bind themselves with oaths to a particular mission involving other men, Euripides' Hippolytus swears an oath of solidarity, but with the Nurse, not with the male citizenry.[9] Like his grandfather Aegeus in the *Medea*, Hippolytus allows himself to be swayed by a clever woman's entreaties.[10] While the ephebe typically inverts hoplite/citizen behavior, Hippolytus' choice of isolation and his scorn for the male citizenry invert the traditional alliance, fixing him in that inversion. Moreover, his infamous threat to disregard his sacred oath—"My tongue has sworn but not my mind" (612)—surely would shock the play's audience if he is seen as an ephebe. Over twenty years after the production of the *Hippolytus*, at the end of Aristophanes' *Frogs*, Dionysus, who has just undergone his own rite of passage,[11] gives this very same response to Euripides after Dionysus has chosen to take Aeschylus back to the living, and not Euripides as he had promised. Since the oath prevents Hippolytus from defending himself and thus directly leads to his death, its thematic importance to the plot heavily marks it. Since his state is not transitional, the oath permanently separates him from the citizenry instead of binding him to it. In removing him from the world of effective public speaking, the oath seems the tragically logical outcome for one who disdains the verbal give-and-take characteristic of the more democratic agora or Pnyx. As Hippolytus himself exclaims to Theseus (986–87): "I am unpracticed at giving speeches to the mob, since I'm wiser with respect to the few who are my comrades."[12] The oath merely reifies his refusal of public discourse and his silence before Theseus marks his separation from the normal structures of civic discourse. We should further remember here the oath of allegiance to Athens sworn by ephebic war orphans who had been raised by the state on the first day of ceremonies during the Great Dionysia, which would thus have been fresh in the audience's mind when an oath becomes important to a young man.[13]

Gender inversions symbolizing changes in being also mark both the ephebia and this play. Elsewhere I have discussed the mimetic crisis caused by the breakdown in gender differentiation, and here I examine another aspect of this problem.[14] Gender concerns are further informed by the role of Artemis, Hippolytus' "patron," as a goddess of the frontier and of child-raising. Vernant observes the combination of spatial and social margins presided over by Artemis:

> Artemis is a *kourotrophê* goddess, who presides over the delivery, birth and upbringing of children. . . . She raises these children from their unformed state of newborn babes so that they may cross the decisive thresholds represented for girls by marriage, and for *boys by the acquisition of citizenship.* In the course of a series of trials completed in the context of the wild on the margins of the city, the young must have the power to break the ties that have bound them to this different world since childhood. First and foremost, here, at the ambiguous stage in which the separation remains uncertain, *a clear dividing line must be drawn once and for all between the boys and the girls.* (*MT,* 195–97; my emphases)

Hence, Artemis' true importance to this drama goes far beyond the model of a virgin hunter which she gives to Hippolytus. His excessive attachment to her primarily signals his refusal to allow his social status to match his new biological one. It is no coincidence that his rejection of women accompanies a lack of interest in the affairs of his *polis,* for both symptomize the reluctance to pass to manhood. Since this refusal has profound implications not just for the individual but the entire community, this problem must be represented as threatening the community in fundamental concerns; in the *Hippolytus* this manifests itself as a crisis of man's relationship with the gods, for so severe is the breakdown of order when society cannot regulate the transitions in life that it even affects the gods. Essentially, Hippolytus' rejection of marriage and the city seems to be causing a crisis where Artemis herself is withdrawing from her function as a creator of cultural differences. Thus, we shall see later that Artemis withholds approval of Hippolytus in the play until after his destruction since otherwise she would directly oversee the violation of the norms she is supposed to protect.

Indeed, almost every part of Hippolytus' identity violates Artemis' normal functions. As Vernant further argues, Artemis should promote the situation of human life into a series of chronological stages and passages which occur in a determined set of spaces from city to mountains and sea. Hippolytus, however, only wishes to live outside time and space.[15] Hippolytus exists as Hippolytus not in a fixed space, but in the fluid margins of the countryside. His disruption of

time and space causes the mimetic crisis whereby Phaedra, well past the stage in life where she is permitted to engage in "wildness," desires to enter the masculine world of the hunt. Phaedra's temporal path is also disrupted here, for girls, in their own initiation ritual at Brauron, would "play the bear"[16] during a period of premarriage seclusion and devotion to Artemis as goddess of wild nature. These characters thus attempt to deny both cultural and biological distinctions, with disastrous consequences. If a clear dividing line between boys and girls must be drawn once and for all under Artemis' protection before they become adults, then the erasure of this line in the drama must be explained if we are to understand the social importance of this drama.

We return to Athens. Vidal-Naquet discusses how in the festival of Oschophoria boys dressed as girls led the procession, which Plutarch explains by the two boys who dressed up as girls when Theseus voyaged to Crete to kill the Minotaur and to rid Athens of the tribute it owed Minos as a result of the loss of his son Androgeus.[17] To atone for this death, Minos required Athens to send regularly an equal complement of girls and boys, but Athens tricked Minos by disguising boys as girls, thereby increasing the number of allies Theseus could use in a conflict. Thus, transvestism forms a prelude to the slaying of the Minotaur, Theseus' main rite of passage into adulthood, and gives a paradigmatic force to these specific rituals. As Vidal-Naquet observes, "dressing up as a woman . . . was a means of dramatizing the fact that a young man had reached the age of virility and marriage" (*BH*, 116). As noted before, Hippolytus' character has distinctly feminine elements and he undergoes a female experience in the play to the extent that his dying agony is expressed as labor pains. We shall return to the Oschophoria later.

The failure to conform to masculine patterns leads to the drama's central crisis. After the ephebe's two years at the frontier he marks his maturity by returning to the *polis*, swearing his oath of solidarity, marrying and siring children. This last aspect appears in the charge of rape against Hippolytus. Refusing to marry and thus show his manhood, Hippolytus is punished by being accused of proving his manhood by violating marital rites and (again) potentially endangering the legitimate patriline.[18] Hippolytus' physical reaction to the accusation by covering his face underscores this inversion, especially since, I propose, he covers himself with an ephebic cape. Though this notion is speculative, it is important to consider how aspects of performance could have reinforced the drama's thematic concerns. That the covering of the head was important to Euripides' conception of the myth is manifest in the title of the poet's first version of

the play: *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos.* The use of the ephebic cape on the stage at this dramatic climax would be historically accurate, meet dramaturgical needs, convey meaningful social symbolism, and has textual support. Theseus' words clearly indicate that Hippolytus hides his face at his father's accusations (947–48): "Since you have come into pollution, reveal your face here directly to your father." Faced with the deepest shame over even being accused of misconduct, Hippolytus veils his head from Theseus, just as Heracles does roughly a decade later in another Euripidean tragedy when he has killed his own family. The parallel in the scenes in the *Hippolytus* and *Heracles* is striking; both figures hide from Theseus. The clothing of Heracles, who has strong ephebic associations himself, always is important as it consists of the spoils of different aspects of his heroic deed, something Aristophanes parodies in the *Frogs.* The Heraclean model helps us see the possible significance of Hippolytus' clothing and his choice of veiling materials,[19] and it shows that Barrett's notion (ad loc.) of a Hippolytus who simply turns away is misguided; his assumption does not account for the verb *deixon* [reveal], and the echo of Phaedra's earlier veiling would thereby be lost, not to mention the diminution of the effect of the final veiling of Hippolytus at death, both key moments in the action. Hippolytus' cape would be doubly motivated because the *chlamys* was worn both by horsemen and by the ephebe, whose black cape easily identified him.[20] The dramatist as producer would have needed some way of staging the *agôn* to allow his large audience to demarcate generationally the adult Theseus and the ephebe Hippolytus in a large theater, and clothing which signifies age would seem a likely device. The blackness is explained anthropologically as marking the ephebe's ritual exclusion, but mythically as commemorating the black sails Theseus neglected to change for white when returning the first time from Crete.[21]

