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HIPPOLYTOS AND HIS LEGEND

How much of the Hippolytos' legend and in what form it existed before Euripides wrote his play we do not really know. However, it is certain from what we read in the tragedy itself that some important elements of the cult of the hero or even of the god for a long time formed a part of the tragic story even in the early stages of its development. Particularly Artemis' revealing words about Hippolytos refer to an earlier stage of the myth, when a common human received divine traits and related honours. Artemis states in these verses (1423 ff.):

σοὶ δ', ὦ ταλαίπωρ', ἀντὶ τῶνδε τῶν κακῶν
τιμὰς μεγίστας ἐν πόλει Τροιζηνίαι
δώσω· κόραι γὰρ ἄζυγες γάμων πάρος
κόμας κερροῦνται σοι, δι' αἰῶνος μακροῦ
πένθη μέγιστα δακρῶν καρπουμένωι·
ἀεὶ δὲ μουσοποιὸς εἷς σε παρθένων
ἔσται μέριμνα, κοῦκ ἀνόνημος πεσῶν
ἔρωσ ὁ Φαίδρας εἷς σε σιγηθήσεται.

«And in recompense for these misfortunes I shall give you, my poor friend, the greatest honours... Unmarried maidens before their wedding will shear their locks for your sake, and for a long time you will receive their greatest mourning with tears. And virgins will always be mindful to sing to you, and Phaedra's love for you will never be forgotten.»

If we examine these words carefully we come to the following conclusions: Trozen is described as the place of the cult of Hippolytos, the basic elements of which was the offering of locks of maidens before their wedding with tears of greatest mourning. Thus the cult had acquired a mysterious and symbolic character, and it need not be stressed here that offering of one's curls was the most precious of-



fering one could make to a deceased person¹. But obviously the offering of the curls was not only a tribute to Hippolytos himself. It must be also viewed as a symbol, for the girls made this offering not at another stage of their life, but just before losing something they could never regain — their maidenhood. How these two main elements of the cult, the violent death of a young *παρθένος ἡϊθέος τε* and the transition from maidenhood to womanhood, had combined to form its essential part, we do not know. Those who adhered to the cult and participated in it expressed themselves much more in an emotional than in a logical way. One begins to wonder in what sense Hippolytos could have considered this as recompense for his misfortune; how he found himself *καρπούμενον* enjoying an offering of tears of greatest mourning. Thus one can speak of cult, mystery and symbolism.

A more important thing we learn from Artemis' prophecy is that songs had been remoulded and had formed part of the Hippolytos legend from time immemorial. Some of them apparently were sung by Trozenian maidens at the time of Euripides. These songs gave birth to the Hippolytos story in the first place, but how far they can be viewed as an expression of the maidens' feelings is hard to say. The songs mentioned, we are told, Phaedra's love for Hippolytos, and this must have been the case in Euripides' time and earlier, but they need not always have been about Phaedra herself. At an even earlier stage of the legend, any woman behaving like or nearly like Phaedra would have been a fit substitute. We may well suppose that Phaedra came relatively late in the development of the Hippolytos' legend and we will see the reason for this below. The songs may have included, in general lines, besides Phaedra's love for Hippolytos, the unjust death of the youth. It is nearly certain that the fundamental part of the myth, which Euripides later took and worked out in detail and in his own individual way, was already well enough developed in the cult of the hero. This cult was deeply rooted in Trozen and must have been known at least in its broad lines at one time or another in neighbouring cities and in Athens.

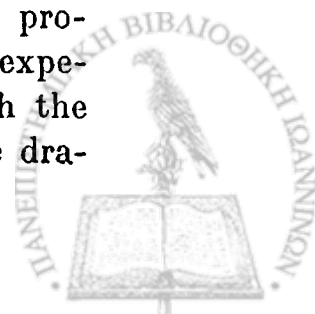
1. Cf. Eur. Or. 96 'Ηλ.: κόμης ἀπαρχὰς καὶ χοῶς φέρονσ' ἐμάς. 113 καὶ λαβὲ χοῶς τὰσδ' ἐν χεροῖν κόμας τ' ἐμάς' Soph. El. 51 ff. 'Ορ.: ἡμεῖς δὲ πατρὸς τύμβον.../λιβαῖσι... καὶ καρτόμοις χλιδαῖς / στέφαντες; 448 ff. 'Ηλ.: σὺ δὲ / τεμοῦσα κρατὸς βοστρύχων ἄκρας φόβας / κάμου ταλαίνης, σμικρὰ μὲν τὰδ', ἀλλ' ὄμως / ἄχω, δὸς αὐτῷ τήνδε λιπαρῇ τρίχα.



What is of paramount importance, and one should keep well in mind, is that what Euripides tells us through Artemis regarding the Hippolytos cult as a prophecy about the future destiny of her devotee is in fact a cult which had been established for a long time. Euripides became acquainted with it at a relatively late stage of its development, but he consciously tried to divest the hero or the god of the cult aura and return to the point when he had been a mere human being. Euripides remoulded this youth in his play in his own personal tragic style and recast Hippolytos as he had been in the beginning — the embodiment of chastity. Thus we see in Euripides' play a series of incidents that complete a story of a young man, who, because of certain qualities, came to be honoured and heroized and become a cult figure.