The *Hippolytus* recalls directly the earlier importance of Theseus' sails when the Chorus reflects (just before the discovery of Phaedra's corpse) on the "white-winged Cretan ship" [*leukoptere*] (752) which conveyed her to Athens (760), after the drama has already clearly evoked Theseus' initial trip to Crete in Phaedra's first scene with the Nurse (337–43). By describing the sail's color and designating Athens as the destination, the text collapses together Theseus' two voyages from Crete and marks any reference to "black" and "white." This superimposing, I will argue below, occurs in another textual context and the poetic device is thus of central importance in the play. The significance of this imagery and mythic paradigm argues against the notion, sometimes advocated by critics, that this ode

stands disconnected to the larger narrative and thematic structure.[22] If Hippolytus' cape and veiling have meaning and resonance in extradramatic practices, it is equally plausible to suppose that the Chorus' reference to the sails of Theseus' ship inform the scene that follows this ode.

To put a finer point on this set of ideas, I suggest that when Hippolytus is accused by his father of raping Phaedra, Hippolytus hides his face in shame with his black ephebic cape. The audience has thus been guided to associate this garment with the event of Theseus' failure to replace the black sails with the white ones upon his return to Athens from Crete. The impact of this dramatic technique thus defines the thematic crux of the play's rite of passage. Twice the text pointedly refers to Hippolytus' clothing, both times as *peploi* [mens' cloaks]. The first instance is when Hippolytus, after the Nurse's revelation of Phaedra's passion, orders her to take her hand from his robes (606). In the second, the final words of the dying Hippolytus instruct Theseus, "Cover my face with my robes as quickly as possible" (1458). This second reference echoes both the ill Phaedra's request to the Nurse to hide her face (243–50) and Hippolytus' veiling of his face at Theseus' accusation. The fact that Hippolytus, when dying, asks for his face to be covered with his *peplos* suggests that he indicates a cloak hanging loosely about his shoulders, a notion which, in turn, supports the idea that he is wearing an ephebe's cape.

The iconography afforded by the Andromeda crater from Capua, which is Attic and possibly made fairly close to the date of Euripides' play, could indicate how Hippolytus appeared on stage and whether he wore an ephebic cloak, for here clothing clearly demarcates age and social position.[23] Perseus, beardless and wearing a *chlamys*, is depicted as an ephebe (as is, interestingly, Hermes) and contrasts sharply with the bearded adult Cepheus, a contrast highlighted by their placement on opposite sides of the centrally located Andromeda. I do not mean to argue that the depiction evokes a dramatic scene or the theater in general, but that it represents one way the Athenians were visually constructing mythical figures; the vase scene thus indicates how Hippolytus' appearance might be conceptualized. Further, the vase in question, along with others like it, typically depicts the social identity of Perseus much along the lines of iconographic representations of Theseus, a hero who almost invariably appears dressed as a paradigmatic beardless ephebe, attired smartly in a broad-brimmed hat and cloak and often in marked contrast with a bearded and older Aegeus (*TIA*, 188; *FS*, 118). Since, finally, Hippolytus' experiences in the drama's second half are modeled on his

father's heroic exploits—as we shall see—this evocation of visually signaled generational distinctions offered Euripides a convenient and powerful dramatic device.

Theseus, Ritual, and Athens

The structural correspondences between play and ephebia are strengthened by certain myths and rituals concerning Theseus and Crete, as we have already begun to explore.[24] The figure of Theseus has a close relationship with the ephebia,[25] and had become by the end of the fifth century an inseparable, if not foundational, part of daily Athenian society. Theseus served above all as a figure unifying the disparate tribal components of the city and, as such, as a model for the behavior expected of an Athenian male.[26] Theseus is a focal point in Athenian festivals, including the City Dionysia, a context in which his association with the sixth-century Peisistratus retained value. Peisistratus perhaps first elevated Theseus' status in the same period he instituted the City Dionysia's dramatic competition.[27] Theseus, in any case, became the embodiment of the civic ideology that tragic drama both celebrated and challenged. The festivals dedicated to Theseus provided both education and recreation for the Athenian citizenry, and orators cited episodes from his life as examples for proper conduct. The sculptures on prominent public buildings such as the Parthenon and the Hephaisteion imparted constant visual reminders of Theseus' greatness to anyone casually strolling through the Acropolis or Agora. Thus, given the civic nature and function of the Athenian tragic festival, a drama which represents any key part of the Theseus legend evokes a wide range of social and cultural associations resonant in the audience's daily experience. This phenomenon influenced the production of such cultural works themselves, a process that was ongoing, in that it served to re-form further that background, blurring any line that might have existed between Thesean text and context. Indeed, the *Hippolytus* can be viewed to be focused in this fashion as much on Theseus as on Theseus' son, or to generalize further, on what it means to be the son of Theseus.

Many of the Thesean legends involve actions representing rites of passage, and the *Hippolytus* makes use of several of them, including his voyage to Crete to slay the Minotaur and his infamous return trip to Athens.[28] Just as this myth is framed by journeys from and to Athens, so the drama itself, though set at Troezen, is more concerned about the city of Athens as a travel point and makes numerous refer-

ences to that *polis* (423, 759, 974, 1094, 1122, 1459). Euripides set his earlier *Hippolytus* in Athens, as did Sophocles for the lost *Phaedra.* Indeed, Theseus exiles Hippolytus from both "this land" and Athens (973–74); as Hippolytus goes into exile he cries farewell to both Athens and Troezen (1093–94); and Theseus' final lament over his dead son mourns the loss Athens will feel (1459).[29] These many references to Athens suggest a clear concern with Athenian institutions.

Two such institutions of importance to Euripides' play are the Athenian festivals called the Pyanopsia and the Oschophoria, commemorating Theseus' victory over the Minotaur.[30] Earlier in the fifth century, Athens had shifted the focus of the Oschophoria from its original status as an agricultural rite to a national festival whose participants reenacted Theseus' departure to and return from the kingdom of Minos. The Oschophoria may also have evoked Theseus' heroic series of deeds performed on his initial journey to Athens. The festival began with a procession from Athens to the shrine of Athena Skiras at Phaleron, a procession led by boys clad as girls, a practice recalling the dressed youths who accompanied Theseus to Crete. I suggest that the name, Athena Skiras, became connected, in Athenian minds, to one of Theseus' first opponents, Skiron, a verbal association that the play itself exploits. To defend at the outset the validity of this kind of interpretive approach, the Athenians were known sometimes to redirect or combine etymologies, as in the case of the Apatouria, whose name signifies both the deception [*apatê*] of the Melanthus myth and entry to a phratry: the "copulative alpha" attached as a prefix to *patêr* literally means "with the father." To return to the *Skiros* associations, Skiron, a mythical robber who haunted the rocks between Attica and Megara, was killed by Theseus as part of his initial heroic journey to Athens to find his father Aegeus, a journey which the last third of the play continually evokes through geographic references. Apart from the play, Skiron appears on many fifth-century cycle vases and several other red-figure vases, and is featured, too, on the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi and the Hephaisteion at Athens.[31] Though the iconography of Theseus suffered a decline from the 450s to the 430s, Theseus again returns to vase-painting prominence around the start of the Peloponnesian War in 431. Because the Skiron myth is one that Athenians would have encountered in their daily lives, oblique references to it could provoke the full range of associations.

Skiros and Skiron link together in myth and drama Theseus' first journey to Athens and the killing of the Minotaur, the two great Thesean rites of passage to manhood. The name *Skiros,* as Jacoby

has shown,[32] was generally given to outer, formerly frontier, districts, since it means "lime" or "white clay" and thus indicates wastelands, liminal areas that are the typical haunts of initiates.[33] Since *Skiros* marks an outlying area, it is thematically important for ephebes; Athena Skiras thus signifies Athena of the Frontiers. Since the term *Skiros* connotes whiteness, and because Theseus is said to have made a statue of Athena that he carried as he made his way to Athens after killing the Minotaur, the name also partakes of the symbolism of the black and white sails involved in his father's death. Theseus specifically mentions Skiron when he banishes Hippolytus (979), no less; the name is also evoked in the scene of Hippolytus' death (1208). In the first passage, Theseus proceeds through a small catalog (976–80) of the area's topography:

> For if I having suffered these things will be beaten by you,
> not ever will Isthmian Sinis bear witness that I
> killed him, but that I boast in vain,
> nor will the Skironian rocks, partners with the sea,
> say that I was trouble for bad men.

These references to Theseus' first overland voyage to Athens serve to contextualize for the audience the scene of Hippolytus' disaster, for, in the second passage, the shore of Skiron is the ante penultimate detail in the Messenger's description of the coast along which Hippolytus travels (1205–8) in the encounter with the wave-produced bull:

> Looking to the briny shores we saw a supernatural
> wave towering to heaven, so that my eye was taken away
> from seeing the coast of Skiron.

In the first passage, Theseus also mentions another brigand, Sinis, who terrorized travelers by tricking them into holding the top of a pine tree down, which he would then release, thereby flinging the victims to the heavens.[34] Skiron, on the other hand, who occupied a path along a cliff, forced passers-by to wash his feet and then would kick them off into the sea and into the clutches of a giant, man-eating turtle. Theseus defeated these and other outlaws on his journey to Athens by subjecting them to the same tortures they had imposed on others. This theme of inversion relates also to the textual passages of concern, for Theseus says that if he allows Hippolytus to rape Phaedra without punishment, then his past victories will be in vain [*matên*] (978) and the world will not be safe. Ironically, however, just as he had punished others with their own devices, Theseus'

rashness with his son leads him to experience the same grief his father Aegeus felt when he believed Theseus dead at the hands of the Minotaur, an incident the text evokes several times; and the bull that destroys Hippolytus functions as a return of the Minotaur. The second passage referring to Skiron then realizes Theseus' fears about his current problems eclipsing his past glories, as the Skironian rocks literally become invisible because of the tidal wave. To step back now and summarize this evidence presented allows us to appreciate how the events of Theseus' earlier conquests, heroic exploits celebrated in Athens in prominent festivals, endow the *Hippolytus* with poignant significance.[35]

Hippolytus, then, meets his trial at a frontier place evocative of a festival dedicated to his father, and the festival continues to inform the drama in further ways. After the initial ceremonies of the Oschophoria at Phaleron, a revel [*kômos*] returned all back to Athens, and this revel strangely mixes cries of triumph with one of grief. Plutarch explains this custom (*Thes.* 22.2–3) as a commemoration of how Theseus learned while traveling the road back to Athens that Aegeus had died because he had forgotten to raise the correct sails. A herald who had run ahead to Athens returns to tell Theseus this news, and so Theseus returns triumphant as killer of the Minotaur but also lamenting his new status as parricide. Thus the herald of the Oschophoria places the garlands of victory on his staff instead of his head. Strauss has suggested that the *Hippolytus* alludes to this part of the festival when the garlanded Theseus returns from consulting the oracle and, finding his wife dead, laments the futility of the garlands (805–6).[36] Despite the attractions of this reading, I would like to suggest that another part of the play more directly and meaningfully alludes to the laments in the Oschophoria, not least because they engage more directly the initiatory aspects of Oschophoria by involving Hippolytus himself.[37]

The end of the *Hippolytus* reverses the movement of the Oschophorian procession with a stationary Theseus learning from a herald who ran ahead from Hippolytus' group of fellow hunters that his son, returning from Skiron, has failed to meet a monstrous bull as successfully as Theseus had. Artemis later also evokes this janus-like moment by twice calling Theseus (1284, 1431) "son of Aegeus," thus reminding him and us of his responsibility for his father's death. While Strauss proposes that Theseus' misreading of Phaedra's tablet repeats the kind of error in the play when Aegeus misreads meaning of the color of the sails, no other instance in the text directly recalls Theseus' mortal father, and through these two appellations Artemis drives home the message that Hippolytus' death

forms some kind of symmetry to Aegeus' demise. Thus the play's ending superimposes the myth of Theseus' return, the Athenian ritual commemorating it, and Hippolytus' failed rite of passage.

Language, Transformation and the *Polis*

While cultural forces shape the larger concerns and structures of Euripides' drama, the poet's active engagement with the trials of manhood appears most clearly, and perhaps most importantly, in the details of the text's surface. The dramatic language represents Hippolytus' rite of passage to adulthood by explicitly indicating his social status at each stage. To explain this notion, it is useful here to consider the rhetorical terms, *antonomasia* or *pronominatio,* which de Jong has successfully applied to the epic language of Homer.[38] These ancient terms refer to what modern practice calls denomination. Euripides' text early almost obsessively determines Hippolytus' youth, repeatedly calling him *pais, tokos, teknon* and *neanias,* which all designate him unequivocally as a boy or adolescent.[39] Both the ruling pattern and the exceptions to the pattern are important. The Nurse at first restricts reference to his illegitimacy, scorning him as a *nothos,* then when needing his favor beseeches him as *pais* and *teknon.* Before naming her love, Phaedra only calls him *ho tês Amazonos*—literally, "the male from the Amazon"(522)— eliding his age, as if her desire makes him a man in her mind. Cries Phaedra (311–12), "I beg you to be silent concerning this man" [*andros*]. The Nurse, in turn, during her speech on the advantages of "second thoughts," replies (490–91), "Why do you speak so high and mighty? You don't need well crafted speeches, but the man" [*andros*]. But subsequently he becomes "the child of Theseus" [*Thêseôs tokôi*] once she is forced, after hearing his outraged screams, to confront what Hippolytus really still is: an adolescent and her husband's son. Moreover, the attendant asks Aphrodite for forgiveness for one erring "*huph' hêbês,*" a phrase evocatively close to "ephebe." This denominational pattern holds until late in the drama. Clearly, Hippolytus' physical and social youth determine both his behavior and others' actions toward him.