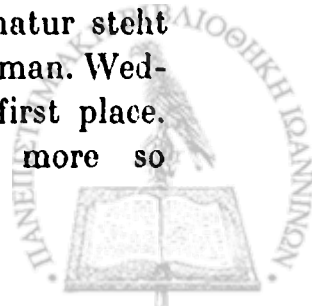
This treatment of the cult figure Hippolytos brought a great gain for the dramatist. By removing a hero and god from his divine sphere to the world of humanity, divesting him of his strength and investing him with weakness, Euripides subjected him to pathos and pain and made him thus win the sympathy of his fellow human beings. A hero or a god as a protagonist could not be of tragic stature in the hands of Euripides. Such a hero would leave us unmoved. A god could not feel human drama and pain, even if he pretended to do so. The feelings of gods expressed in human terms would appear to us strangely ill-suited to their divine or superhuman nature. We have the same idea, no doubt, regarding Aphrodite and Artemis.

How many other elements were in the legend beyond those essentials of the cult we have seen, that survived in Euripides' time, we cannot know. It is nonetheless certain that these traditional parts of the cult presupposed in one way or another the initial core of the legend, which at the time of the poet was Phaedra's love for Hippolytos. A custom, a song or loud mourning ceremonies nearly always had in their background an incident or story, real or imaginary, which tried to explain them or offered an *αἴτιον*. If they did not have such an incident or story, it was created at some stage, for it was in this way that they survived and were handed down as a credo in the religious and social views of the community — How they were created is a very complicated question, for each myth has its own genesis — We come to this conclusion because an ancient myth is always a product of social-historical developments and never of individual experience, and mainly because of the fact that similar stories with the same motif the tragedians developed into plays — as we see in the dra-



mas of the Phoenix, Bellerophon, and probably Peleus— had in their main features been handed down to Euripides' time through succeeding generations in the works of Homer. Other hypotheses about the plays come from local stories. The poet's role is not to create a myth; it is to fashion the myth and give it more or less a new form which, depending on his personal attitude and abilities, may standardize it for succeeding writers. But the poet is not allowed to make the myth unrecognizable by changing too much. He must not servilely imitate another tragedian's treatment of it either. We can see this in homonymous plays written by more than one tragedian. A tragedian fashions his myth by casting its incidents as scenes; by enlivening its characters, paying attention to some important details, and so forth. He thus creates on the stage a reality of his own. It is mainly dramatic effect, approval or disapproval on the part of the audience as was the case with *Hippolytos I (and II)*, or some inner need to be to some extent different from the work of a rival dramatist that guide him in his professional task. Very likely it is inherent in the concept 'artist' and 'work of art' that an art object should in one way or other reveal the personality of the artist who creates it.

Certain other questions related to the cult and the legend—how or when it began, how it continued, for example— should, I think, be touched upon briefly here, even though much of what will be said deals more with mere possibility or at the very best high probability than certainty based on undisputed evidence. Surely in this case we can draw inferences from parallel cases or from the general knowledge of the plays of the tragedian. In other cases, however, we have some evidence that supports our statements. Knowledge of the anthropology of primitive tribes, especially of transition stages or initiation ceremonies, is also of some help, for it may assist us to understand the communal feeling and the importance the Trozenians (mothers and daughters) attached to this transition from unmarried to married life. Wilamowitz, *Euripides Hippolytos*, in the chapter «Die sage von Hippolytos und ihre behandlung durch Euripides», p. 26 rightly states—«Das weib steht der natur näher als der mann. hochzeit und geburtsfeier sind zunächst weibliche feste. so war es immer, weil die natur es vorschreibt, aber je näher das leben der natur steht um so mehr».—that a woman stands closer to nature than a man. Wedding and birth ceremonies are women's festivals in the first place. It was always so, because nature prescribes, but the more so

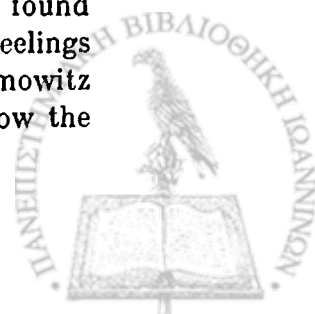


the closer life stands to nature. For a Greek girl getting married very young this transition stage, rich in tender feelings, was very moving. What she had experienced as a little girl—freedom, play, carefree life, dances with her playmates, other joys and some small duties she had gladly undertaken—had to be given up¹. She was faced with an altogether different way of life. She left her father's house and began serious work; she took upon herself a number of obligations towards her husband, whom she had to obey. From then on she owed respect and reverence to new gods, she should adorn new graves and would have to do the housework. She was allowed to participate in festivals of Demeter and the annual fasting days, which had previously been an exclusive duty (and right) of her mother. Such things no doubt caused an emotional crisis for the young girl, accompanied by consternation, sorrow, and mourning for what she had left behind and by anxiety mixed with some pleasant feelings or expectations. She had ambivalent sentiments, but, since her mother and the mothers of her friends in the community played the role of models and had as girls gone through this stage, she herself had to go through it as well. For the Trozenian women the crisis of these feelings found expression in the person of Hippolytos², a handsome and chaste young man who was killed because of his puriry, something looked upon as divine by both sexes.