Hippolytus, however, consistently, and uniquely, represents himself as a man, and this self-presentation only begins in the *agôn* when his father accuses him of rape. He defends himself by claiming there is no more virtuous man [*anêr*] (1075) than himself, a description which he repeats while he departs from his father to exile (1100). Three times he laments, "If I was born a bad man" [*ei kakos pephuk'*

anêr] (1031, 1075, 1191). And finally, the Messenger reports that Hippolytus, crying out as his horses tore his body to pieces, had asked (1242), "Who at hand wants to save the best man?" [*andr' ariston*].[40] Thus, against the appellations of others, Hippolytus insists on his manhood but seems unaware that his community has not yet validated this status. Because the achievement of manhood in Athens required a set of values and practices which Hippolytus rejects, his claims to *andreia* ring hollow, given that they lack public affirmation.

Theseus' own language in this context is also important, for it further imports significance to the actions of generational dynamics and to the question of Hippolytus' illegitimacy. Furthermore, because the events at the seashore prove to be pivotal in the text's development of Hippolytus' transformation, one needs to divide Theseus' remarks into those made before and after the Messenger's speech. During the *kommos* with the Chorus, the grief-stricken Theseus avoids naming Hippolytus as his son. However, only at the beginning of the *agôn*, and only this one time (889), does Theseus call him "my child" [*emon paid'*], in the harsh request to his father Poseidon to kill Hippolytus. Subsequently, Theseus' language disowns his son, a pattern that interestingly overlaps with Hippolytus' textual rite of passage; Hippolytus the ephebe is thus linguistically separated from his father and from his own established identity; he is merely *hostis eks emou gegôs* [whoever was born from me] (943)—mirroring the social separation of the ephebia. When his father first calls him a man it is only with the utmost sarcasm (948–49): "Do you, being such an outstanding man, consort with the gods? Are you unmixed with evils?" Theseus directs his scorn not just toward this son's alleged superiority [*perissos*] but to the idea that Hippolytus' conduct, whether in the form of his dedication to private life or the alleged rape, somehow qualifies him as a man. Hippolytus' subsequent twice-repeated insistence on not being born a bad man (1031, 1075, 1191) could be a response to this scornful remark. Theseus does use the word *anêr* [man] two other times in general statements about how a swift death is easiest for an "unfortunate man" (1047), but exile is "hateful to an impious man" (1050),[41] but the generalizing gnomic force of these statements weakens their associations with the thematic question of Hippolytus' manhood.

This separation of son from father becomes especially marked by the suddenly frequent presence of words for manhood and paternity *after* Hippolytus meets the bull.[42] Having heard the Messenger's speech and then Artemis' angry revelation of the truth, Theseus four times (1408, 1410, 1446, 1454) calls his dying son *teknon*, a word reestablishing paternity, which Theseus seems to legitimize by pro-

claiming, after Hippolytus frees him from blood-guilt (1453), "how *gennaios* you appear to your father." While this word generally can denote mere nobility, *gennaios* derives from *genos*, which means race, clan or stock, and thus *gennaios* more specifically means "true to the family line." Since Hippolytus throughout this scene continues to lament his bastardy in other words, the more specific and original sense of the word seems appropriate here.[43] Indeed, Hippolytus' bitter response to his father's acknowledgment of him further underscores the force of that meaning: "Pray to have legitimate [*gnôsiôn*] sons like this." *Gnôsios* more clearly signifies the state of being born from lawful wedlock, but still derives from *genos*, and Hippolytus seems to speak it as a direct response to the suggestiveness of *gennaios*.[44] Essentially, then, after his father publicly acknowledges him as a son, Hippolytus enters his father's phratry. At the same time, the audience can question the legitimacy of this process, since Hippolytus has hitherto shunned adult roles and was defeated in his only initiatory battle. The answer is that Hippolytus functions, in Vidal-Naquet's words, as an ephebe *manqué*, "an ephebe who may fail at every turn." In this context, Hippolytus fails so excessively that he achieves in death the very manhood he cannot in life attain.[45]

This maturational event is prepared textually by the first designation of him as an *anêr*, a man, initiating a remarkable shift in the drama's language. Theseus' sarcastic response to the Messenger's story of Hippolytus' encounter with the monstrous bull immediately designates Hippolytus as *andros tou peponthos tade* [a man having experienced such things] (1257–58).[46] Theseus, however, does not yet realize what he is saying, so the drama's structure of thought is speaking through the character in a fashion that marks Hippolytus' transformation. Indeed, one points to other defects of his ephebia. Clearing the countryside around Troezen of small animals, an activity Aphrodite quickly ascribes to him (18), dimly reflects his father's labors; when Hippolytus undergoes a true test of his manhood, but fails spectacularly, the mere encounter seems strangely enough to transfigure him in death. The decisive symbol is perhaps the encounter with a bull, an animal that repeatedly figures in Theseus' tests of manhood. For example, Theseus' initial arrival in Athens was cast as a rite of passage involving a bull. Pausanias reports how Theseus, upon first entering Athens at the temple of Apollo Delphinios, was ridiculed as a girl, which he then answered by casting off his long *chiton* and tossing a sacrificial bull beyond the temple roof. Hellenistic inscriptions record that ephebes commemorated this test by lifting the oxen at the sacrifice.[47] The litany of place names evoking

Theseus' own trials of manhood thus prepare the audience for the moment when he calls his own son a man.

Recognizing the role of denomination in the drama helps explain Artemis' sudden departure from her dying devotee. Her final speech to Hippolytus declares how "it is not lawful [*themis*] for me to see the dead, nor to defile my eye with dying breaths" (1437–38). Traditionally, critics have ascribed her cold unwillingness to linger with Hippolytus to either the symmetry which the poet wants to draw between the two opposite goddesses or to an emphasized gulf between compassionate humans and brutal gods. Despite the cogency of these suggestions, recognizing Artemis' cultural role as a *kourotrophê,* a goddess overseeing the development of children, is also key to understanding the terms of the play's ending. Artemis, as we discussed earlier, is supposed to guide the young through their various stages of development to adulthood, but that process has short-circuited here, and Artemis remains distant, passively allowing Hippolytus to continue his Edenic existence outside the parameters of human time. Artemis, like the verbal expression of Hippolytian *andreia,* does not appear until after his fatal journey to the seashore. We see Artemis' renewed function in her language; Artemis twice uses the word *anêr* [man] (1294 and 1331–34). In the first, she explains to Theseus that his actions no longer allow him to be considered among "the good men" [*en agathois andrasin*]. In itself this instance is insignificant, but it prepares the second:

> Know clearly that, without fearing Zeus,
> I would not ever have come to such a point of shame
> that I would allow the dearest *man* [my emphasis] of
> all mortals to me to die.

Again, I think that the language here is crucial because it engages the drama's described transformational process. Since the poet could easily have had the goddess merely designate Hippolytus by a substantive masculine accusative pronoun and adjective (e.g., *tonde philtaton*), followed by only a substantive partitive genitive (*pantôn*), the language seems calculated to extend beyond its immediate linguistic context. However, the almost excessive specificity of Artemis' words—"the most beloved MAN to me of all MORTALS"—suggests that the text wants us to consider the full potential of this description, in that Artemis too declares how Hippolytus' final experiences at the shore have led him through a rite of passage. He is now a man, and Artemis as *kourotrophê* no longer serves any purpose beyond acknowledging this change. She can and must leave. As a man, he can

now belong in cult to Aphrodite, and in fact at both Athens and Troezen the sanctuaries devoted to Hippolytus contained also a temple of Aphrodite.

The significance of this language finds further support in the way Artemis uses familial denominations to increase the severity of her denunciation of Theseus. Already at two key moments, others in the play have used filial language to remind Theseus of the consequences, potential and real, of his curses. As Hippolytus first arrives to meet his father after the latter has read Phaedra's letter and already cursed him, the Chorus announces (899–90) "Here is your son [*pais sos*] . . . Hippolytus"; Theseus' own avoidance of such terms especially highlights the Chorus' words. The Messenger bitterly reminds Theseus (1167–68) that what killed Hippolytus was "the curses of your mouth, which to your father the lord of the sea you swore concerning your son" [*paidos*], a reminder whose significance is confirmed by Theseus' immediate delight in discovering Poseidon really is "my father" [*emos patêr*]. The messenger describes Hippolytus as "your son" [*son paida*] twice more (1251, 1264). Artemis rebukes Theseus in exactly these terms (1282–89; my emphases), interweaving the denomination of Hippolytus with an identical one for Theseus, and she does so from her first lines:

> You there, the *well-fathered son* of Aegeus, I order you to listen;
> I the *daughter* of Leto, Artemis, I call on you,
> Theseus, why, wretch, do you take pleasure in these things,
> having impiously killed your *son*, trusting about unclear things the
> false words of your wife? You have acquired clear disaster.

These lines of verse feature a wide range of familial and generational terms, which, coming at the beginning of a speech by a goddess, are highly marked. Theseus is not merely the "son of Aegeus," but also, taking the adjective literally, "of a good father." The "daughter of Leto" denounces him. In order to stress the tragedy of intrafamilial destruction, father and son share the same denomination, *paida*, a commonality stressed by the identical case and initial position in the Greek lines. Later in the scene, when Theseus repeatedly calls Hippolytus "son" by a different Greek word (*teknon*: 1408, 1410, 1446, 1456), Artemis in turn orders the "son [*teknon*] of aged Aegeus" to embrace Hippolytus. Artemis hammers away at Theseus' guilt by repeatedly using the language of filiality. "Your son," she exclaims, over and over (1283, 1298, 1303, 1306, 1312, 1317, 1324, 1432), a remarkable run which is given added oral force in performance by the initial labial consonant "p" of *pais*. Artemis'

language thus continually takes pains to situate Hippolytus familially and generationally, and this concern is indicative of her cultural function. Artemis as protector of the young is supposed to ensure the safety of the ephebic Hippolytus. Similarly, once her language designates him as a man, however, it is time for her to move on.

The cultural resonance of Hippolytus' passage to adulthood and its concomitant vocabulary raises the question of how he relates to what would be the ephebe's ultimate roles as a man: citizen and hoplite soldier. We see the culmination of these civic themes in the last exchanges between son and father. Theseus' final words (1459–60) firmly link Hippolytus the man to Athens: "Oh famous Athens and bounds of Pallas, such a man you will miss" [*hoiou sterêsesth' andros*]. Despite textual uncertainties here between variant readings of Athens and Aphaia, the noun + adjective combination of "renowned Athens" occurs three other times in the text, and this line would be the fourth, establishing a clear pattern climaxing here.[48] The play's specific language could not be clearer or more significant: Hippolytus has moved from childhood to manhood and has become a part of Athens, perhaps even a citizen.[49] Simon Goldhill observes[50] how in the most important part of the transition from childhood to adulthood, the *dokimasia*, the deme recognized the child as a citizen. The most common phrases to designate this change, like *andra gignesthai*, in Goldhill's words,

> emphasize that this was not just a question of citizenship but also of being an *anêr*, "adult male," "man." To stop being a *pais* and start being an *anêr* in fifth-century Athens meant a radical change in role and responsibility, in that the immediate requirements and obligations of a citizen in a direct democracy devolved on a person when he changed *ek paidôn*, "from the boys" and became an *anêr*. The status of the ephebe provided the notional and ritual separation between the two classes.

When one looks at Hippolytus at the end as being transformed into manhood it also becomes clear that the text not only introduces the idea of Athenian citizenship, but that the language of the dying Hippolytus associates the young man with hoplite weaponry. The hoplite spear was part of a system of group fighting that required men to cooperate and depend on one another, thus strengthening the cooperative ethos of the democratic *polis*. Hippolytus longs for a *lonchê* [spear] to cut his dying body (1376). He wants to carve up his body sacrificially with a double-edged spear. *Lonchê* has hoplite overtones elsewhere in tragedy. Polynices in *Oedipus at Colonus* speaks of his seven lines of infantry and spear men. Euripides' *Iphigenia at*

Aulis mentions warriors who are *lonchêreis aspistai*, [armed with spear and shield]: in other words, hoplites. The forces arrayed at Marathon in the *Heracleidae* are a hoplite army [*hoplitôn straton*] (800). Amphitryon, in Euripides' *Heracles*, most clearly demarcates this object (190–94)[51] as part of the hoplite weaponry:

> the hoplite man is a slave of his weapons
> and having broken his spear he is unable for his body
> to ward off death, possessing only bravery alone.

In Euripides' later play, Heracles, like Hippolytus before him, lives a relatively solitary existence, separated from reliance on and cooperation with other men, but his disaster forces him to reevaluate the terms of his heroic life. If my sociopolitical reading of Hippolytus' death wish is correct, then the ultimate rejection in the *Heracles* of Amphitryon's dismissal of hoplite armor, and thus also hoplite values, further underscores the importance of these associations.[52] Hippolytus' desire for a hoplite spear thus participates in his movement from the fringes of society as a solitary figure to its center as an object of cult who helps maintain the institution of marriage.[53]

A number of rituals and myths involving the passage to adulthood move a young man from being naked, dressed as a girl or unarmed to possessing weaponry as a sign of manhood; we see this in the myth of the young Achilles, who, dressed as a girl and hidden by his mother, is unable to control himself when he sees a weapon. Vidal-Naquet relates Ephorus' story about a young man who, after being taken by his lover to the country for hunting and recreation, receives his hoplite armaments upon his return.[54] Thus, Hippolytus' dying wish, after his last failed trip to the wild seashore, associates his ritual passage with hoplite weaponry. While it is entirely possible that Hippolytus is merely asking for a sharp object to end his miseries, his exact request does correspond with the larger structures of thought in the text. Hippolytus' wish gathers in significance when we recall that his first speech rejected the use of iron blades in the paradisical garden of the maternal Artemis.