As we have already said, Euripides handled his theme in the dramatically most effective way, which appears to us the natural thing to have done: In the first place, the maidens' feelings could only find their expression in a representative of human flesh and blood, capable of feeling pain and winning sympathy, but who at a later stage ought to be in a position to help the maidens bear their own burden

1. Among these duties may have been making flower wreaths for the altar in front of her father's house, bringing offerings to the grave of grandparents in the cemetery at the new moon, carrying the basket of the goddess in festival processions and so forth; cf. Wil. op. cit., p. 27.

2. One should be very sceptical about going a bit further and maintaining with Wilamowitz *ibid.*: «Das ist das gefühl, aus welchem die trozenischen mädchen das lied von Hippolytos sangen, ...was ist er anders als der exponent dieses gefühles?», for this is absolutely unsupported speculation. These things should be considered separately. It is one thing that the Trozenian maidens' feelings found expression in Hippolytos and quite another thing to assert that these feelings created Hippolytos and Hippolytos' legend, which seems to be what Wilamowitz assumes. We simply do not know how the myth came into existence nor how the projection of feelings was combined with the hero's story.



and to come to their support. He ought to be in a position to understand more than they could express to him. Such a hero, a daemon and a god, evolved. Hippolytos was able to fully satisfy the psychological needs of his adherents. Thus the Trozenians, although they had a grave of Hippolytos at the time of Periegetes, saw in the young Hippolytos, the bearer of these feelings, someone who was brought back to life by Asclepios. This is what the *Ναυπάκτια*, apparently a poem of the Hesiodic school at Naupactos, narrates. We do not know the date, but we may suppose it to be around the sixth century (R. Münzel, *Quaestiones Mythographae* —in: *De Apollodori Περί Θεῶν*, Diss.—, Bonn 1883, p. 4; cf. Philodemum *Περί Εὐσεβείας* 52 Gomperz;)

Ἴσκληπιῶ
 ν δὲ Ζε]ὺς ἐκεραύνωσ-
 εν] ὡς μὲν ὁ τὰ Ναυπα-
 κτι] καὶ συγγράφας
 κα]ν Ἴσκληπιῶ[ι
 Τε]λέστης καὶ Κεινη-
 σίας] ὁ μελοποιός, δ-
 τι τὸ]ν Ἴππόλυτον
 παρα]κληθεὶς ὑπ' Ἄρ-
 τέμι]δος ἀνέστ[η]σε
 ν, ὡς δ' ἐ]ν Ἐριφύλῃ Σ[τη-
 σίχορ]ος, δτι Κα[πανέ-
 α καὶ Λυ]κοῦρ[γον

In the scholion on the first verse of Euripides, *Alcestis*, we read also, ὦ δ ὠ μα τ' Ἴσκληπιῶ: ἡ διὰ στόματος καὶ δημῶδης ἱστορία περὶ τῆς Ἄπολλωνος θητείας παρ' Ἄδμητῶ αὐτῆ ἐστίν, ἢ κέχρηται νῦν Εὐρυπιδῆς οὕτως δὲ φησι καὶ Ἡσίοδος / frg. 112/ καὶ Ἴσκληπιῶδης ἐν Τραγωδομένοις / frg. 16/. Φερεκύδης / frg. 76/ δὲ οὕ φησι τοὺς Κύκλωπας ὑπὸ Ἄπολλωνος ἀνηρεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν, γράφων οὕτως: ἄρα αὐτόν, τὸν Ἄδμητον, ἔρχεται Ἄπολλων θητεύσων ἐνιαυτόν, Διὸς κελεύσαντος, δτι κτείνει τοὺς Βρόντεω καὶ Στερόπεω καὶ Ἄργεω παῖδας, κτείνει δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἄπολλων Διὶ μεμφοθεὶς, δτι κτείνει Ζεὺς Ἴσκληπιὸν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ κεραυνῶ ἐν Πυθῶνι. ἀνίστη γὰρ ἰώμενος τοὺς τεθνεῶτας... Ἄπολλόδωρος δὲ φησι κεραυνωθῆναι τὸν Ἴσκληπιὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἴππόλυτον ἀναστῆσαι¹...

1. *Scholion in Euripidem*, ed. Ed. Schwartz, v. II, Berlin (G. Reimer), 1891. Cf. Apollod., *Bibl.* III, 10, 3 (ed. Sir J. G. Frazer, LCL, London 1921, repr. 1956): / εἶδον δὲ τινὰς λεγομένους ἀναστῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Ἴσκληπιῶ), Καπανέα καὶ



Hippolytos attained divine status and enjoyed suitable honours having a priest in his service for life. Pausanias mentions that the Trozenians could not think of a god's having ever been pulled by horses, killed, and placed in a grave found nearby (II—Κορινθιακά—, 32, 1):