Conclusions

Hippolytus' failure to complete the ephebia and the consequent disaster suggests that the Athenians were intended to condemn, not approve, Hippolytus' behavior. The play shows a breakdown of social ritual where Hippolytus functions as an "anti-ephebe" whose re-

fusal to leave adolescence endangers the city. Hippolytus' lack of repentance even at the end furthers the danger; he wishes that men could curse the gods (1415), and, as we discussed earlier, his response to his father's recognition of him bristles with hostility.[55] Hippolytus only attains manhood and a place in the city in death. When compared with other Euripidean plays, this lack of integration and acceptance becomes even more astounding.

The threat Hippolytus represents to the *polis*—not just the *polis* of the performance but the *polis* that views the performance—would increase if Winkler is right, and this is debatable, that the chorus members were ephebes themselves.[56] Participation in the tragic festival would thus also stress the importance of adult activity in all forms of the public life of the *polis*, and the drama's plot would further instill the appropriate codes of behavior in the ephebes. We do know that ephebes received special honors during the Proagon of the Great Dionysia, as Athens paraded its ephebic orphans and bestowed their hoplite armor on them, and the next day they received privileged seats in the theater.[57] Arguing that the chorus is at least notionally "preadult," Nagy proposes that the "chorus members in the seasonally recurring Athenian dramatic festivals are to be understood, at least from the ritual point of view, as citizens-in-the-making."[58] This play's chorus is partially a group of ephebic hunters who follow Hippolytus.[59] Consequently, the danger to the young on stage as fictional beings, and the didactic function of Hippolytus' anticivic behavior to the chorus members as the young of Athens would be even more significant.

The danger Hippolytus presents must, in sum, be contained. On the one hand, the play's society attempts to contain it through cult, wherein the potentially dangerous empathy the chorus women feel for Phaedra is transformed into the ritual lamentations of maidens to Hippolytus. On the other hand, the society which watches the play contains it through the drama itself and through the institution of the tragic festival. As the Athenian ephebes thus experience excess and otherness through drama, Artemis in this tragedy seems to return to being a *kourotrophê* goddess for those in the audience. To return to the words of Vernant, "As the young move slowly through their apprenticeship, learning of these differences, the goddess leads them towards a correct integration of civic life."[60] I stress this intervention is for the audience, not for the characters. If Artemis returns to her normal functions, then she cannot approve a cult which honors a youth who wills only to remain as he is.

The drama moves in two directions, internal and external, at its end. On the one hand, Artemis addresses Hippolytus and the world

of women with the institution of a cult of young brides dedicating their mourning to Hippolytus. But, on the other hand, the drama, as I have tried to show, while it engages the problematic role of women in Greek society, is largely addressed to what Winkler has called "the poetics of manhood." Hippolytus incurs a crisis not because he refuses to occupy the place of a mature woman, but because he denies the life of the adult Athenian male. Since Euripides' audience was largely, if not exclusively, masculine,[61] attention needs to be focused more not on the rituals prescribed within the drama, which are directed toward women, but the drama's function in the Athens of 428 B.C. If I am correct about the extent to which this drama evokes and resonates in specific Athenian festivals and historical events, then the trials of manhood are even more important.[62]

Notes

I use G. Murray's Oxford Classical Text edition of the *Hippolytus*, in *Euripidis Fabulae*, unless otherwise noted. All translations are mine.

1. Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974), 35.

2. Pierre Vidal-Naquet in particular treats this subject in Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World*, trans. A. Szegedy-Maszak (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); hereafter cited in the text as *BH*. Also, see his essay, "Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and the Ephebia," in J.-P. Vernant and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece*, trans. Janet Lloyd (New York: Zone Books, 1988), 161–80; hereafter cited in the text as *MT*. Winkler published the original version of "The Ephebe's Song" in *Representations* 11 (1985), and later revised it for John J. Winkler and Froma Zeitlin, eds., *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990). Some of Winkler's claims about the ephebic chorus remain doubtful, but he raises important questions about tragic performance and its role in the *polis*. In order to avoid an epic bibliographical footnote on the controversies over the ephebia, I refer my readers to those already in Winkler and Vidal-Naquet, along with the more recent study on rites of passage in Aristophanes by Angus Bowie, *Aristophanes: Myth, Ritual and Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), esp. chaps. 3 and 5. Also useful is David Leitao, "The Perils of Leukippos: Initiatory Transvestism and Male Gender in the Ekdusia at Phiastos," *Classical Antiquity* 14 (1995): 130–63. Two important and relevant books—Barry Strauss, *Fathers and Sons: Ideology and Society in the Era of the Peloponnesian War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993) and Claude Calame, *Thésée et l'imaginaire athenien: Legende et culte en Grèce antique* (Lausanne: Payot, 1990)—came to my attention after I had completed most of the work on this essay. My focus is much more textual than theirs, and Calame has little to say directly about this play.

3. Charles Segal, in "Pentheus and Hippolytus on the Couch and on the Grid: Psychoanalytic and Structural Readings of Greek Tragedy," *Classical World* 72 (1978): 129–48. William Tyrrell, *Amazons: A Study in Athenian Mythmaking* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 65–73, is generally useful and concise on the ephebia and Greek rites of transition, including a brief treatment of Hippolytus. Barbara Goff, *The Noose of Words: Read-*

ings of Desire, Violence and Language in Euripides' Hippolytus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), also examines some of these matters.

4. On Theseus as an ephebe and man, see now Strauss, *Fathers and Sons*, esp. 105–6.

5. On the Apatouria and Melanthus, see Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter*, 109–12, and H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977), 89–90.

6. On the ephebic frontier patrols as *peripoloi*, see Aeschines, *On the Embassy*, 167, and Thucydides 4.67–68 and 8.92.2. Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter*, 107, notes these and other sources.

7. See Jan Bremmer, "Heroes, Rituals and the Trojan War," *Studi Storico-Religiosi* 2 (1978): 14, with bibliography.

8. Oppian in the later *Cynegetica* writes that Hippolytus invented the hunting net (*Black Hunter*, 117).

9. On the ephebic oath in the fifth century, see P. Siewert, "The Ephebic Oath in Fifth-Century Athens," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 97 (1977): 102–11, and H. Y. McCulloch and H. D. Cameron, "*Septem* 12–13 and the Athenian Ephebia," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 5 (1980): 1–14. On oaths in general, with special reference to their role in democracy, see Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 250–54.

10. Strauss, *Fathers and Sons*, 117, observes how Aegeus is manipulated by Medea—"hardly an admirable trait according to the dominant Athenian protocols of manhood"—but without drawing attention to Hippolytus' analogous acquiescence before another "clever woman."

11. On the education of Dionysus, see Mark Padilla, "The Heraclean Dionysus: Theatrical and Social Renewal in Aristophanes' *Frogs*," *Arethusa* 25 (1992): 359–84.

12. See Strauss, *Fathers and Sons*, 168 and 172, who points out a number of key ideas in this brief passage for understanding the importance of Hippolytus' rejection of public discourse. It is interesting also that Hippolytus, after nodding to such (anachronistic) ideas as debate in the assembly, then thinks of monarchy and tyranny when finally closing the door on all forms of public life (1013–20).

13. On the meaning for tragedy of this particular aspect see Simon Goldhill, "The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology," in *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?* 97–129.

14. See Robin Mitchell, "Miasma, Mimesis and Scapegoating in Euripides' *Hippolytus*," *Classical Antiquity* 10 (1991): 94–118, who builds on the important work of Froma Zeitlin, "The Power of Aphrodite: Eros and the Boundaries of the Self in the *Hippolytus*," in Peter Burian, ed., *Directions in Euripidean Criticism: A Collection of Essays* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1985), 52–111.

15. Zeitlin, "The Power of Aphrodite," 64.

16. This phrase occurs at *Lysistrata* 643. For a concise account of the function of the Brauronia for girls, see Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter*, 145–46.

17. Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter*, 115–16. On transvestism, ephebes, and the Dionysian festivals, see R. J. Hoffman, "Ritual License and the Cult of Dionysus," *Athenaeum* 77 (1989): 91–115.

18. On importance of the continuity of the *oikos* through the generational continuity of children, see Goldhill, "Great Dionysia," 110–12.

19. Euripides may further draw attention to dramaturgical considerations here by pointing to Hippolytus' *prosôpon*, a word that signifies both the face and the actor's mask. On the metatheatrical implications of *prosôpon*, see Charles Segal, *Dionysiac Poetics and Euripides' Bacchae* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982).

20. Xen. *An.* 7.4.4. *Chlamudêphoros*, moreover, is an epithet given specifically to ephebes; Theoc. 15.6, *IGRom.* 4.360.25 (Pergam.ii.A.D.). On the associations of Hippolytus with horses see Walter Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). On the blackness of the ephebic capes, see the cautionary response of P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, "Remarks on the Black Cloaks of the Ephebes," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 196 (1970): 113–16, to Vidal-Naquet's 1968 version of "The Black

Hunter" which Vidal-Naquet took into account in the later argument. Maxwell-Stuart, I believe, underestimates the overtones of death in all transition rituals, which leads in turn to a narrowing of the possibilities for wearing black. The *Hippolytus* does strongly polarize the associations of life with light and death with dark, climaxing at the end of Hippolytus' lyric lamentations (1388).

21. For other ancient accounts of the black cloak, see C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique* (Paris: Boccard, 1962), 15–16. On the possible importance of the black *chlamus* for Euripides' *Herakleidai*, see J. Wilkins, "The Young of Athens: Religion and Society in *Herakleidai* of Euripides," *Classical Quarterly* 40 (1990): 329–39.

22. W. S. Barrett, *Euripides: Hippolytos* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), ad loc., thinks "the irrelevance has . . . its point"; the ode thus is intended to "draw us away from the happenings on stage." On the contrary, if we place its imagery in the context of the mythic and social paradigms operative in the play, the ode seems highly significant and key to understanding the text as a whole. For a different view of this ode, see Hugh Parry, "The Second Ode of Euripides' *Hippolytus* (732–775)," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 97 (1966): 317–26.

23. On the date, see Arthur W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2d ed., rev. by John Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 199–200; on the vase see A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (London: Phaidon, 1971), 78–81.

24. On these matters see now Calame, *Thésée.*

25. See Henri Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes* (Lille: Bibliothèque Universitaire, 1939), 307–24; Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie*, 225ff., and Wilkins, "Young of Athens," 334. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 263, notes that the tradition of the ephebes lifting up the oxen at the sacrifice is meant to make them "perform the same tests of youthful strength which myth has the young Theseus perform at the Temple of Apollo Delphinios." On Theseus' role in family dynamics and its implication for Athenian ideology, see Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, *Theseus as Son and Stepson: A Tentative Illustration of the Greek Mythological Mentality, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* Suppl. 40 (1979), and Strauss, *Fathers and Sons.*

26. W. R Connor, "Theseus in Classical Athens," in *The Quest for Theseus*, ed. Anne Ward et al. (New York: Praeger, 1970), 143. On the function of Theseus in the Athenian imagination, see now Calame, *Thésée.*

27. W. R Connor, "City Dionysia and Athenian Democracy," *Classica et Mediavalia* 40 (1989): 7–32. Doubts have also been raised about the Peisistratid sponsorship of Theseus; see Strauss, *Fathers and Sons*, 107, with bibliography. Interestingly, both Theseus and City Dionysia have been thought to have evolved from glorifications of autocracy to institutions of democracy, although Connor has recently argued the City Dionysia itself originated in a celebration of freedom after the overthrow of the Peisistratids in the late sixth century. On tragedy and Athenian ideology see Goldhill, "Great Dionysia," and N. T. Croally, *Euripidean Polemic: The Trojan Women and the Function of Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

28. Calame, *Thésée*, 433–34, has expressed doubts about the correspondence between the Cretan episode and van Gennep's tripartite initiatory scheme. While I agree that the fit is not exact, it will become clear in what follows that Euripides blends the Cretan episode together with the more strictly (Gennepian) initiatory program of Theseus' first journey to Athens in establishing the background of Hippolytus' rite of passage, and that there are concerns with manhood broader than the ones Calame discusses. On Crete's importance for the *Hippolytus*, see Kenneth Reckford, "Phaedra and Pasiphae: The Pull Backward," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 104 (1974): 307–28, and Mitchell, *Miasma.*

29. None of the manuscript variants of this uncertain line fail to include Athens in some from or another.

30. On the Oschophoria and Theseus, see Parke, *Festivals*, 77–79. I base my assumptions

about the fifth-century date of the Oschophoria on Calame, *Thésée,* and Strauss, *Fathers and Sons,* 221 n.6.

31. T. H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), 260–61. Burkert reports, *Greek Religion,* 230, that the noun *skiros* "seems to mean something like white earth," and then links the word to another myth concerning Theseus.

32. *FGrH* 3 b 2 (Suppl.) 200–203.

33. Parke observes of this word and the procession: "The ordinary meaning of the word *skiros* was 'hard white earth' or a 'hard white crust,' such as the rind on cheese. It did not suggest a likely origin for the name of the festival, but legend achieved this by stating that Theseus when he returned from slaying the Minotaur made a figure of Athena out of white clay (*skiros*) and carried it in triumph. Hence the name Athena Skiras and the *Skiraphoria*" (*Festivals,* 161).

34. See Barrettt, *Euripides: Hippolytos,* ad loc.

35. Lest I be accused of making a mountain out of the molehill of Skiron, let me add briefly that this paradigmatic force of the rocks of Skiron is not unique in the plays of Euripides. The *Heracleidae* (The children of Heracles) was likely produced sometime between 430 and 425, and the often conjectured date of 429 would place it one year before the *Hippolytus.* On ephebic associations in this play see Wilkins, "The Young of Athens." The *Heracleidae* refers to a proto-ephebia and points to these same rocks at a decisive point in its action. To set up this climax, Eursytheus has transferred his enmity from the deceased Heracles to the hero's children, and has already pursued them throughout Greece. At present they are receiving protection at Marathon from the Athenians. Theseus' son Demophon, ruler of Athens, leads a hoplite army against Eurystheus' forces, and causes him to flee the area. Straining to capture Eurystheus, the feeble Iolaus prays (852) to Zeus and Hebe (Youth) to become young [*neos*] again for one day and Hebe and Heracles, in the form of two stars, alight on the reins of his chariot and answer his prayers. Transformed into a young man, Iolaus overtakes the chariot of Eurystheus at the rocks of Skiron (860). The associations with Skiron in this context are worth exploring for their relevance to the *Hippolytus* references. First, reaching the rocks of Skiron is particularly heroic, even miraculous, since they are sixty miles from Marathon; unless Euripides has forgotten his geography, he has stretched the narrative to include Skiron. Second, the rejuvenated Iolaus demonstrates martial virtue by defeating a villain in the very place where the father of one of the play's characters disposed of a similar criminal in an initiatory experience. Demophon proves himself and in terms recognizable to the audience: by defending the weak and marshaling a hoplite army (800). Hyllus, Heracles' son, leads the charge and issues the challenge of solitary combat, but it is Iolaus who most conspicuously addresses the urgency of youth and the need to associate it with the appropriate models of heroism.