Ἴππολύτῳ δὲ τῷ Θησέως τέμενός τε ἐπιφανέστατον ἀνεῖται καὶ ναὸς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον. ταῦτα μὲν Διομήδην λέγουσι ποιῆσαι καὶ προσέτι θῦσαι τῷ Ἴππολύτῳ πρῶτον· Τροιζηνίοις δὲ ἱερεὺς μὲν ἐστὶν Ἴππολύτου τὸν χρόνον τοῦ βίου πάντα ἱερώμενος καὶ θυσίαι καθεστήκασιν ἐπέτειοι, δρῶσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε· ἐκάστη παρθένος πλόκαμον ἀποκείρεται οἱ πρὸ γάμου, κειραμένη δὲ ἀνέθηκεν ἐς τὸν ναὸν φέρουσα. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συρέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων οὐδὲ τὸν τάφον ἀποφαίνουσιν εἰδότες· τὸν δὲ ἐν οὐρανῷ καλούμενον ἠγίοχον, τοῦτον εἶναι νομίζουσιν ἐκεῖνον Ἴππολύτον τιμῆν παρὰ θεῶν ταύτην ἔχοντα.

Although the *Ναυπάκτια* mention Hippolytos' resurrection through Asclepios, this does not mean that the story of Phaedra's love for him, as we know it, was already known. As the first evidence of it without any Euripidean influence, we may consider Polygnotos' painting of the underworld in Delphi about the middle of the fifth century. Following Homer's description Polygnotos painted there the

Λυκοῦργον, ὡς Στησίχορός φησιν <ἐν> Ἐριφύλῃ, Ἴππόλυτον, ὡς δὲ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ συγγραμμάς λέγει... | Ζεὺς δὲ φοβηθεὶς μὴ λαβόντες ἄνθρωποι θεραπείαν παρ' αὐτοῦ βοηθῶσιν ἀλλήλοις, ἐκεραύνωσεν αὐτόν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀργισθεὶς Ἀπόλλων κτείνει Κύκλωπας τοὺς τὸν κεραυτὸν Διὶ κατασκευάσαντας. Ζεὺς δὲ ἐμέλλησε ῥίπτειν αὐτόν εἰς Τάρταρον, δεηθείσης δὲ Λητοῦς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνδρὶ (sc. Ἀδμήτῳ τῷ Φέρητος) θητεῦσαι. and Pindar, Pyth. iii. 54 (96) ff., with the Scholiast:

ἀλλὰ κέρδει καὶ σοφία δέδεται.

ἔτραπεν καὶ κείνον ἀγάνορι μισθῷ

χρυσὸς ἐν χερσὶν φανεῖς

ἄνδρ' ἐκ θανάτου κομίσει

ἤδη ἀλωκότα· χερσὶ δ' ἄρα Κρονίων ῥί-

ψαις δι' ἀμφοῖν ἀμφοῖν ἀμπνοῶν στέρονων κάθειλεν

ὠκέως, αἴθων δὲ κεραυνὸς ἐνέσκιμψεν μύρον.

ἀλλὰ κέρδει: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ σοφία κέρδει δέδεται καὶ ἡττηται. μετέστρεψε γὰρ καὶ τὸν θεόν, φησὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν, τῷ πλείονι μισθῷ ὁ χρυσὸς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ φανεῖς, ὥστε ἄνδρα ἐκ θανάτου ἀναγαγεῖν ἤδη τῷ μοιριδίῳ ληφθέντα. λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς χρυσῷ δελεασθεὶς ἀναστῆσαι Ἴππόλυτον τεθνηκότα· οἱ δὲ Τυνδάρεων, ἕτεροι Καπανέα, οἱ δὲ Γλαῦκον οἱ δὲ Ὀρφυκοὶ (fr. 256 A.) Ὑμέναιον, Στησίχορος δὲ (fr. 16) ἐπὶ Καπανεὶ καὶ Λυκοῦργῳ... Φερεκύδης (FHG I p. 73) δὲ ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Δελφοῖς θηήσκοντας ἀναβιοῦν ἐποίησεν.



underworld and depicted Phaedra when she had hanged herself, which is an indication that the story of her love for Hippolytos in its general lines must have been known in Athens, where Polygnotos heard of it. Thus the legend and its motif in its main outlines was more or less complete and awaited a tragedian like Euripides to form it in his personal way and produce his *Ἴππόλυτος Καλυπτόμενος* and some time thereafter* *Ἴππόλυτος Στεφανηφόρος ἢ Στεφανίας*. As Wilamowitz, op. cit., p. 34 rightly remarks, «Euripides hat zwar nicht diese geschichte selbst, aber doch fortbildungen eigener erfindung auf dieser grundlage dramatisirt.»