36. Strauss, *Fathers and Sons,* 121.

37. The futility of Theseus' wreath further underscores the tragic irony of Hippolytus' excessive pride in the garlands he presents to Artemis while scorning Aphrodite. The wreaths provide another link between father and son.

38. On the ancient rhetorical terms, see H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Munich: Hueber, 1973), 300–301. Irene de Jong, *Narrative in Drama: The Art of the Euripidean Messenger-Speech* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 94–103, and de Jong, "Studies in Homeric Denomination," *Mnemosyne* 46 (1993): 289–306, examines denomination in Greek literature.

39. *pais*: 10, 51, 107, 581, 603, 609, 613, 889, 899, 1168, 1251, 1264, 1287, 1298, 1303, 1306, 1312, 1317, 1324, 1342. *tokos*: 10, 520. *teknon* : 610, 615, 1408, 1410, 1446, 1456. *neanias*: 43. This list includes instances occurring after Hippolytus meets the bull at the seashore, and since they have an extra importance I shall return to them later. On the sociopolitical connotations of these words, see Strauss, *Fathers and Sons,* 24–32 and 57–60.

40. The Messenger also compares Hippolytus pulling on the reins to "a sailing man" [*nau-*

batês anêr], a phrase the chorus has used earlier (155–56) when wondering whether a sailor with news from Crete has distressed Phaedra.

41. Line 1050 is deleted by Nauck, a reading Barrettt adopts because it "is too similar to 1047 for comfort, since without it Hipp.'s cry of 1051 follows immediately on the lines that pronounce his sentence." I do not agree with this reasoning. For one, the balancing contrast of the two types of men's fates does not seem atypical rhetoric. And the anguish of Hippolytus' response could be exacerbated by Theseus' final dig, that not only does his father exile him, but he also considers the man impious for whom impiety is so important. The scholiast's vague remark, "many texts omit this line," does not seem to me to be conclusive.

42. Nicole Loraux, "Kreousa the Autochthon: A Study of Euripides' *Ion*," 168–206, in *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?* 170 n.8, observes a similar age specificity in the language of Euripides' *Ion*.

43. This word is also used of the character of the Sophoclean Neoptolemus in relation to proving himself worthy. On *gennaios* in the *Philoctetes*, see H. C. Avery, "Heracles, Philoctetes, Neoptolemus," *Hermes* 93 (1965): 279–97, esp. 289. *Gennaios* also moves the play's political vocabulary very close to such words as *eugenes* and *engenes*, which designate authocthony, and, hence, citizenship. See Loraux, "Kreousa," 182.

44. Combined with the order Artemis must give Hippolytus to forgive his father, this last rebuke should caution us again about reading this scene with much sentimentality.

45. See Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter*, 120.

46. Vidal-Naquet, "Sophocles' *Philoctetes*," 168–69, similarly observes about the language of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*.

47. Paus. 1.19.1. See Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 261–63.

48. On keeping Athens here, against Fitton and Diggle, see A. H. Sommerstein, "Notes on Euripides' *Hippolytos*," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 35 (1988): 39–41.

49. On related issues of citizenship, myth, and drama, see Loraux, "Kreousa," 180, on the *Ion*.

50. Goldhill, "The Great Dionysia," 113.

51. On the problematic order of these lines, which Wilamowitz first rearranged, see G. W. Bond's commentary, *Euripides: Heracles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

52. Amphitryon later in the same speech boasts that if he were young enough to hold a spear then Lykos would fear him. Because Amphitryon's own spear would be an *enchos* (233) or *doru* (235), the direct association of *lonchê* with the hoplite becomes even stronger. Helena Foley, *Ritual Irony: Poetry and Sacrifice in Euripides* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985), 169–75, has shown the political overtones of this debate between bowman and spear man. On the political implications of the dramaturgical use of weapons in the *Heracles*, see now David George, "Euripides' *Heracles* 140–235: Staging and the Stage Iconography of Heracles' Bow," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 35 (1994): 145–57. The parallels between Hippolytus and Heracles are a particularly nice coincidence since Heracles served as a model for ephebes, who drank with him and consecrated their hair to Heracles during the Apatouria when they were admitted to their phratry; see Wilkins, "The Young of Athens."

53. Here I am at odds with Charles Segal's recent insistence in "Theatre, Ritual and Commemoration in Euripides' *Hippolytus*," *Ramus* 17 (1988) that "remaining among the *parthenoi*, in the marginal realm of Artemis, Hippolytus has failed to cross the divide between adolescence to full manhood" (64). However, Segal neglects the change in the play's language and Hippolytus' new incorporation into civic life.

54. Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter*, 117; *FGrH* 70 F 149.

55. Segal, "Theatre," 67–68, also notes that Phaedra "conveys a far greater sense of what it means to be a citizen of a *polis* than Hippolytus," and that, similarly, Hippolytus never expresses patriotic sentiments of the type Theseus evokes at 1460.

56. Winkler's claims, I realize, are enormously controversial, but his attempt to link the

thematics of drama with its performance remains laudable and correct in at least intent. Gregory Nagy, "Transformations of Choral Lyric Traditions in the Context of Athenian State Theater," *Arion* 3 (1995): 48–49, ultimately supports Winkler's initiation theory by comparing the chorus of the Athenian state theater with non-Athenian traditions of choral performance. David Wiles, *Tragedy in Athens: Performance Space and Theatrical Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 93, argues against Winkler's linkage of tragic and military dancing.

57. On ephebes and the Great Dionysia, see Goldhill, "The Great Dionysia," 122–25, and Winkler, "The Ephebe's Song," 36–42.

58. Nagy, "Transformations," 49.

59. The other half serves as a chorus of women, so if the members are ephebes, this would continue the ritual gender inversions. The exact nature of the chorus at the end remains in doubt. See Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, 89, and Segal, "Theatre," 68.

60. Vernant, *Myth and Tragedy*, 205.

61. On this complex and long-debated topic, see John Henderson, "Women and the Athenian Dramatic Festivals," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 121 (1991): 133–48, with whose advocacy of limited attendance by women I am in agreement, although the objections are fairly cogent in Simon Goldhill, "Representing Democracy: Women at the City Dionysia," in *Ritual, Finance, Politics: Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, ed. R. Osborne and S. Hornblower (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

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