Although we do not know the circumstances under which the myth came to explain and complete the vague cult figure Hippolytos, we can reasonably assume that the myth in its early form was rather simple. The story became enriched and canonized after many generations, and writers and artists began to use it as a theme of their accounts or presentations. But, even if the Hippolytos myth came into existence relatively early, the story of Hippolytos and Phaedra is of a later date. Even though Phaedra appears with Procris and Ariadne in the (catalogue) list of women of the λ' (11) 321 of the Odyssey,

*Φαίδρην τε Πρόκριν τε ἴδον καλὴν τ' Ἀριάδην,
κούρην Μίνωος ὀλοόφρονος, ἦν ποτε Θησεὺς
ἐκ Κρήτης ἐς γοννὸν Ἀθηναίων ἱεράων
ἦγε μὲν, οὐδ' ἀπόνητο.*

this part is generally viewed as a later interpolation, not much earlier than the sixth century. On the other hand, the figure of Theseus as the national hero of Athens may well have coincided with the unification of the demes in Attica. At any rate, the Hippolytos cult came to Athens at the latest in the years after 600 B.C. through Theseus, whom the people saw as their representative, though some of the city-people never forgot that he was an immigrant from Trozen¹. The myth of Theseus and Ariadne helped very much in connecting the hero with Phaedra, once Ariadne was out of the way.

* in 428 B. C.

1. Cf. Wilam., *Eur. Hipp.*, Berlin (Weidmann) 1891, p. 42.



E. M. PAPAMICHAEL

HIPPOLYTOS AS A CULT HERO

What we know about the cult of Hippolytos is what Euripides tells us regarding the dedication of the Trozenian maidens' locks before their weddings. But it is hard to believe that, once the cult had become established and the figure of Hippolytos had achieved the status of a hero or daemon, his cult would have been limited to this form of worship. The connection of Hippolytos with Artemis, Poseidon, and Asclepios or Apollo gives us reason to believe that certain attributes of these gods may have been transmitted to him as well, and there is some evidence that supports this supposition. One would be in a position to say more about this subject only if excavations at the sites of the neighbouring cities Trozen and Epidaurus brought to light relevant oblation objects or inscriptions. Hippolytos, apart from his passion for hunting, his purity and chastity, and his hatred of women, seems to have been endowed with healing powers. These may have been stressed later from his being associated with (or even acquiring some of the qualities of) Asclepios¹. For instance, a statue of Asclepios made by Timotheos was considered by the Trozenians to be that of Hippolytos (Paus. II. 32, 4): τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησε μὲν Τιμόθεος, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ οὐκ Ἀσκληπιὸν, ἀλλὰ εἰκόνα Ἴππλύτου φασὶν εἶναι. On the other hand, according to some good evidence, both Asclepios and Hippolytos had been pupils of the Centaur Cheiron, from whom apparently they had learnt the art and knowledge of medicine (Xen. *De Ven.* I. 2): ὁ δὲ (sc. Χείρων) λαβὼν ἐχάρη τῷ δώρῳ καὶ ἐχρῆτο· καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ μαθηταὶ κνηγεσίων τε καὶ ἐτέρων καλῶν Κέφαλος, Ἀσκληπιός, Μελανίων, Νέστωρ, Ἀμφιάραος, Πηλεύς, Τελαμών, Μελέαγρος, Θησεύς, Ἴππόλυτος, Παλαμήδης, Ὀδυσσεύς, Μενεσθεύς, Διομήδης, Κάστωρ, Πολυδεύκης, Μαχάων, Ποδολείριος, Ἀντίλοχος, Αἰνείας, Ἀχιλλεύς, ὧν κατὰ χρόνον ἕκαστος ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐτιμήθη.

1. Regarding the connection between Hippolytos and Asclepios see L. Séchan, 'La lég. d'Hipp. dans l'antiquité' (:*Revue des études grecques* 24 (1911), pp. 125 ff.).



Cf. Apollodoros, *Bibl.* III. 10, 3: ... (Λεύκιππος) Ἀρσινόην ἐγέννησε. ταύτη μίγνυται Ἀπόλλων, ἢ δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν γεννᾷ. τινὲς δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν οὐκ ἐξ Ἀρσινόης τῆς Λευκίππου λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ Κορωνίδος τῆς Φλεγύου ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ. καὶ φασιν ἐρασθῆναι ταύτην Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ εὐθέως συνελθεῖν ... αὐτὴν δὲ (Ἀπόλλων) ἀπέκτεινε. καιομένης δὲ αὐτῆς ἀρπάζσας τὸ βρόφος (sc. Ἀσκληπιὸν) ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς πρὸς Χείρωνά τὸν Κένταυρον ἤνεγκε, παρ' ᾧ¹ καὶ τὴν ἰατρικὴν καὶ τὴν κνηγετικὴν τρεφόμενος ἐδιδάχθη. καὶ γενόμενος χειρουργικὸς καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀσκήσας ἐπὶ πολὺ οὐ μόνον ἐκώλυε τινὰς ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀλλ' ἀνήγειρε καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ... Ἴππόλυτον, ὡς ὁ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ συγγράφας λέγει...² (One could say the same for Achilles).

Virbius of Aricia, with whom particularly Latin writers³ identified Hippolytos, possessed also such healing powers. In Pausanias' time Hippolytos' house still existed. In front of it was a fountain the water of which, it was said, had been discovered by Heracles. Its water very likely had healing qualities (II. 32, 4-5): καὶ οἰκίαν ἰδὼν οἶδα Ἴππολύτου· πρὸ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν Ἡράκλειος καλουμένη κρήνη, τὸ ὕδωρ ὡς οἱ Τροϊζῆριοι λέγουσιν ἀνευρόντος Ἡρακλέους.

Since Hippolytos, the patron of Trozen, seems to have been viewed as possessing healing qualities and thus overseeing the natural growth of the young, and Asclepios appears to have been treated somewhat similarly in Epidaurus, it is very probable that the younger god of Doric origin (Asclepios) acquired qualities of the older hero Hippolytos and got into the Greek pantheon without being able, however, to overcome the original tradition, in spite of the fact that Asclepios came to be regarded as pre-eminently qualified in medicine.

But a prominent characteristic of the hero Hippolytos is, as his name shows, his relation to horses. According to a false etymology, his name means killed by them. Horses are Poseidon's animals; he is their master and is called *κνανοχαίτης*⁴. Hippolytos was, therefore

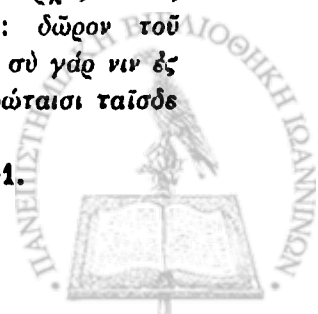
1. φ A: οὐ Hercher, Wagner.

2. Compare Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 5 (10) ff., with the Scholia on this passage of Pindar.

3. Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* VII 761 ff. and particularly 776 f.; Ovid, *Metam.* XV 492 ff. and especially 543 f.

4. Hom. *Il.* 20, 144, *Od.* 9, 536, Hesiod *Theog.* 278; Poseidon, in his capacity as master of horses, bears the name Ἴπποκόων, Ἴππομένης, Δαμαῖος, Ἀμφιδάμας, Ἴπποκράτης, Ποσειδῶν Ἴππιος*, κοιλωνύχιον ἵππων πρῶτανις Ποσ., ἱππαρχος Ποσ., κλυτοπῶλος, πωλοδαμνήσας ἄναξ... Ποσ... πόντιος, Soph. *OC.* 709 ff.: δῶρον τοῦ μεγάλου δαίμονος, ... / .. / εὐἵππον, εὐπῶλον, εὐθάλασσον. / ὦ παῖ Κρόνου, σὺ γὰρ νιν ἐξ / τόδ' εἰσας αὖχημ', ἄναξ Ποσειδάν, / ἵπποισιν τὸν ἀκροτήρα χαλινὸν / πρῶταισι ταῖσδε κτίσας ἀγυιαῖς.

* H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften*, v. 4, Berlin (Teubner) 1913, p. 291.



closely associated with Poseidon and his descent from this god is also attested through his father Theseus. Poseidon is closely related to the story of Hippolytos and Phaedra. Theseus' father, Poseidon, is the fulfiller of the curse against his (Th.'s) son. Poseidon is related to Phaedra through the bull he sent to Minos and the adventure of Pasiphae with that beast. Then Poseidon as *ἐνοσίγαιος*, master of earthquakes, may be viewed as the one who causes the volcanic eruption near Methana or in symbolic terms as the sender of the bull from the sea. It is more probable that Hippolytos' fatal chariot accident is one of the first parts of the story invented to give meaning to his name than that a real incident gave birth to the name itself. Compare Wilam., *Eur. Hippol.*, p. 31 «der 'von pferden gelöste'» and Radermacher, *Hippol. u. Thekla*, pp. 6 f., who explains etymologically the meaning of the name; practically *Ἰππόλυτος* is equivalent to *Λύσιππος*, derjenige, der den Pferden «die Zügel schießen läßt» and loosely speaking, the wild driver «der wilde Fahrer 'oder' Reiter». Horses are daemonic animals and it is probable that a person like Hippolytos was killed while driving his chariot.

In spite of the fact that Hippolytos is presented as an enemy of Aphrodite and women in general, his temple is connected with that of Aphrodite and his grave with that of Phaedra. In one source, Clemens von Rom. Hom. 5, 15. Gruppe, Mythol. 1455¹, Asclepios is the lover of Hippolytos, while in another source (Plut. Numa IV) a love affair is mentioned between Hippolytos and Apollo¹. Naturally these sources are late and not very trustworthy. Nonetheless this information should be viewed together with Hippolytos' hatred of women and the relationship of Hippolytos to other figures belonging to the same group and exhibiting similar characteristics. Unfortunately our sources are poor and the evidence too scanty to enable us to prove or reject this piece of information. A number of the Hip-

1. *Plut. Vies*, ed. R. Flacelière («Les Belles-Lettres») Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ φίλιαν γε πρὸς ἄνθρωπον εἶναι θεῶν, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ λεγόμενον ἔρωτα καὶ φρόνιμον εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν ἡθους καὶ ἀρετῆς, πρότερον ἂν εἶη. καὶ οὐ πλημμελοῦσιν οἱ τὸν Φόρβαντα καὶ τὸν Ὑάκινθον καὶ τὸν Ἀδμητρον ἐρωμένους Ἀπόλλωνος γεγονέναι μυθολογοῦντες, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν Σικυώνιον Ἰππόλυτον, οὗ* δὴ καὶ φασιν, ὅσακις τύχοι διαπλέων εἰς Κίρραν ἐκ Σικυῶνος, / αὐτῷ χρᾶν / τὴν Πυθίαν, οἷον αἰσθανομένον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ χαύροντος, ἀποθεσπίζειν τότε τὸ ἡρώων

Καὶ δ' αὐτὸς Ἰππολύτοιο φίλον κάρα εἰς ἅλα βαίνει.

* <περὶ> ante οὗ add. Steph.



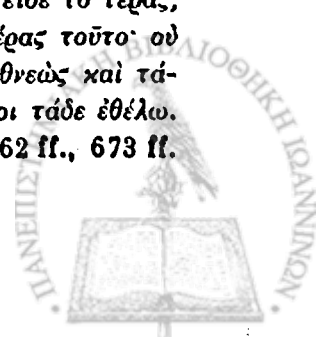
polytos' qualities were shared rather consistently, as far as we can determine from our sources, by a number of other heroes, such as Glaucos, Saron, Rhesos, Protesilaos, Cephalos, Eunostos and Achilles. Most of them trace their origin from Poseidon or are connected with water, being sons of rivers, springs etc. They possess a track for running *στάδιον* or *δρόμος*; they are hunters or herdsmen or are called *ἀγρότεροι θεοί*. This relates them to Artemis *ὀρίπλανος*. Their attitude towards women is mostly negative; they may be typical paederasts (*παιδικοὶ ἔρωτες*), or they are figures in whom one sees a great antithesis -passion for and hatred of or prudery towards women. In short their nature may appear split or contradictory. This should not surprise us at all. The imagination of ancient peoples, without preconceptions and free from our strict logic, could very well conceive such deities (cf. Radermacher, p. 33, and particularly note 1): Apollo, for instance, sends plagues and heals sickness. Ares causes war and brings peace. Themis *ἀνδρῶν ἀγορὰς ἡμὲν λύει ἢ καθίζει*, Aeolos is *ταμίης ἀνέμων, ἡμὲν πανέμεναι ἢ δ' ὀρνύμεν ὃν κ' ἐθέλησι* (*Od.* X 21 f.). Religious ideas about Ariadne present her as having a split personality (*Plut.* Theseus 20): *δύο δὲ μικροὺς ἀνδριαντίσκους (τῆ Ἀριάδνῃ) ἰδρῦσασθαι, τὸν μὲν ἀργυροῦν, τὸν δὲ χαλκοῦν ... ἀποθανεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀριάδνην αὐτόθι καὶ τιμὰς ἔχειν ... τῆ μὲν γὰρ ἡδομένους καὶ παίζοντας ἐσοτάζειν, τὰς δὲ ταύτῃ δρωμένας θυσίας εἶναι πένθει τινὶ καὶ στυγνότητι μεμειγμένας*. Apparently the bronze statue suggested the underworld* (*Paus.* VIII. 23:... *Ἀργυροῦν δὲ εἶναι μὲν τῶν ἐν θαλάσῃ νυμφῶν, ἐρασθεῖσαν δὲ αὐτῇ Σελέμνου μαιρακίου —sc. ὠραίου— φοιτᾶν τε ὡς αὐτὸν φασιν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀνιοῦσαν καὶ καθεύδειν παρ' αὐτῷ*).

Another basic characteristic of these heroes is that they all are violently killed in the flower of their youth. With this is connected the idea of their coming back to life**. Hippolytos is raised from the dead by Asclepios, Protesilaos¹ even returns for one night to his

* While the silver one indicated the upper world.

1. On the holiness or the deity of Protesilaos see among others Herod**. IX. 120: *...καὶ τεῶ τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτέων ταρίχους ὀπτῶντι τέρας γενέσθαι τοιόνδε· οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντό τε καὶ ἡσπαιρον δίκως περὶ λχθῆς νεάλωτοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν περιχυθέντες ἐθώμαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρταύκτης ὡς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τὸν ὀπτῶντα τοὺς ταρίχους ἔφη· Σεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας τοῦτο· σὺ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαιούντι Πρωτεσίλειος ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὺς καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι. νῦν ὦν ἄποινά μοι τάδε ἐθέλω.*

** Cf. Fl Philostrati 'Heroicus' (L. De Lannoy, Teubner 1977) 662 ff., 673 ff.



beloved. The ἀναβίωσις is characteristic of the vegetation deities. Unfortunately the sources do not allow us to prove this point, although they suggest that these heroes belonged to the class of Attis and Adonis. Protesilaos in Troy for example received his offerings from spring till autumn, when he was present on the earth, while in winter he was considered absent. This points to the periodicity of the growing and dying vegetation (Plutarch, «De Iside et Osiride» 378 F -69-): Φρύγες δὲ τὸν θεὸν οἰόμενοι χειμῶνος καθεύδειν, θέρους δ' ἐγρηγορέναι, τοτὲ μὲν κατευνασμούς, τοτὲ δ' ἀνεγέρσεις βακχεύοντες αὐτῶ τελοῦσι. Παφλαγόνες δὲ καταδεῖσθαι καὶ καθείργνησθαι χειμῶνος, ἤρος δὲ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναλύεσθαι φάσκουσι.

Asclepios was worshipped in the neighbouring Epidaurus, and this seems to have developed later and never to have prevailed over the myth of Hippolytos. Asclepios was punished by Zeus for bringing back to life certain mortals of whom the last was Hippolytos. Zeus killed Asclepios with his thunderbolt, but later for Apollo's sake he placed him among the stars (*Eratosthenis Catasterismorum reliquiae*, rec. C. Robert, Berlin - Weidmann - 1963, VI., p. 68)¹. What one notices with regard to the worship of Hippolytos is that it was always combined with that of Aphrodite. Above the great temple of Hippolytos with the well-known στάδιον, where the young man used to train his horses, was located the temple of Aphrodite with the μνήματα, graves or memorials of Phaedra and Hippolytos. It is probable that the grave of Hippolytos near the temple of Aphrodite was older than the Hippolytos' temple below. Aphrodite in Troezen was called κατασκοπία because, according to the tradition, Phaedra looked down upon her lover practising with his horses. (Paus. II. - Κορινθιακά - 32, 3): κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ περιβόλου μέρος στάδιον ἔστιν Ἴππολύτου καλούμενον καὶ ναὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀφροδίτης Κατασκοπίας· αὐτόθεν γάρ, ὅποτε γυμνάζοιτο ὁ Ἴππόλυτος, ἀπέβλεπεν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐρῶσα ἡ Φαι-

ἐπιθεῖναι, ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καταθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ, ἀντὶ δ' ἐμειωντοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι περιγενόμενος· for more on this see also my article «Οἱ Ὀλύμιοι θεοὶ καὶ οἱ σχέσεις τους με τοὺς ἀνθρώπους», Δωδώνη ΙΑ', 1982, p. 38.

1. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπὶ Σκορπίου ἐστηκώς, ἔχων ἐν ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶν ὄφιν· λέγεται δὲ εἶναι Ἀσκληπίδης, ὃν Ζεὺς χαρίζομενος Ἀπόλλωνι εἰς τὰ ἄστρα ἀνήγαγε, τέχνη ἱατρικῆ χρώμενον, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἤδη τεθνηκότας ἐγείρειν, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἔσχατον Ἴππόλυτον τὸν Θησέως. καὶ τῶν θεῶν δυσχερῶς τοῦτο φερόντων, εἰ αἱ τιμαὶ καταλυθήσονται αὐτῶν τηλικαῦτα ἔργα Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐπιτελοῦντος, λέγεται τὸν Δία ὀργισθέντα κεραυνοβολῆσαι τὴν οἰκίαν; cf. *ibid.* Schol. Germ. BP. p. 62, 13.



δρα. ἐνταῦθα ἔτι περὶ μιν ἢ μυρσίνη, τὰ φύλλα ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔγραφα ἔχουσα τετραπημένα· καὶ ἠνίκα ἠπορεῖτο ἡ Φαίδρα καὶ ῥαστώνη τῷ ἔρωτι οὐδεμίαν εὔρισκεν, ἐς ταύτης τὰ φύλλα ἐσιναμῶρει τῆς μυρσίνης. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τάφος Φαίδρας, ἀπέχει δὲ οὐ πολὺ τοῦ Ἴππολύτου μνήματος· τὸ δὲ οὐ πόρρω κέχωσται τῆς μυρσίνης.

In Athens before Euripides' time and around 600 B.C. Aphrodite was known as *πάνδημος*, that is for the whole community. We can ascertain this attribute of hers from oblation objects. In Euripides' time, however, there was the tempel of Aphrodite ἐπὶ Ἴππολύτῳ, and it seems that the story of Hippolytos was combined with the goddess who already existed with other attributes. Euripides says in his prologue (*Eur. Hippol.*, Barrett, Oxf. 1964) v. 30 ff.:

πέτραν παρ' αὐτὴν Παλλάδος, κατόπιον
γῆς τῆσδε, ναὸν Κύπριδος ἐγκαθείσατο,
ἐρῶσ' ἔρωτ' ἐκδημον, Ἴππολύτῳ δ' ἐπι
τὸ λοιπὸν ὀνομάσουσιν ἰδρῶσθαι θεὰν.

The existence in Athens of Aphrodite's tempel, which Paedra built, and of Hippolytos' story and the toponymic connection *κατασκοπία* and *κατόπιος* points to the introduction of the Hippolytos legend in Athens, but not of his cult, which was deeply rooted in Trozen and remained centred there, not finding suitable ground in Athens.

The myth of Hippolytos is very old and at any rate the essential elements of the cult and the songs before the wedding ceremonies can perhaps be dated before the Dorian invasion. The local tradition attributed the foundation of the Hippolytos cult to Diomedes, and consequently it dated before the foundation of Halicarnassos (Paus. II. 32, 1 f.): Ἴππολύτῳ δὲ τῷ Θησέως τέμενός τε ἐπιφανέστατον ἀνεῖται καὶ ναὸς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον. ταῦτα μὲν Διομήδην λέγουσι ποιῆσαι καὶ προσέτι θῦσαι τῷ Ἴππολύτῳ πρῶτον ...

